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JOURNALS, DOCTRINAL TREATISES, AND OTHER WRITINGS

OF

MEMBERS OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

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EDITED BY WILLIAM EVANS AND THOMAS EVANS.

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VOL. VII.

CONTAINING

MEMOIRS OF DANIEL WHEELER.—THE LIFE OF THOMAS ELLWOOD.  
MEMORANDA OF MARY HAGGER.—MEMOIR OF ANN CROWLEY,  
AND A SHORT ACCOUNT OF WILLIAM LEDDRA.

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PHILADELPHIA:

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## INDEX TO VOL. VII.

### A.

**ALEXANDER, EMPEROR:** account of his death, by D. Wheeler, page 55.

**ADDRESS** to the missionaries at New Zealand, 275.

### B.

**BOLABOLA,** remarks of C. Wheeler respecting, 323.

### C.

**CROWLEY, ANN,** Memoir of, 462; powerfully visited by Divine grace,—ib; death of her father and sister Mary, 463; appears in the ministry, 464; religious visit in Wales, 466; joins S. Harrison in a religious visit in Worcestershire, &c., 467; visit to Buckinghamshire, &c., 468; joins Phebe Speakman, 469; visit to Dorset, Hants, Devon, &c., ib.; unites with S. Horne in a family visit, and in attending meetings in Surry, Sussex, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, &c., 470; travels in the ministry with P. H. Gurney, 471; visits the families of her own meeting, with W. Forster, 473; also Hampshire, Somerset and Bristol, ib.; religious service with Wm. and R. Byrd, ib.; illness and death, 476.

**CROWLEY, REBECCA,** account of her sickness and death, 477.

### E.

**EIMEO,** remarks of C. Wheeler respecting, 320.

**ELLWOOD, THOMAS,** his life, 347; testimonies concerning him, 343; remarkable incident, 349; visits I. Pennington, 350; convinced of Friends' principles, 352; effects thereof, 353; suffers much from his father for his testimony against hat honour and the corrupt language of the world, 359—361; is arrested at Maidenhead, 363; his examination and discharge, 364; writes a Warning to priests, 366; imprisoned at Oxford, 369; letter from Thomas Loe, 370; from I. Pennington, 371; attempt of his father to prevent his going to meeting, 373; introduction to Milton, 380; imprisonment at the Old Bailey, London, 382; removed to Newgate, 387; discharged, and goes to I. Pennington's, 391; commences teaching his children, ib.; arrested again and sent to prison, 394; returns home and examines Paradise Lost, 396; imprisoned again, 397; memorable meeting with the followers of J. Perrot, 398; his marriage, 401; remarks on the Conventicle Act, 403; prosecution of two informers, 406; dispute with T. Hicks, 409; writes against tithes, 410; replies to W. Rogers' attack on Friends, 411; arrested on account of a book he published, 412; publishes his Seasonable Dissuasive from persecution, 416; pathetic description of Friends' sufferings, 417; Epistle to Friends respecting the dividing spirit, 418; account of George Fox, 423; controversy with G. Keith, 423; Epistle respecting his separation, 424; reply to G. K.'s charge

of deism, 427; excessive restraint for tithes,—death, 429.

### F.

**FAITH** in Christ, which is accompanied by good works, necessary to realizing the benefits of his coming, 21, 232; the importance of living faith, 40.

**FRIENDLY ISLES,** remarks of C. Wheeler on, 334.

### G.

**HUAHINE,** remarks of C. Wheeler respecting, 321.

**HERVEY ISLES,** remarks of C. Wheeler, on, 330.

**HAGGER, MARY;** her memoranda, 430; testimony concerning her, ib.; birth and education, 433; call to the ministry, 434; death of her husband, and peculiar trials, 435; removal to Ashford, 436; religious visit to Bedfordshire, &c., 443; to Nottinghamshire, 445; to Essex, 455; attends the Yearly Meeting in London, 457; visits the families of her own Monthly Meeting, ib.; expressions during an illness, 458; recovers so as to get to meeting, 459; last sickness and death, 460-1.

### I.

**LETTER** from the congregation at Teahupoo, respecting D. Wheeler, 147; from Tekori, a native boy, 235; from the missionaries, 227; from the missionaries at Lifuka, 251; from the missionaries at New Zealand, 278; from the Empress Elizabeth, relative to the illness and death of Alexander, 314; of Charles Wheeler to his family, relative to the South Sea Isles, 316; from T. Loe and I. Pennington, to T. Ellwood, 371.

**LEDDRA, WILLIAM;** account of his arrest and martyrdom, 479; letter written by him shortly before he suffered, ib.

### N.

**NEW ZEALAND,** remarks of C. Wheeler on, 337.

### P.

**PETERSBURG;** dreadful inundation there, 52.

**PROPITIATORY SACRIFICE OF CHRIST,** 7, 21, 40, 90, 144, 164, 204, 232, 233, 256, 257, 269.

### R.

**RAIATEA,** remarks of C. Wheeler respecting, 322.

### S.

**SCRIPTURES OF TRUTH** not the Word of God, 40, 41, 111, 153; their value, 176, 260.

**SANDWICH ISLANDS,** Address to the Rulers of, by D. Wheeler, 199.

**SPIRIT OF TRUTH,** the necessity of its transforming operations in the soul, 21, 41, 58, 83, 96,



144, 145, 153, 156, 170, 179, 189, 214, 233, 253, 257, 266, 270, 276.

SANDWICH ISLES, remarks of C. Wheeler respecting, 325.

### T.

TESTIMONY of Balby Monthly meeting respecting Daniel Wheeler, 2; testimony of New York Monthly meeting, 6.

TESTIMONY borne by a Friend in London Yearly meeting, 89.

TAHITI, remarks of C. Wheeler respecting, 317.

### U.

UNIVERSALITY of Divine grace testified to by the South Sea Islanders, 154.

### W.

WHEELER, DANIEL, Journal of—his birth and education, 8, 9; goes to sea, 10; enters the British navy, 11; divine visitation, 12; joins the army as a volunteer, *ib.*; goes with his regiment to Ireland, 13; exposed to the danger of losing his life, 14; preserved from killing a fellow creature, *ib.*; ships for England with a regiment, 15; embarks for the Continent, and lands at Ostend, 16; marches to Ghent and Nimeguen, 17; is taken sick, 18; illness at Rhenin, 19; reflections on his recovery, 21; returns to England, and embarks for the West Indies, 22; remarkable preservation from shipwreck, 23; his conversion without outward means, *ib.*; retires from a military life, *ib.*; resides with his sister in Yorkshire, *ib.*; is received among Friends, *ib.*; settles in Sheffield, and is married, 24; retires to the country, 25; appears in the ministry, 26; goes to Russia, 29; interview with Prince Galitzin, 31; interview with the Emperor, 32; returns to England, 33; removes with his family and settles at Ochta, near Petersburg, 34; Address to Balby Monthly meeting, 36, 39, 43, 46, 48, 57, 60, 63; is visited by the Emperor, 46; awful inundation at Petersburg, 52; visits England, 53; *do.* in company with his wife, 73; attends meetings in Durham, Devon, Cornwall, &c., 73, 74, 75; goes to Dublin Yearly meeting, 78; returns to Russia, 79; cholera at Petersburg and vicinity, 79, 80; Address to York Quarterly meeting, 82; prepares to quit Russia, 86; arrives in England, 87; is liberated to visit the South Seas, 89; illness in his family, 93; death of his wife, 94; journey to Russia, 99; returns to England and embarks for the South Pacific, 100; voyage to Rio Janeiro, 105; religious services there, 110; voyage to Vandiemien's land, 112; remarkable circumstance of the vessel's being protected from the fury of the sea by whales, 115; arrival at Hobart

Town, 120; illness there, 122; sails for Port Jackson, 123; religious services, 125; sails for Norfolk Island, 127; voyage to Tahiti, 129; arrival there, 130; religious engagements there, 131 to 140; visit to Bunaauia, 141; to Papara, 145; to Tautira, 149; sails for Eimeo, 162; sails for Huahine, 169; goes to Raiatea, 173; to Bolabola, 177; visit to a rebel chief and his party, 179; sails for Sandwich Islands, 181; arrival there, 185; meetings at Honolulu, 186, 188; interview with the Queen, 196; Address to the Rulers, 199; sails for Hawaii, 206; Waimea, 210; Koloa, 211; remarkable volcano and waterfall, 215; sails with the mission families for Maui, *ib.*; arrival at Lahina, 217; at Oahu, 219; interview with the missionaries, 221; sails for Tawai, 222; meeting there, 223; goes to Hanarei, 224; sails for the Hervey Islands, 227; Farewell Address of the missionaries, *ib.*; his answer, 228; arrival at Rarotonga, 228; visit to the schools, 230; goes to Aroragne, 233; religious service there, *ib.*; sails for Vavau, 235; meeting at Feletoa, 238; Neiafu and Otea, 241; meeting at Hihifo, 242; goes to Matika, 243; parting meeting at Neiafu, 246; sails for Lifuka, *ib.*; meeting with the missionaries, 249; letter from them, 251; departure for Tongataboo, *ib.*; arrival at Nukulofa, 252; meeting with the natives there, 253; a kava party, 254; interview with a heathen chief and his party, at Mua, 255; sails for New Zealand, 262; religious services there, 265; visit to Waimate, 269; meeting with the members of the mission at Paihia, 272; Address to the missionaries at New Zealand, 275; letter from them to him, 278; sails for New South Wales, 279; arrival at Sydney, 281; death of his son William, 284; sails for Hobarton, 286; services there, 287; returns to England, 288; attends London Yearly meeting, 289; opens his concern to visit America, *ib.*; sails from Liverpool to New York, 290; arrival there, 291; goes to Philadelphia, 292; attends the Yearly meeting there, 294; goes to Wilmington, 295; to Baltimore, 296; to Virginia Yearly meeting, 297; to New York and New England Yearly meetings, 298; goes northward to Portland, and then to Nova Scotia, 301-2-3; goes to Ohio Yearly meeting, 304; embarks for home, 305; alarming illness of his son Charles, 306; his death, 307; embarks again for America, 308; arrival at New York, 309; illness and death, 310 to 312; concluding remarks, 313.

WHEELER, JANE, account of her illness and death, 314.

WHEELER, CHARLES, letters to his family respecting the South Sea Isles, 316.

WILL-WORSHIP, 354.



MEMOIRS  
OF  
THE LIFE AND GOSPEL LABOURS  
OF THE LATE  
DANIEL WHEELER,

A MINISTER OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

---

"He brought me up also out of an horrible pit, out of the miry clay, and set my feet upon a rock, and established my goings. And He hath put a new song in my mouth, even praise unto our God."—PSALM xl. 2, 3.

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PREFACE.

IN presenting to the public the following Memoirs, a few explanatory remarks may be requisite.

For some years previous to the decease of our honoured parent, it was evidently a matter which he had much at heart, to leave behind him some narrative of his life; no doubt believing that a record, in which might be traced so many instances of divine mercy and interposition, could not but be instructive and strengthening to others. This work, however, though commenced in the year 1831, was never completed; and it has been our duty to supply the deficiency from whatever sources lay within our reach. From the period at which the auto-biography abruptly terminates, to the time of his removal to Russia, the recollections of his family, and, in some instances, the memoranda of his intimate friends, have furnished the only data: but it must be observed, that nothing has been allowed a place, which could not be stated with entire confidence; more might undoubtedly have been given, by including incidents not so distinctly remembered, and matter derived from traditional, rather than personal knowledge, which in the present instance has been carefully avoided.

Of the succeeding sixteen years, viz.: from 1817, the private correspondence of the deceased affords almost the only materials; but as this was tolerably copious, and generally written with the entire openness of friendship, it constitutes not the least valuable part of the work.

The narrative of his religious visit to the South Sea Islands, &c., has been carefully revised since its last publication, and some additional matter from the original notes has been interspersed.

For the closing years of his life, the private journal has again been quoted. The brevity of the American portion of it, will perhaps be regretted, though easily explained by the increasing age and infirmities of the writer; but although short, it was thought to contain matter of sufficient interest to warrant its insertion. The record of his last illness has been furnished by the amiable family, who were then his kind attendants.

The appendix will be found to contain several articles which, though not actually a part of the narrative, are yet interesting in connexion with it. The extracts from the notes of our brother Charles, written whilst accompanying his father amongst the islands of the Pacific, exhibit a somewhat succinct view of the condition of their inhabitants, and are the more worthy of notice, as their lamented author was not only himself well qualified to observe, but also to estimate the evidence of others.

It will be seen, that the present work is to be regarded chiefly in the light of a compilation. From the nature of some of the materials, it will also be evident, that it has occasionally been as much a duty to omit, as in other instances to insert; but the reader may be assured, that the selection has been fairly and impartially made: and that whenever any alteration has been attempted, it has been merely a verbal correction, without affecting

the sense of the passage. It is hardly possible that so near a relation to the deceased should be an entirely impartial Editor, and if any passages should be found indebted for their insertion rather to feeling than to judgment, it is hoped that both the judgment and feeling of the reader will combine to induce him to make some charitable allowance.

It remains for me to acknowledge my obligations to all those who have in any way assisted in the present work, and particularly to my esteemed friend A. R. Barclay, who has kindly superintended its publication.

In conclusion I would express my hope that no passage occurring in the present volume may give just cause of offence to any; but that on the contrary, many may derive from it edification and comfort.

DANIEL WHEELER.

Tamerfors, Eighth month 18th, 1842.

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*A Testimony of Balby monthly meeting in the county of York, concerning DANIEL WHEELER, deceased.*

Our beloved friend Daniel Wheeler was the youngest son of William and Sarah Wheeler of Conduit street, Hanover square, London; and was born there the 27th day of eleventh month, 1771.

His parents were rather above the middle rank in society, and being consistent members of the established church, were strict in conforming to its rites and ceremonies, punctual in attending their place of worship, and careful to train up their children to devotional exercises.

Before he was twelve years old, he was deprived of parental restraint by the death of his father and mother; and was placed at a school at Fulham, for the purpose of learning navigation, to prepare him for his future seafaring life.

Thus left an orphan, through the interest of a relative, he was entered on the King's books as midshipman at an early age: whilst he was preparing for the service, and before he had completed his thirteenth year, circumstances led to the breaking up of the family circle, giving rise to a long separation from his brothers and sisters, to whom he was very warmly attached.

He now sailed for the first time, cruising on the coast of Portugal; and after remaining six years in the navy, he finally quitted his ship, and entered the ranks of the army as a private soldier.

'When about sixteen years of age,' he says, 'having been unwell, and probably led to re-

flect a little on that account, I was made sensible of a divine visitation extended to me at that time; disclosing, with indubitable clearness, the vanity and emptiness of every earthly station, tarnishing the pride and glory of this perishing world in my sight; and which, though little understood and less regarded at the moment, has since, at different times been brought to my remembrance by Him that declareth unto man what is his thought; that maketh the morning darkness, and treadeth upon the high places of the earth, the Lord, the God of Hosts is his name! When this occurred, although then entered into the bond of iniquity, yet I had not launched so fully into its awful abyss, as was afterwards most lamentably the case; and from what I have since witnessed, in unutterable mercy, of the strength and power of redeeming love, a belief is induced, that, if this warning voice, then sounded in the secret of my sinful heart, had been hearkened unto and waited upon, my footsteps, even mine, would have been conducted from the horrible pit to which they were fast verging.'

It was after long exposure to the severity of the weather, during a harassing service in one of most unhealthy districts of Europe, that Daniel Wheeler was seized with a prevailing fever, which swept away many of his fellow-soldiers; and after all prospect of recovery seemed to be gone, he was in mercy raised up from the hospital, where numbers were daily perishing round him, to become, in future years, the messenger of mercy and glad tidings to others. At this period, however, although he maintained a fair character among his fellow-men, he was living in a state of much estrangement of heart from God, and often striving against his own secret convictions. In the discharge of those duties belonging to his station, he had acquitted himself to the satisfaction of his superiors; he had been advanced to the rank of serjeant-major, and was afterwards further promoted.

In 1794 or 1795, he paid a short visit to his eldest sister residing near Sheffield, who was married, and had become a member of the Society of Friends by conviction. He was not long allowed to enjoy this interval of quiet, before he was summoned to join the regiment, in which he had obtained a commission, on its departure for the West Indies. They set sail; twice the fleet put to sea, and as often encountered a dreadful hurricane; several of the vessels were lost, the troops perishing in them: but Daniel Wheeler was providentially spared, experiencing a narrow escape.

Reflecting on these disasters, and the renewed occurrence of wonderful preservation, so



unexpected and so undeserved, his heart was touched; he could not resolve a third time to expose his life as he had done, but determined to quit the army, so soon as he could meet with suitable employment. He communicated this resolution to his sister at Woodhouse near Sheffield, and returned thither, having given up his commission, i 1796.

His mind was now opened to embrace the principles of Friends, and he attended our meeting at Woodhouse. This excited the ridicule of some of his nearest relatives and companions, whose astonishment was great at the thorough change that soon appeared in him. The work was not suffered to be long on the wheel; the effect was decisive and permanent, affording a display of divine power, not less remarkable in this rapid conversion, than where there has been a more gradual accomplishment of its purposes.

He made an application to be admitted into membership with Friends: and after a suitable time, his request was complied with, in the second month, 1799.

It is worthy of notice, that but little, if any, instrumental means was concerned in this remarkable change. Whilst attending the small and generally silent meetings of Woodhouse, Daniel Wheeler had felt the truth of our principles, and had yielded to the conviction. His was a stability and growth in religion of no ordinary measure. In a very few years after his conviction he was appointed an overseer, and he was indeed a bright example of zeal, sincerity, and love to his friends, in that responsible station.

An opening to begin business in a small way at Sheffield presenting itself, was readily embraced; and in this, as in his future undertakings, the divine blessing appeared to attend him, and to crown his exertions with success.

In the sixth month, 1800, he was married to Jane Brady, the daughter of Thomas and Rachel Brady of Thorne, in whom he found a helpmate indeed, of sound judgment, guileless and faithful. He remarks in a letter written after her death, 'the heavenly Master's love has never ceased to follow us through all the vicissitudes of time, during a life, not a little chequered, for a term of more than thirty-two years and a half, when He was pleased to deprive me of my greatest earthly treasure, and to take back that which He gave; but it was His own, I verily believe, even His,—the same who enabled me to say, in the moment of my greatest distress, "Blessed be the name of the Lord."'

As a tradesman, he was diligent in business; he was also "servent in spirit, serving the Lord." By the strictest attention to integrity in all his dealings, he gained the es-

teem of all with whom he had to do. Yet it was easy to see where his heart was fixed: his Bible was his favourite companion, and the few minutes that could be spared at a time amidst his daily concerns, were spent in the perusal of the inspired writings.

For some time previous to 1813, the impression had become strong upon his mind, that he would be called to advocate the cause of truth and righteousness upon the earth. Very deep were his conflicts, and very close was his application of soul to his heavenly Father for strength to perform his will; and it was his practice, when he lived in the country, to withdraw early in the morning to a small field near his house, for the purpose of religious retirement and prayer.

He was very watchful lest he should be led away from the grace vouchsafed to him; frequently refraining from conversation apparently innocent, and in which he delighted, lest at any unguarded moment he might grieve that Holy Spirit, whom he felt to be his comforter and guide. He was recorded as an approved minister in the sixth month, 1816.

About this period our friend was made sensible that some sacrifice would be called for on his part, as an evidence of his gratitude for the unutterable mercy and great condescension of the Almighty, in having plucked him as a brand from the burning; and he saw clearly that it was indispensable for him, as much as might be, to separate himself from the world and the things of the world, by declining his prosperous trade, and retiring with his family into a smaller compass. The extent of his business was becoming a burden. He felt the force of our Lord's declaration, "Ye cannot serve God and mammon;" and his obedience to the requirement was full and unreserved. 'Not,' said he, 'that I have acquired a sufficiency, without doing something for my livelihood; far from it. I have still a prospect of maintaining my family comfortably with care and industry, leaving the event to Him who knows the thoughts and intents of the heart. I have no desire to accumulate riches for my children, the blessing seldom attends it; and the baneful effects thereof are too often visible, even in our Society.'

His mind was thus disposed to withdraw from his concerns in trade, and he was in a state of waiting preparation, when an inquiry was made, on behalf of the Emperor Alexander of Russia for a member of the Society of Friends, to superintend some works of drainage and of agriculture in the neighbourhood of Petersburg. Daniel Wheeler offered himself for the service, and finally accepted the appointment.

On the 18th of sixth month, 1818, he attended the meeting at Sheffield, when he took an affectionate leave of Friends there. He told them that nothing less than apprehended duty could have induced him to take the present step; that four years ago it was clearly intimated to him, that it would be required of him to remove into Russia; and though the prospect was very trying to the natural part, yet endeavouring to obtain resignation, he had been favoured to feel sweet peace. His mind had been deeply affected while sitting among them, in viewing the prospect before him, when he would be deprived of the precious privilege of thus assembling with his friends; that he wished none might suppose his case a hard one, for he thought that there was scarcely a person on the face of the earth, who had more largely partaken of the gracious dealings and protecting care of a merciful Providence. Twice he had been preserved from shipwreck,—he had been favoured to escape the devouring pestilence when numbers were falling around him; and, when many were destroyed by the cruel hand of war, his life had indeed been marvellously spared. And surely the Almighty Being, whose arm had been so often extended for his preservation, when he was running headlong in the paths of error, had a right to dispose of the residue of his days, and was worthy of obedience.

He shortly after embarked for Petersburg, and took charge of the works committed to him. These operations appear to have been conducted successfully, much to the improvement of the extensive estates, and to the satisfaction of the parties concerned. There is also ground to hope, that his labours will at a future day prove a blessing to that empire.

On account of circumstances connected with the religious profession of the country, the gospel services of our dear friend were much circumscribed to private interviews; and in the line of his religious duty, he addressed the English residents in that city. The uniformly guarded and consistent life and conversation, the unbending integrity which no self-interest could warp,—no influence from without could suppress, will be long had in honourable remembrance in that land, to the glory of that Lord and Master, whom diligently to serve and faithfully to obey, was more to our dear friend than the smiles of princes, or all that the world could bestow.

During the abode of Daniel Wheeler in Russia, he was careful to keep up in his house the regular attendance of meetings for worship, twice on first-days, and on fifth-days. An orderly and regular attention to the reading of the Scriptures was daily observed in

his family; nor did they omit the frequent perusal of the writings of Friends.

For the distant members of his own monthly meeting he evinced his concern, by addressing them once a year, and occasionally at other times; putting them in remembrance of the things which belonged unto their peace.

In the fourth month, 1825, our friend Daniel Wheeler was liberated by his monthly meeting to attend the yearly meeting in Dublin, and for other religious engagements in Ireland. He was also concerned in third month, 1831, to visit Friends in Devonshire and Cornwall, as well as the inhabitants of the Scilly Islands. These services appear to have been accomplished, much to the satisfaction of his friends, and to the comfort of his own mind.

At the end of 1832, whilst he was confined by indisposition at the house of a friend in Norfolk, the mournful intelligence arrived from Russia of the death of his beloved wife. This was one of the greatest trials that could have befallen him; but the Almighty hand was near to comfort and sustain him; and he was mercifully strengthened to say, "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord."

A little before this he had laid before his friends at their monthly meeting in ninth month 1832, his prospect of paying a visit in gospel love to the Islands of the Pacific ocean, Van Diemen's Land, and New South Wales; in which, as well as in the quarterly meeting and the morning-meeting of ministers and elders in London, he had their full concurrence and earnest desires for his preservation.

For so very extensive a service, the necessary arrangements occupied a considerable time; these being at length completed, he sailed from the Thames the 13th of eleventh month, 1833. The vessel was proceeding down the English Channel, when on the 21st they were overtaken by a heavy storm, which induced them to take shelter off the Isle of Wight; and from adverse winds, and other causes, they were not able to take their final departure until the 15th of third month, 1834. He had been anxious to set out, and this detention was a great exercise to his faith. Yet, prompt in his movements as our dear friend was accustomed to be, when his duty was clearly defined, his example is strikingly instructive, in the patience and the stedfast faith with which he would wait until the true light so shone upon his path, as to point out not only the way, but the right time to move in it; and closely as he had been tried on this occasion, he was at last permitted to see and acknowledge, that he had not been detained one day too long.



The voyage out was a very tempestuous one, but he was preserved through all danger; and, accompanied by his son Charles, arrived safely at his destination.

Amongst those distant islands he was long and acceptably occupied. Yet he was often made sensible, preparatory to attending meetings, and other religious services, that he had no ability or qualification of his own, until he was humbled as in the dust; when after patiently waiting to be endowed with strength from on high, he has been enabled so to minister, that the divine power has overshadowed the assembly; softening and contriting these poor islanders; filling their eyes with tears, and their hearts with love, until they could scarcely allow him to leave them. This arduous service, extended through the long period of nearly four years, was at length brought to a close; and he returned safely to England.

In the published accounts of our valued friend's labours in these distant regions, there is abundant evidence of his care to direct his hearers to the Great Teacher and Sanctifier, and to wean them from a dependence on instrumental aid; and it is gratifying to observe, that, in preaching the truth boldly, without respect of persons, he also gained the goodwill of the resident missionaries, who received him with uniform kindness, and gave him on his departure very ample testimonials of their approval.

It may not be unprofitable in this place to notice the exemplary care which our departed friend had exercised over his tender offspring, to train them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord: that they might experience a growth in grace, was the fervent desire of his heart. He would rise at an early hour to read the Scriptures to them, and at night he would quietly withdraw from the room, when the children were gone to rest, to endeavour to direct their youthful minds in reverent approach to their heavenly Father.

The blessing of Him who alone was able to preserve them, and render them meet for His kingdom, we believe was not wanting. For when, within a short period of each other, three of these young people were called from their afflicted parent to exchange time for eternity, he had the consolation of knowing that their end was crowned by a humble and confiding trust in redeeming mercy.

Had it been in the ordering of the divine will, after being so long a traveller in distant regions, and sensible of declining strength, our dear friend would have thankfully settled down for a season of rest. Hence it is scarcely in words to express the sympathy that was felt for him, when he informed his monthly meeting, on

the return of his certificate for the South Seas, that it was required of him at once to set out for the American Continent, to visit more especially the cities on the coasts. At this time his son Charles Wheeler, his endeared companion amidst the perils and fatigues of the Southern hemisphere, was in a critical state of health, and for his sake his father might have felt anxious to delay his voyage. But so devoted was he to his Master's service, and so faithful to apprehended duty, that the yearnings of a father's heart could not stay him, nor call forth a repining word. He proceeded to America, and appeared to have pretty much carried out the work required of him, when he found himself released to pay a visit to the remnant of his family, who had now removed, on account of Charles' declining state, to the more genial climate of France. At St. Germain's, near Paris, he witnessed the peaceful close of his dear son. He once more attended his own monthly meeting in the third month, 1840, and soon after sailed from this country for the last time, for New York. On preparing for his voyage out, he writes, 'But now that the time draweth nigh, I feel more than ever the need of the prayers of the faithful for preservation and support in this the evening sacrifice about to be offered, when the natural strength of the poor body, and perhaps that of the mind also is weakened, as days have multiplied upon me, and years have increased; and, I think I never felt more at the prospect of being again severed from my beloved children;' adding, 'Certain it is that nothing short of implicit obedience to what we believe to be a divine requirement will be accepted; and nothing can so fully bring our love to the test, as the having to leave all and forsake all, without making any reserve for ourselves.'

A week after he sailed, Daniel Wheeler was taken ill, and continued so for the remainder of the voyage. The complaint appeared to be a cold attended with fever; and as he was unable to lie down from difficulty of breathing, his strength rapidly declined. He received every attention that could be rendered on ship-board, for he bore the respect and regard of all. When he arrived at New York, he was conducted on shore by kind friends there, and further medical advice was obtained. The opinion formed of his situation was decidedly unfavourable. On being told that he was thought to be in a very critical state, he said: 'All has been done that could be done; only write to my dear children, how it is. The work has been going on with the day. All I want is quietness; it is a great thing to be clear from pain. Love to all my friends on this side the Atlantic as well as the other. I

want nothing but the love of my heavenly Father, and I witness it. The Lord is good to them who love and fear His name: great things hath He done for me: things so wonderfully marvellous, that they could hardly be believed, were I to tell of them.'

He remarked to a friend; As to himself, he had no doubt: he had the same faith that had been with him through life, and which was founded upon the gospel of Christ, which enabled him to say with the apostle, "nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me."

All that the most assiduous care and tenderness, aided by medical skill, could do, proved unavailing to restore him. His exhausted frame gradually sunk under the disorder, and he quietly passed away on the 12th of sixth month, 1840, aged sixty-eight years; having been a faithful labourer in the gospel vineyard above twenty-four years.

The Christian warfare was thus ended. Full of years, his loins girded about, and his light burning, he was as one that waiteth for his Lord.

We see abundant cause to exalt His holy name, who thus led forth our beloved friend; who preserved him through many perils by sea and land; who conferred upon him strength in time of need, and sufficient qualification for His service; and who in His own appointed time, we reverently believe, hath called him in redeeming love "to an inheritance incorruptible, and undefiled, and that fadeth not away."

Signed in and on behalf of the meeting aforesaid, held at Sheffield, the 3rd of twelfth month, 1840.

*A Testimony of the monthly meeting of Friends of New York, concerning our friend DANIEL WHEELER.*

'At the yearly meeting of Friends held in New York, by adjournments, from the 24th of fifth month, 1841, to the 28th of the same inclusive.

'A Testimony of the monthly meeting of New York, concerning our late valued, and beloved friend Daniel Wheeler of Great Britain, approved by the quarterly meeting of Westbury, and by the meeting for Sufferings, was read:—

'This tribute of affection and of justice to his memory was very satisfactory to this meeting; the Testimony was directed to be recorded, and the Clerk was requested to cause a copy of it, together with a copy of this min-

ute, to be forwarded to the monthly meeting of Balby in England, of which our dear friend was a member.'

Our beloved friend Daniel Wheeler of England, having finished his labours in the ministry of the gospel, and ended his days, in this city, this meeting feels it to be incumbent upon it to make some public account of his religious services in this land, of the progress of his illness, and of his interesting expressions, when he laid down his head in peace amongst us.

He first arrived in this city on a religious visit to Friends in this country, with certificates of unity from the meetings to which he belonged, on the first of the first month, 1839.

During the following spring and summer, he attended the yearly meetings of Philadelphia, Virginia, New York, and New England. In the eighth month, he visited the British provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and in the ninth month attended the yearly meeting of Ohio. During his religious engagements amongst us, he was careful to seek for the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and to move no faster or further than his way was thus opened. Hence his preaching was sound, weighty and edifying, ministering grace to the hearers, and is fresh in our minds, accompanied by deep and feeling unity with his religious services. In all his movements he was remarkably watchful to wait for that Divine direction, which had so often and so remarkably preserved him in many seasons of peril, during his extensive travels by sea and land.

In consequence of intelligence of the declining health of his son Charles, he sailed for England on the 1st of the tenth month, and found him in France, where he had gone with the hope of deriving benefit from the climate, and had the satisfaction of continuing with him until the peaceful close of his life; after which our dear friend embarked again for this country, and arrived in New York on the 28th day of the fourth month, 1840.

During the voyage he was taken sick, and was so ill on arrival, that he was removed with difficulty to the house of our friend John Clapp. On the following day he was increasingly ill, and remarked to the physician that he could not endure another such a day.

On the morning of the 30th, it appeared from his rapid respiration and the coldness of his extremities, as if he was sinking fast, and it was thought proper to inform him of it: he replied, 'All has been done that could be done; only write to my dear children how it is; the work has been going on with the day. Love to all my friends, on this side the Atlantic as well as the other. It is a great thing to be clear of pain. I desire nothing but the love of my heavenly Father, and I witness it.'



He revived, however, in the afternoon, so as to write a few lines to his children. On the following day, he had returns of oppression. On the 3rd of the fifth month, after being bled, he said, 'Without blood there is no cleansing; upon which one of the physicians remarked, "It is the blood of Jesus that cleanseth us from all our sins." 'Yes,' Daniel replied, 'but not in our natural unregenerate state. If we walk in the light as he is in the light, then I believe it will cleanse us from our sins: yes,' he added with much emphasis, 'I know it.'

In the evening he said he had had a hard struggle, and at one time he did not know but it was the cold sweat of death.

On the morning of the sixth, he called for his clothes, and having given directions for the disposition of some papers which they contained, he said, 'Now I have done with the things of this world;' and further observed, that he had no wish to live, but for the sake of his family, and that the Lord Jesus might live in him; that He had been his guide for many years, and he had declared his name unto thousands: that he had no hope but in Him, and he was the same Lord over all: that it was not the prospect of immediate release, that led him to speak thus, but it was in his heart, and he must say it while he had words; with much more, in a very impressive manner, and with a strong voice.

Towards evening his mind appeared to overflow with adoration of the mercy and goodness of his dear Lord and Master, which had constantly attended him in his pilgrimage, and crowned him with loving-kindness and tender mercies.

He briefly recapitulated what had occurred since he left America, alluding to the consolation he had received at the death of his son Charles; so that he had to rejoice in the midst of grief, saying, "The Lord is good to them that love and fear his name: great things hath he done for me;" 'things so wonderfully marvellous that they would hardly be believed were I to tell of them. If I have experienced any shortness in my journey Zionward, it has been on my side, and not the Lord's; for he has been faithful, and his promises have been and remain to be, yea and amen, for ever. Whilst I was on ship-board, and thought by some to be nigh unto death, how did the Lord appear for my help and consolation! and since I have been in this chamber, how has he appeared for my comfort in the night season, and I have been enabled to sing hymns of praises and thanksgiving unto him! When the ship made her soundings, I made my soundings on that Rock which has never failed me, whose foundation is from everlasting to everlasting. I saw that I should be

safely landed, though extremely weak in body, and was enabled to say, should the Lord see meet to raise me up, and strengthen me, still to show forth his wonderful works to the children of men, or cut short the work in righteousness, Thy will, O God, and not mine be done. I do not see how the end will be.'

9th.—He passed a distressing night, and one time said, 'I did not know whether I should live to see the light of another day.'

11th.—He said he felt the Saviour to be near him, every hour of the day. From this period there was some apparent improvement, and for a time he was more comfortable; but the disease not being removed, his weakness again increased, and on the 29th he was very feeble. At one time he said, as to himself, he had no doubt: he had the same faith which had been with him through life, and which was founded upon the gospel of Christ, which enabled him to say with the apostle, "Nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me; and the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me."

12th of sixth month in the morning, he said, 'Perhaps this day will end all your cares and troubles.' In the afternoon he said, "It is very doubtful whether I shall be permitted to return to England.' In the evening his breathing became more laboured: after some time he was incapable of being aroused, and a little after twelve o'clock at night, he quietly passed away, in the 69th year of his age.

Throughout all his extreme weakness and great distress, that faith and trust in the mercies and promises of his dear Redeemer, which had been so remarkably exemplified during his eventful life, remained firm and unshaken; and that all things would work together for good, seemed to be the prevailing covering of his mind throughout his illness.

He has ceased from his many and extensive labours; and we feel an assurance that he has entered into that rest, which is prepared for the people of God.

His remains were conveyed to Friends' meeting-house, in Orchard-street, where a large and solemn meeting was held; in which, testimony was borne, to the sufficiency of that divine power, by which he was prepared for usefulness in the church, and made instrumental in promoting the cause of vital Christianity in the world. After which the corpse was followed to the grave by many Friends and others, and interred in Friends' burial-ground, the 15th of the same month.

Signed by direction, and on behalf of the monthly meeting aforesaid, held in New York, 7th of fourth month, 1841.

## MEMOIRS OF DANIEL WHEELER.

### CHAPTER I.

*Introductory remarks by the author—his parentage, education—early becomes an orphan—enters the Merchant service, then the Royal navy—is paid off—enters the army.*

HAVING frequently derived much valuable instruction, from the perusal of the narratives of those who have long since exchanged an earthly for an heavenly inheritance, the thought has at times occurred to me, that a short memoir of my own life,—however evil “the days of the years of my pilgrimage” have been; might, under the divine blessing, be made in like manner useful to others. But perhaps, from the humiliating conviction, that days as without number have been miserably devoted to madness and folly, in forgetfulness of a long-suffering Lord God, who is abundant in goodness and truth,—the guilty mind would gladly hide the remembrance of these for ever in oblivion, and pass over them in silent abhorrence; or, conscious that there yet remains a stubborn and unsubdued residue of human corruptions,—a sense of unworthiness and unfitness may have hitherto operated to retard the undertaking; lest the creature should in any degree be exalted, to whom shame only with blushing and confusion of face must ever belong.

Whatever may thus far have impeded any attempt of the kind, I am induced, not as a matter of choice, but as a duty, now in the sixty-first year of my age, to commence the work; humbly imploring the assistance of Him, who “knoweth the thoughts and intents of the heart,” to enable me, as far as it may be carried forward, to accomplish it to his own praise and glory, as a faithful testimony for the advancement of our holy Redeemer’s kingdom in the hearts of my fellow-creatures.

Although no man can possibly be excusable for having done wrong, because others may have been as bad as himself, or even worse, yet the magnitude of the present undertaking would, in my view, be diminished, if on reviewing writings of a similar kind, any thing like resemblance, or a parallel case could be discovered. But, alas! all that have gone before, appear to me to have travelled a much shorter time than myself, in the broad way that leadeth to destruction. Many have yield-

ed again and again to the temptations of the unwearied and insidious enemy of mankind, and have been long in the fetters of sin and death; yet I feel to have surpassed all others, that I have read any account of, in having drawn “iniquity as with cords of vanity, and sin as it were with a cart rope.” I can adopt as my own, I hope in a degree of true abasement of self, the acknowledgment of the apostle,—“this is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief.”

I was born in London, the 27th day of the eleventh month, 1771: my parents, William and Sarah Wheeler, were members of the established religion of the country, and strict adherents to all its rites and ceremonies; and although not particularly conspicuous as being more religious than others of the same class, yet they were highly esteemed and respected, by a large circle of acquaintance for uprightness and integrity,—of which there are at this day many living witnesses. They had a large family of children, whose minds they endeavoured to imbue at an early age with the fear of their great Creator—taking them regularly to attend the performance of public worship, and also reading the Holy Scriptures in the family at home; portions of which I well remember reading aloud when very young.

By a document now in my possession, it appears that until some time after my father’s marriage, he was not in any line of business: but afterwards, to meet the demand occasioned by a great increase of family, he commenced the wine trade in a select way. To enter into minute family details is not the present object, nor is it within my reach, being too young, when deprived of both parents, to be able to speak from knowledge of my own. I have but a very indistinct recollection of my father’s person, not being quite seven years old when he died, at the age of forty-three years. Some time before his death, our once large family of children was reduced to five only, of whom I was the youngest. We then lived in London, at the Bond street end of Lower Grosvenor street; but those parts of the premises which looked into Bond street, were occupied by another person, as tenant to my father.

My mother was endowed with a large ca-



capacity, combining great sweetness with firmness of mind: and although an entire stranger to every kind of business, she persevered in an extraordinary manner after the death of her beloved husband, in carrying on the trade for the support of the family; and so long as she lived, it continued increasingly to flourish, our eldest brother being her assistant in the business. When she was attacked by the illness that deprived her family of their endeared and only surviving parent, I was sent for home on the mournful occasion, being then at a boarding-school at Parson's Green, near Fulham. Of the loss of such a mother, I was very sensible, being about twelve years old at the time: and as I had a much greater personal knowledge of her worth and solicitous affection, than I could possibly have had of my dear father, the event of losing her made a deeper and more lasting impression. I had had much of her maternal society, and had largely partaken of her constant parental and tender care, of which perhaps, from being the youngest of the family, I had more than an ordinary share.

A clergyman related to my mother by marriage, who resided on a living in the West Riding of Yorkshire, had the whole management of our family affairs, being left sole executor. He came up to London at this eventful moment; and after having examined into the state of things, it was judged eligible that the business should still be carried on for the benefit of us all, by our eldest brother; whose character at that period, and known capability, seemed fully to warrant such a decision. Shortly after, I was sent again to school; and our little family band, although lamentably reduced, still remained awhile longer unbroken.

For a few months after this great bereavement, all things went on as well as could be expected with our solitary family; but the deep affliction into which it had been plunged, by degrees began to wear away, although for a time it seemed as if it could scarcely be borne, much less forgotten. Our brother, on whose conduct the welfare of the rest greatly depended, thus left without parental control, became less and less attentive to business; and gradually sliding into bad habits, and mixing with evil associates, gave way to every excess and indulgence in his power. From his extravagance and negligence, the affairs entrusted to him at home became so much embarrassed, that it was now determined by the executor in trust, that the business should be disposed of; and the necessary steps were taken accordingly. It was not long before a person came forward, who was competent to purchase the stock on hand, and enter into the trade on his own account.

Although by our brother's imprudence, the family were now banished from a comfortable home, and separated, never all to meet again in mutability; yet the business itself received no material check, nor was it for a single hour suspended; but was afterwards carried on to advantage for several years by our successor. When proper arrangements were made, our beloved but unhappy brother sailed for Jamaica, preferring in all probability a foreign clime, rather than endure the reflections which he so justly merited at home, for having thus brought ruin and disgrace upon a family, whose prospects had been less clouded than those of many others in similar circumstances. It cannot be doubted that much sorrow of heart would be his portion: but I had never an opportunity of obtaining much information respecting him, from the time he left England until several years after his death. He died at the age of thirty-eight years; and it appears that he had been comfortably settled for the last several years of his life, and been frequent in correspondence with those branches of our family that were more stationary than myself. My other brother had previously settled in the West Indies. At this time, my eldest sister went to reside with our relative in Yorkshire, to whom she looked up as a guardian, until married: my youngest sister was at a boarding school at Putney; and I remained with the family which succeeded to the business. Having been previously removed from school to assist my brother in the counting-house, I had acquired considerable knowledge of its management; it was therefore a convenience to them who were entire strangers to it, and for a time no other occupation offering for me to engage in, I was furnished with employment, and had still a comfortable home.

Our family compact was now forever dissolved;—we were scattered and widely separated from each other, without any near relative in the world. My father was an only son, and my mother an only daughter, so that we had neither uncles nor aunts; and I believe in the strict application of the term cousin, not one that could properly be called so: neither were any of our grand-parents living, or had ever been known to us, except our dear mother's mother, who ended her days at our house three years before her daughter's decease. Our family being thus severed from each other, we were cast upon the wide world, as to relatives, in a peculiarly destitute situation; but yet not altogether friendless,—for some who had long been bound to the family by ties of strong attachment, clearly evinced their sincerity, by never withdrawing from the orphan children, (now overtaken by adversity,)

that regard and kindness, which had been extended to their deceased parents in the days of their prosperity;—a test which the friendship of the world can but seldom bear.

Having brought my little narrative to this point, it seems necessary to determine in what manner it shall be carried forward, before we proceed any further. After due consideration, I am of the mind that it should be hereafter confined principally to events relating to myself; only in future bringing into view other branches of the family, when the hand of time shall, through the over-ruling providence of Almighty God, have again led some of us into connection with each other at periods far remote: one of which was made productive of the most striking and important change in the history of my life; and which I humbly hope will lead to the accomplishment of another, transcendently greater and everlasting, at my death. But, reader, if the power to choose were mine, to draw an impenetrable shade over the next several years would best suit my natural inclination; it would save me many pangs, and I should at once bring thee to the time when I could tell thee with delight, “what the Lord hath done for my soul.” But with these years omitted, the long-suffering and unutterable goodness of my gracious God and Saviour would be eclipsed, his tender mercies would be ungratefully robbed of their lustre, the riches of his grace obscured, and its glory hidden. I must therefore, like the regular and progressive gradations of nature, proceed from those days of childhood and youth, at which I had now arrived,—would that I could say, of innocence. But ah! at this distance of time, I can painfully trace the springings up of the evil root, which failed not at an early age to bring forth fruit of those things “whereof I am now ashamed;” having sorrowfully found from woful experience, that their “end is death.” Canst thou then wonder at the shrinking of human nature from the task of thus re-opening a dark picture of guilt? such as I pray it may never be thy lot to know, or to have to render an account of, as thine own. Though now in full abhorrence of the same, through the mercy of God in Christ Jesus, I have a hope that my sins, though many, will be forgiven, and for ever blotted out as “a thick cloud;” and that my tribulated soul will yet be cleansed by the precious “blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than that of Abel.” *This* only “cried from the ground” for vengeance against the offender; whilst the blood of Him who cried—“Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do,” cleanseth from all sin, and was shed for many, for the remission of sins,—yea, for all that repent, believe,

and obey the gospel in the secret of their hearts revealed, which is “the power of God unto salvation.” But although ready to shudder at the prospect before me, I feel strengthened to proceed, so far as I may rightly do, from a belief that the work in which I am now engaged, is prompted in mercy, and will not be in vain, peradventure to myself, if not to another. For if permitted to finish it, I shall have had another opportunity afforded, even at this late hour, for repentance,—a truly great and blessed privilege to every sinner. And how much more shall I owe unto my Lord, if in the course of a diligent search, it should please the “faithful witness,” in condescension to discover to the view of my mind sins, which, through the subtle working of the grand adversary, have been partly hidden and imperfectly repented of.

For some time after the separation of our family before hinted at, had taken place, my attention was fully occupied; until the party, who had taken to the business, became acquainted with its usual routine. The master of the house, holding a post in a public office under government, which required his regular attendance, was absent every day until after dinner; and as his family consisted only of very young children, I had no associates but among the servants; whose example did not fail to have in many things a baneful influence on my thoughtless mind,—though at the time imperceptible, and the consequences unregarded. Yet I was at times desirous that a situation in a well conducted family, with whom in the days of my parents we had been intimately acquainted, would offer for me; which in all respects would have been much more guarded, than that in which I was; but in this my hope was disappointed.

There was a merchant in the city, who had long shown much friendship for us; on whom without any particular reason I kept an eye, as one who was likely to befriend me. He frequently called on business: and one day on perceiving him coming, it occurred to me immediately, that his business was on my behalf. This proved to be the case: for in a short time I was sent for, and informed that he had obtained a situation for me, on board a ship then lying in the Thames, fitting out for Oporto, commanded by a respectable man, a lieutenant in the navy, then on half pay; she belonged to some merchants with whom he was connected in the import trade. This offer was at once accepted on my part, and I suppose that any other would at that time have been the same, without regard to choice; as I do not remember that one occupation had any preference with me rather than another. I am not aware that any attempt was made to



dissuade me from this undertaking, by those whose sentiments would have been regarded, or by any other person; so that the needful preparation was immediately made for this unexpected change of station.

I should not feel easy without noticing in this place, for the benefit of others, the manifold temptations to which young people are necessarily exposed, when brought up to trades similar to that in which I was then employed. From the nature of these trades, there is scarcely a probability of escape from insensibly falling into habits, much more readily acquired than shaken off, of tasting different kinds of wines and strong liquors, which too often lead the way to intemperance. The injurious effects of these practices, and of such exposure at an early age, having been felt and witnessed by myself, make me the more desirous to warn others against the business.

But a short time elapsed before I went on board the ship, which, in a few days, proceeded to Gravesend. The weather being rough, we were detained a day or two at the Nore; and after reaching the Downs, we were again hindered by boisterous and contrary winds for more than a fortnight. From these and other detentions at sea, the ship was too late to procure a cargo in Portugal, which resulted in our wintering in the Douro; so that before we reached London again, the voyage had occupied fully six months. We were but a short time in the river, before we sailed again on the second voyage; which was completed in less than half the time of the former. During our stay in England, my time was taken up in learning navigation; so that I had scarcely any opportunity of seeing either my sister, or any of our old friends. Whilst I belonged to this vessel, we had a providential escape from fire; the danger was greatly increased by the river being frozen at the time: but with prompt assistance from other ships then in the Thames, the ice was broken and sufficient water procured to extinguish the flames, before much damage was done. By the time our second voyage was completed, I had become tolerably accustomed to the situation; and although we had experienced some rough weather, I was reconciled to it as much as could be expected.

Soon after returning to London a second time, I found that some of my friends had succeeded in procuring for me the station of midshipman on board a ship of war, then commissioned at Plymouth, and preparing for the cruising service. This affair was brought about by an intimate friend of my late dear mother, whose brother was appointed to the command of this vessel; and it was considered by those who felt interested in my wel-

fare, as an important foundation stone, upon which my nautical career would at a future day be established. The change, however specious in appearance at the time, was to me but as an introduction to a school, which is not often equalled, and but seldom surpassed, for vice and immorality. After the necessary equipments were provided, I took leave of my youngest sister, who was still at Putney at school, and of some of those with whom we were the most intimately acquainted, and I joined the ship at Plymouth. The situation I had now obtained, was for some time much less comfortable than the one in which I had been engaged. Before, I had been placed amongst only a few strangers, but now the crew altogether consisted of many; and being an entire stranger to naval etiquette, my situation was dull and mortifying; particularly as from my not having completed my fourteenth year, all those of the officers with whom I could use freedom, were several years older than myself. It was not long before we left the harbour, and sailed for the Isle of Man station. This was a stormy and dangerous passage, in which, through divine mercy, we were favoured to witness a marvellous preservation from shipwreck,—the dawn of day discovering to us just in time the small island of Grasholm; towards which the vessel was drifting in a direct course, and already within a short distance of the breakers. We were lying to at the time under two or three storm sails; but there happily being room to wear clear of the rocky crags, the danger was soon left behind. After remaining in these parts about fourteen months, visiting alternately the coasts of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, and putting into a variety of harbours for provisions and water, as occasion required, we reached Liverpool in a leaky condition. Here we expected to be repaired; but instead of being permitted to go into the dock for that purpose, instructions were received from the Admiralty to procure an extra pump and proceed immediately to Plymouth; this, although attended with much risk, was at last accomplished in safety.

Whilst in this harbour, interest was made on my behalf with an admiral of considerable estate and influence in the neighbourhood, with whom in former days some of our family had been personally acquainted. Through this medium, I was in a short time received on board a ship of the line, then bearing the flag of a rear-admiral. This advance, under such patronage, was considered to hold out a promising aspect; but whilst it seemed to pave the way to promotion, it opened at once a door to an extensive range of acquaintance with officers on board, whose circum-

stances in life enabled them to deviate with less difficulty than myself from the path of virtue; whose example I endeavoured to follow, until nothing but the want of means prevented my going still greater lengths than the worst of them. Whilst in this ship, when about sixteen years of age, having been unwell, and probably led to reflect a little on that account, I was made sensible of a divine visitation being extended to me: disclosing with undubitable clearness the vanity and emptiness of every earthly station, tarnishing the pride and glory of this perishing world in my sight; and which, though little understood and less regarded at the moment, has since, at different periods of my chequered life, been brought to my remembrance, by Him "who declareth unto man his thoughts,—who maketh the morning darkness, and treadeth upon the high places of the earth,—the Lord, the Lord of hosts is his name." When this occurred, although then entered into the bond of iniquity, I had not launched so fully into its dreadful abyss, as was afterwards most lamentably the case; and from what I have since witnessed in unutterable mercy, of the strength and power of redeeming love, a belief is induced, that if this warning voice, then sounding in the secret of my sinful heart,—“Behold I stand at the door, and knock,” had been hearkened unto, and waited upon, my footsteps, even mine, would have been conducted from the horrible pit to which they were fast verging.

I continued nearly six years in the navy: but were all the changes from ship to ship enumerated which took place during that time, and the great variety of incidents which befel me, they would swell this narrative far beyond the limits intended; whilst however I am desirous of avoiding the error of gratifying self, or merely amusing others, I beg to be preserved from a greater,—in omitting any thing tending in the slightest degree to make known the aboundings of that wondrous goodness and mercy, which followed me all along through an unparalleled course of presumptuous and unrestrained liberty. It may therefore suffice for me to say, that notwithstanding the many and great dangers I was exposed to, and the hardships and suffering I had to endure, through all which I was preserved and sustained in a manner at this day inconceivable to myself; yet none of these things were sufficient to soften the rocky heart, or bring me to a sense of my lost condition: for whether on board or on shore, in harbour or at sea, or in whatever country, if I could meet with associates prone like myself to evil, I was always ready to hasten with them to it, either in word or in deed.

An expected war with a foreign power had occasioned an unusually large fleet to collect at Spithead; but after a time, the differences being adjusted, the ships were dispersed to their respective posts, and that to which I belonged was paid off. She was commissioned again the next day as a guard-ship, and I have no doubt that I might have resumed my station as one of her mates, had I made application: for with all my private failings as a poor sinful creature, my public character had not suffered in any of the ships in which I had served, but rather the contrary; for my pride and presumption had often prompted me in moments of extreme danger, in a daring manner to take the most hazardous post, even when duty did not require it, or warrant the risk. But instead of applying to be re-instated in my former birth, I remained on shore in pursuit of sinful gratifications with increased avidity; and going up to London, so much time elapsed before my return, that I never afterwards attempted to procure a situation in the ship I had left, or in any other. In this way I left the service altogether; and would I could say, that I left the service of sin at the same time: but I had not then filled up to the brim the measure of iniquity. For some time I remained without any employment; at length I concluded to go to Canterbury, without any other motive than what arose from examining the names of places to which stage coaches ran from the inn at which I was then stopping; and as I knew nothing of that place, it is very probable that I thought no person there knew any thing of me.

I now found the disadvantage of not having been regularly brought up to a trade; and although desirous of getting into some employ, no matter what,—yet for want of this knowledge, I was alike unfit for all; and I could not bear the thought of making my forlorn situation known to those who had been the friends of my childhood, amongst whom there is no doubt but helpers would have been found. As my means became every day more scanty, I was at length reduced to complete poverty; and after many fruitless attempts to procure a livelihood, there seemed left to me no other alternative, than that of entering as a volunteer into the army: this plan was accordingly adopted without delay.

I must now digress awhile from the narrative, to mention a circumstance, which the facts just related have afresh awakened and impressed on my memory. Towards the latter part of the time of my being in the navy, it was suggested to my lost and bewildered mind, by the subtle destroyer of men, that nothing short of making away with myself, could extricate me from the difficulties by



which I was surrounded, and shelter me from shame and disgrace; and the method of its accomplishment was at seasons hinted at. But,—blessed be the name of the Lord God of heaven and earth for ever! his invisible arm of merciful interposition preserved me from this dreadful snare; and in the greatness of his love and strength he hath at this distant period, put it into the heart of his unworthy creature to record his mighty acts, to his praise and to his glory, with humble and reverend thankfulness. Greatly do I desire, that if this relation should ever fall into the hands of any poor sinners and servants of the cruel taskmaster, as was then my lot,—that such may be hereby strengthened and encouraged to look unto the Lord their God for help, even though they may be plunged into the very gulf of despair: for “his compassions fail not,”—they are new every morning; his tender mercies are over all his works; and he will give power to the faint, and strength to them that have no might of their own, to resist this and every other temptation of that wicked one, who was a liar from the beginning.

## CHAPTER II.

*The author goes to Plymouth, thence with his regiment to Ireland—Kilkenny—Dublin—harassing service—personal danger—recruits—Liverpool—Bristol—Southampton—embarks thence with troops for the campaign in Holland.*

It was a little remarkable, that, after all the pains I had taken to screen my fallen situation from the knowledge of those who had been acquainted with me, the regiment in which I had engaged, proved to be at that very time on duty at Plymouth, a place where, above all others, I had the greatest number of acquaintances; but I was so completely metamorphosed in appearance, that I was never in one instance found out by any whom I had formerly known, even when brought into close contact with them. This change of condition, however, wrought in me no change of life. My conduct for a time was almost entitled to the appellation of reformed, but this period was short indeed; for having speedily acquired a knowledge of all that was required of me in the way of duty, I began to rise above the impressions made by difficulties gone by, and again to look forward to a further participation in the delusive and miserable pleasures of this transitory and wicked world.

In less than a year we were ordered to Ireland; and three transports having arrived for us in Catwater, a short time completed the

embarkation: we sailed for the Cove of Cork, reaching it in safety after a fine passage. While at sea, it was soon discovered, that I was no stranger to the management of a vessel; and though I concealed my having served several years in a superior station, yet I felt so much at home, that I voluntarily performed the duty of a sailor during my stay on board, not a little proud of my qualifications. It is most probable that pride and self-conceit were the only motives that prompted these endeavours to be useful; few, indeed, of our actions, however specious in appearance, are wholly divested of self in some shape or other, when examined in the pure mirror of truth; such is the depravity of the human heart in its natural state.

Having frequently been sheltered before by the coves, bays, and harbours of Ireland, and frequently been on shore in different places, I was tolerably well acquainted with the character and customs of the people; whose hospitality to strangers has long been acknowledged by all who have visited their shores: and although now unable to move in the same sphere as formerly, yet I still found opportunities to indulge the evil propensities of fallen nature. But as the miserable inhabitants in some of the provinces were rapidly ripening for rebellion, our time was much occupied by hard and laborious service.

After landing at the Passage of Cork, we proceeded to that city, but shortly marched forward to Kilkenny. This place was a station that afforded more quiet and comparative ease, than any which afterwards fell to my lot, whilst engaged in the regular service; but our stay here was of short duration, before entering upon the arduous duty of Dublin garrison. The agitated state of public affairs at that period, greatly augmented our fatigue; and it frequently happened that we were on duty every other night, and this in the winter season.

Discontent increasing and disturbances breaking out in the interior of the country, small detachments of troops were despatched from Dublin, to strengthen the authority of magistrates in their endeavours to maintain public tranquillity, and to afford protection to the peaceable inhabitants from the nightly depredations of numerous gangs of misled and intoxicated desperadoes, to which they and their property were constantly exposed under a variety of diabolical pretences. It was my lot to be chosen with the first of the detached parties, to a share of this dangerous and harassing service; on which, such was at one time the emergency, that we were kept on the alert night after night, without any intermission for a week together, with only such in-

tervals of rest, as could be procured in the day time. Whilst on this expedition, on a particular enterprise with a constable, I was to all appearance reduced to the necessity of taking the life of another to save my own. The constable perceiving the danger, had left me alone; when I was suddenly attacked by a poor infuriated creature, in a state little short of perfect madness from continued intoxication, supported by several others, but in a less outrageous condition. I kept him at bay for some time; but at last he got so near, that it became every moment more difficult to avoid being reached by the violent strokes he made with some kind of weapon, I think of iron, which were repeatedly received by the firelock in my hands, then loaded with ball. In this situation, there seemed left to me no other than the dreadful alternative of shooting him to save myself. I called in vain in the language of appeal to the other people to interfere: they stood by, as if to see how matters were likely to terminate, before they began to act or take a part of any consequence either way; which they nearly carried too far: but when they saw me actually preparing to shoot the man, they hastily cried out,—‘spare life! spare life!’ which I only wanted their help to enable me to accomplish. They then seized him, and in the midst of the struggle and confusion which took place amongst themselves, my escape was happily effected. I cannot suppose at that time, when I wanted only the help of other men to enable me to spare life, that the principal motive was other than self-preservation,—accompanied by fear of the immediate consequences that would inevitably have followed, and must have resulted in my own destruction. Therefore it is greatly to be feared, (although that heart must be callous indeed, which in all such cases does not recoil from the horrid act,) that it was not love to my fellow-creature, which prompted the desire in me to spare his life. Let none mistake it as such. I have frequently thought of this circumstance since it occurred, I hope with humble thankfulness to the great Preserver of men; and on now committing it to record, as one of those many events, in which there was but one step between me and the grave, and whilst shuddering at the strong recollection of it, my soul magnifies that unmerited and amazing mercy, afresh displayed and multiplied to my understanding in a two-fold view:—on the one hand, in withholding me from the crime of taking away the life of a fellow-creature, like myself, “in the gall of bitterness;” and if I had escaped myself, thus sparing me, at this late hour, amidst the decay of nature, when the shadows of the evening are stretching out and my feet drawing near the margin of the

grave,—the appalling thought of a brother’s blood, yet unwiped away; on the other hand, in rescuing from immediate death two miserable sinners, wholly unprepared to die; for had I taken away the man’s life, my own would doubtless have been forthwith sacrificed to the revenge of his enraged companions. Thus as my history rolls on, the enormous load of debt which I already owe unto my Lord still accumulates; and verily it can never be liquidated, but in that infinite and wondrous mercy, which delighteth to forgive every repenting sinner, who in the depths of humility and abasedness of self, has indeed “nothing to pay” withal.

On the arrival of some fresh detachments from the garrison, I learned that a vacancy had occurred during our absence on this service, and that the blank was filled up by the promotion of myself. Although this circumstance was of trifling import, yet it served to flatter and feed pride, and eventually to open the way again for a renewal of those evil habits, from which for a time I had been sheltered. As each body of troops was relieved from this extra fatigue at a given time, our turn came in regular course at the expiration of a few weeks, when we again returned to Dublin. Not long after this, inquiry was made for a person qualified to assist in the writing department of the commander-in-chief, under his own personal inspection: I never knew exactly how it was brought about, but in the course of a few days, it was decided in my favour; and I immediately entered upon this new and altogether unexpected employment. Being now on most days at liberty at an early hour, and freed from restraint and control, and from that incessant round of duties, which had before fully occupied my time and attention, and compelled in a degree to orderly conduct; together with having it more in my power by possessing greater means,—I soon began to take my swing in every inordinate gratification to which I was naturally prone, and in which an extensive metropolis furnished ample opportunity to indulge; thus adding sin to sin, and making farther woful work for repentance. And although at times, in the midst of these evil practices I was made sensible of convicting reproofs, sufficient to have awakened any one but myself; yet they only seemed to deter me for a short interval from persisting in them, or until another opportunity offered;—such was their dominion over me. This course was however at last stopped, by my attendance being no longer necessary at the writing department, together with the sudden march of the regiment to Granard; but not before my health had begun to suffer from my folly.



Our stay was not long at this place; for the French revolution, which had occurred about two years before, now began to occasion more frequent movements and changes amongst the military. I was engaged in some hazardous enterprizes whilst lying here; and although the town was small, and our time in it short, yet there were sufficient temptations to be found for my unwary feet to fall into. From this place, a part of the regiment, consisting of two hundred picked men and a suitable number of officers, was drafted to serve in an expedition then preparing to act in the West Indies. The same quota was selected from every regiment in Ireland, then seventeen in number,—and possibly from every regiment in England also. From all the information that I could ever obtain, the greatest part, if not the whole of these poor devoted fellows, then declared to be the flower of the British army, fell victims to the climate and the war. I mention this lamentable fact, although foreign to my subject, to perpetuate all in my power, the ravages of this horrid and desolating scourge of the human race. At the same time, under a deep sense of my then sinful and still sinning condition, my mind is struck with admiration, that I was not included in the above-mentioned draft, to which I was no less liable than others; were it only as a punishment which I so justly merited, for my unprecedented rebellion against a long-suffering and all-gracious Lord God.

Our next remove was to Galway; where after some weeks I was again promoted, from what cause I do not now remember; but, as had been the case in the navy, so now, however profligate my conduct in the general, I still kept up a fair name, by being ready for all the duties that devolved upon me.

By this time several new regiments were raising by field-officers, in expectation of promotion when the number of each was completed, according to the then existing proposals of the government, at whose expense, and under whose particular patronage these measures were undertaken, for the purpose of more vigorously prosecuting the continental war. In order to expedite the formation of these new corps, application was made to the commanding officers of old established regiments for persons competent to assist in their equipment and discipline, where such could be recommended. For one of these regiments intended to be formed in Dublin of recruits raised from the different provinces, two others with myself were selected, and accordingly despatched immediately to commence the necessary operations in that city. After leaving Granard, and to the time of my again reaching Dublin, perhaps my course of life, from one or other

cause, might not be quite so dissipated as for some time previous. But this could only be attributed to an accumulation of duty, and not from any change wrought in myself; for alas! the old evil root still remained in unabated strength, though dormant; which in a while did not fail to shoot forth, and produce those works of unmortified flesh, which had so long and so often been manifested in my conduct and conversation, and were now not likely to be less frequent, from my being again promoted shortly after joining this new regiment. Some progress was made in organizing the new troops, as the different small detachments arrived in the course of the winter from the interior of the country; and by the time the spring fairly opened, the whole number stipulated, was raised and accepted. Such was the urgency of affairs just then, that, whilst in a raw and incomplete state of discipline, almost beyond conception, from the wildness of character of the class of people, of which the principal part of the regiment was composed, immediate embarkation was ordered, and transports were actually in waiting to receive it. In two days the whole were on board of three ships, which sailed with the first tide for Bristol. When the time for sending off these newly raised troops was fully come, the utmost despatch was necessary; for it was very evident, that had time been allowed for the information to spread to any material extent, the embarkation could scarcely have been effected without bloodshed. As it was, though the preparations commenced soon after three o'clock in the morning, the concourse of people assembled together was immense, to behold their unfortunate countrymen in every relation of fathers, husbands, brothers and sons, forced away from their native shores,—I may say forced away, for it was necessary to assemble a strong military force from the garrison to ensure the embarkation, which after all was not effected without some difficulty. From my own personal knowledge of the fate of many of these poor fellows, and of the destination of those remaining after I left them, I think it is possible but scarcely probable, that any of them ever returned to their families, friends, or country any more; as will subsequently appear, if this narrative be proceeded with.

We were favoured with a fine passage to the Severn, and landed about six miles below Bristol; in which city we remained one night, and then marched forward to an encampment, where several other regiments were previously assembled, at Netley Abbey, not many miles from Southampton. From the undisciplined condition, with but small exception, of the officers and men who composed our regiment,

it was only reasonable to suppose it had now reached its destination for the present; but after a few weeks training, it was numbered with the line. We received a set of new colours, and embarked on Southampton river, with the other regiments which formed the camp at Netley Abbey, to join the British army then on the Continent, under the command of the Duke of York. We dropped down to Spithead the next morning, and the same afternoon, Earl Moira, the commander-in-chief, having joined the expedition, we sailed, thirty-seven ships in company, under proper convoy to the coast of Flanders.

The weather being thick, with light airs of wind, our passage, though fine, was rather tedious, before reaching an anchorage off the port of Ostend. From circumstances of an unfavourable cast, unknown to us at the time, it was judged most prudent for the expedition to be free from every incumbrance likely to retard or impede its movements through the Netherlands; the success and safety of the enterprise wholly depended upon its ability to evade and elude, by the rapidity of its movements, in forced marches by night, the greatly disproportionate strength of the enemy. The number of troops then under Earl Moira, was little more than 7000; whilst the French force, through which we had to pass, was estimated at 80,000, and they were at the time so posted, as seemed to prohibit our junction with the Duke's army. It was therefore concluded, that every article of baggage and stores belonging either to officers or soldiers, beyond what they could themselves carry, should be left on board the ships. At an early hour of the morning after our arrival in the roads off the town of Ostend, every officer and soldier was furnished with a blanket, and an allowance of three days' provisions and water from the stores of the transports; it being very uncertain whether any supplies could be obtained for some days to come. Thus provided, the troops were disembarked under cover of two large floating batteries, prepared for the occasion, to prevent any attempt to frustrate their descent. As the boats employed had many times to pass to and fro, between the ships and the shore, before the whole were conveyed, it was near night when the landing was fully accomplished. To expedite the landing, a large float was made use of, to assist in crossing a narrow space of water connected with the harbour; so that the troops were enabled to land at more than one point at a time, and then unite. It was well for those who had nothing to do with this ill-adapted float; for in the hurry, it became overladen with soldiers, and was quickly overturned, causing the loss of many men, who, from their being encum-

bered with arms, baggage and provisions, were incapable of making much effort to save themselves: this weight being strongly attached to their bodies, they sank before they could extricate themselves from it. I landed on the main shore of the harbour, and thus providentially escaped with only seeing the float then loading, just before the accident happened.

I do not know how it fared with others, but it is scarcely probable, all circumstances considered, that there could be any material superiority in the accommodation of one more than another. On the morning that we landed, I might doubtless have been supplied with a blanket, in common with others; but as I occupied a station, in which little rest could be expected, even when others slept, and supposing that I should be able to borrow from some of the others, when they could not be used by themselves, this opportunity was lost; but I afterwards regretted the non-acceptance of it. From the day we left the transports, several weeks elapsed before I got to sleep under the cover of a tent; as these, with the rest of the luggage and stores, were left on board the ships to be conveyed to Helvoetsluys, as a place more secure from the French than Ostend. We remained upon the sand hills near Ostend three days and nights after landing, and then commenced a march which could scarcely be equalled for fatigue and hardship; as we were wholly unprovided with provisions, and every common necessary, with which the generality of troops are usually furnished at the opening of a campaign.

It would be no very difficult task for me at this day, to enter into minute detail of particular circumstances, were it consistent with the declared object before me, in setting about to pen this memoir; for although so many years have rolled away since these miserable scenes were actually shared in and witnessed,—yet such are the strong impressions stamped on my memory by the sufferings endured, and the manifold deliverances which followed, that while endeavouring to insert such incidents only as are needful to preserve the chain of history, in sufficient links of connection to enable me to proceed with correctness,—transactions that have long been forgotten, though they once formed a prominent feature in the toils of the day, are recalled from oblivion in a remarkable manner. I must however forbear to intrude them here, and proceed again with saying, that on leaving the neighbourhood of Ostend, we passed through Bruges, and penetrated into the country by way of Ghent. The first halting place of the army, in the evening of the same day that it left the coast, was called the 'Pigeon's Nest;' but it did not prove a very quiet one,—for by two o'clock



in the morning, the advance of the enemy was announced by the firing of the picquets, by which we were surrounded. Whether this attack was intended to alarm only, or to endeavour to take us by surprise, I never understood; if the latter, it certainly failed, for the troops were literally sleeping on their arms, covered with their blankets, so that in a few minutes, a line was formed, with the commander-in-chief present. It was however considered prudent to remain there no longer, and in half an hour this post was abandoned, and the march continued until noon the next day, when a stoppage occurred, from the French having occupied a bridge over which we had to pass. Notwithstanding the men were almost ready to faint for want of food, having scarcely tasted any thing for twenty-four hours; yet on its being proclaimed through the line that volunteers were wanted to force the passage over the bridge, a sufficient number immediately offered, apparently glad of such an opportunity. After three hours' detention, the obstruction was removed, I am inclined to think by its being found that the force advancing against it, was much too strong for that by which the bridge was occupied. The army then moved forward until midnight, although its course was much impeded by a tremendous storm of thunder, lightning, and heavy rain, which commenced at nine, P. M., and continued several hours. I do not see how I could have sufficiently exalted the name of my God, and his gracious dealings with a poor benighted and rebellious creature, without mentioning the two facts just related; inasmuch as they magnify in my view, his long-suffering and protection, to one who was utterly insensible of his loving-kindness, and who then knew Him not; and I trust I shall not be permitted to overlook or pass by any thing that will show forth his praise, and tend to his glory; or be prevented from acknowledging his power and his might; who hath, according to his mercy, so many times delivered me out of every distress. For, notwithstanding the constant exposure to every shower of rain that fell, without covering over my head, and with no couch but the earth, and that at times soaked with wet; whilst harassed with fatiguing marches night after night, and with little rest by day; amidst hunger and thirst, being often short of food for days together, and occasionally no water to be had, without digging a well to procure it, to avoid the unwholesome waters of the stagnant pools; and although for several weeks together my clothes were never taken off, but to renew a shirt, and my shoes but seldom off my weary feet; yet through all, my health was not materially affected, till near the approach of winter. But

in the above description, not one half has been told of that marvellous mercy which was still extended for my preservation, when many fell by the sword, or were taken captives by the enemy,—when thousands were swept off by pestilence,—and whilst unhurt myself, I saw the wounds of others bleed. Once whilst gone to Helvoetsluys in search of some baggage, I entirely missed a contest, in which our regiment was deprived of twenty-eight men; and, when at last overwhelmed with sickness and distress, the same divine and compassionate arm of everlasting love and strength, was still underneath to bear up my helpless head, and in his own time to rescue me from the very jaws of death, to celebrate his praise, and to declare in humble thankfulness and gratitude of soul, “his wonderful works to the children of men.”

### CHAPTER III.

*Nimeguen—many dangers—attacked by fever—hospital treatment, heavy mortality among the sick—disasters of the British army—retreat to Bremen—returns to England.*

As the winter approached, the health of the troops began to fail to an alarming and awful extent, from exposure to cold rains which fell almost daily; and yet we were compelled to keep the field, being constantly on the retreat before the greatly superior force of the enemy. As we drew near the walls of Nimeguen, the British forces made a stand, probably to afford time for preparing a floating bridge across the Waal, to secure our retreat behind that river. At the same time, the French used every effort in their power to intercept our retreat, by endeavouring to get between us and Nimeguen, which, from the strength of its fortifications was capable of affording a cover for several days, or until our army had passed in safety over the bridge.

The last two or three days the contest between the two armies became more severe, by the continual arrival of fresh divisions of the French at this point: on the last day the cannon scarcely ceased to roar from sun-rise to sun-set. The regiment to which I belonged, was ordered on the reserve with three others; two of which were British, and the third Hanoverian. As the cannonade increased, the first regiment of reserve was called upon, in two hours after, the second was summoned, and by eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the third. The direction from which the sound of the conflict issued, left no doubt that it was rapidly approaching the ground on which we stood; and although, as the last reserve, we

had not been ordered to march, yet our tents were struck, and every thing prepared to move on the first alarm.\* I had been going about in the wet for several days previous, without the practicability of obtaining dry clothes; and this day being colder and more rainy than usual, with the increased exertion necessary on account of the threatening aspect of things close upon us, might hasten an illness, the foundation of which had already been deeply laid, and which began with shivering fits, just in the interval of waiting for the expected courier to call us to the field of slaughter. About three o'clock in the afternoon, a light dragoon arrived with a dispatch, but instead of its hastening us to the scene of action, it proved to be an order for us to join the rear of another regiment then retreating towards Nimeguen. Our army, after sustaining for many hours, with great loss, the unequal combat, was at length compelled to retire. Thus were we preserved when on the very brink of danger, in a manner as unlooked for as unmerited, from sharing in the disasters of a day, in which much human life was wasted, and which entailed great suffering and distress on many who survived it. After we had moved forward two or three miles, the coldness and shivering I had previously felt were succeeded by violent heat and fever, and my throat seemed almost closed up. For several days I had found swallowing very painful and difficult, from its extreme soreness,—but had taken little notice of it. In this condition I was still able to keep up with the body of the regiment; but after entering the gates of Nimeguen, from the frequent stoppages which took place in the miry streets of the city, owing to accidents constantly occurring with the floating bridge, occasioned by the fire of the French upon it,—I became more and more affected with something of the cramp kind, which nearly prevented my standing upright. As the night drew on, it became colder, and my pain increased, but I kept going on as well as I could; at length we came in sight of the bridge, when we were again stopped for some time. I was near the colours of the regiment, and an officer who carried one of them, made some remarks to me about the bridge; but feeling myself much worse, I told him I should never go over that bridge. He endeavoured to cheer me up, saying, that I should go over that and many more; but however, my assertion proved correct, for before the line again moved forward, I had left

it, and was leaning against the wall of a house, no longer able to proceed from increased illness.

In this position I remained for some time; and after having painfully beheld the last of the rear of the regiment pass on and leave me behind, there seemed to be no hope left, as the only men in the world from whom I could expect a helping hand were all out of sight. But, although apparently forsaken by all, and left to perish unseen and unknown, yet that ever-compassionate Arm, which had so often been with me in extremity, was again stretched out, and did not long allow me to remain in this deplorable condition; but in adorable mercy, my gracious Lord was pleased to put into the hearts of some of the regiment who knew the real cause of my absence, to send two of the men back to endeavour to find me out, and render every assistance in their power. As I had not gone from the place where I stopped, they had no difficulty in finding me, although it was by that time nearly dark; but as I could not possibly go forward to the regiment, they at last concluded to leave me in the hands of a picquet of cavalry, which was left to cover the retreat of the army through the city. Having helped me to the place, and left me in charge of the picquet, they made off with all haste to overtake their companions. Here the wife of a soldier gave me some ground pepper mixed with heated spirits; and although, from the state of my throat, I could scarcely swallow the fiery mixture, yet it proved useful, considerably relieving the pain in my stomach, and renewing the general warmth. As it was expected that the enemy would attack the batteries in the night, which however was not the case, although they kept up a heavy firing, I was helped into a loft to be out of the way; here I remained until the morning, and was then assisted on board of a galliot, provided for the reception of those, who, like myself, were disabled by sickness or other causes. The hold of this vessel was filled with as many people as could lie close to each other: they were in the various stages of a violent epidemic disorder, and from the heat occasioned by so many being crowded together, the air was very oppressive, and difficult to breathe. Two other galliots of a similar description, proceeded in company with us up the river, in hopes of getting round a neck of land, at which the Waal and the Rhine unite. But although considerable exertions were made by the sailors, aided by such of the sick as were at all able to stand, of whom I made one, they had not succeeded in warping round the point, when a party of French hussars made their appearance on the shore. It was fully expected they would en-

\* Our expedition landed without any tents, but a supply was furnished about six weeks afterwards, I think whilst we were encamped on the plains of Breda.



deavour to prevent our escape, by opening a fire with cannon; but before they had time to bring any near enough to bear on us, we had got fairly into the current of the Rhine, and were soon beyond their reach. Being much exhausted I went below, but soon became very ill from the closeness of the place. Whilst under this and other distressing circumstances, both of body and mind, one of our companions who lay next but one to me, was removed by death from all his troubles; and although none of us could expect at the time, but that a similar fate would in all probability soon overtake us,—yet, in my own case at least, notwithstanding I was worn down with fatigue and sickness, and without a glimpse of any thing to make life any longer desirable, except the fear of death,—still nature could not but feel appalled, when the dead body of a fellow-sufferer was dragged past, to be taken on to the deck of the vessel. As the evening came on, I became much worse; and although the night was cold and frosty, I thought it better to get on deck, where I could breathe more freely, rather than remain any longer below: accordingly, three or four of the people helped me up, for I was now so faint for want of support, that I had scarcely any strength left. I remained on deck all night and got a little sleep; in the morning, the cold compelled me again to go below, but I felt a little refreshed, and better able to bear the closeness of the place, keeping near the hatchway, where there was a greater circulation of air. In two days more we arrived at Rhenin, a town close to the bank of the Rhine, where an old monastery was fitted up as an hospital for the British sick.

Sometime after reaching this place, a person came on board the galliot to see if there were any amongst the newly arrived sick, with whom he was acquainted. He came down below, and after looking round was about going away, when I made what effort I could for some one to stop him. He had looked at me amongst the rest, but I was so much reduced and altered in appearance that he had not recognised me, but passed by, although he had once known me very well. When brought back, he soon recollected me, and feelingly expressed great regret at finding his old acquaintance in such a weak condition. He had been a patient in this hospital himself, and when restored to health again, being found an active and useful person, he was retained as a ward-master for the benefit of others. Having had the fever, he was tolerably well acquainted with the best mode of treating it; and soon after finding me, he administered a small quantity of strong cordial,

which had the desired effect for a short time, by enabling me to get on shore. With his assistance I was conveyed to the hospital, where he soon procured one of the surgeons to examine me, and being very desirous to render every assistance in his power, he suggested to him the propriety of giving some particular medicine, which had often proved useful in bad cases; to which the surgeon replied, not aware that I heard all that was passing between them, ‘he will not want any thing long.’ By this it was evident that mine was considered a hopeless case; which could not be wondered at, the disorder having been so fatal, that those who had recovered were said not to average more than one in fifty; and as my attack had been so long neglected, the conclusion was reasonable, although it did not prove correct. In a few days I was so much recruited as to be able to walk about the town: but it was a distinguishing characteristic of this complaint, that having once had it, was no security whatever against a second attack,—and that those who got well through it the first, or perhaps the second time, were frequently its victims on the third encounter. I found by experience that this report was not without foundation, for instead of being fully restored to health again, as for the first few days seemed probable, the disorder returned a second time, and with much more violent symptoms. As a state of high delirium soon came on, I was but a short time sensible of what transpired, after the application of a large blister; except the workings of a terrified imagination, some of the impressions of which, even at this distance of time, are not wholly obliterated from my memory,—so deeply and strongly were they engraven. From the treatment which followed when no longer delirious, the disorder must have been of the nature of typhus,—as at one time a liberal allowance per day, of equal parts of brandy and port wine was given me, as hot as could well be taken. How long this continued I am not aware, but I was confined to my bed for such a length of time, as to be wholly unable to move in any direction from extreme weakness; and so generally was this the case in this disorder, that a man was appointed in every ward to go round occasionally, to turn from one side to the other, such of the patients as were incapable of turning themselves.

I was at length brought so near the brink of the grave, that, to all appearance, no alteration for the better could be expected. I am not aware that I had even a wish to live; but my mind was so reconciled to the prospect of death, which then seemed near and inevitable, that I had given my watch into the hands of

the person who had visited the galliot, with a request, that he would inform my family where I had ended my days. Indeed, when some expectation of recovery was at last held out, I could not help looking forward with a feeling of regret, to the probability of having again to encounter the series of hardships and distress, to which I should unavoidably be subjected. As I regained a little strength, I began to take notice of the state of things around me; and having daily heard a noise like that of a carpenter's shop, I now ascertained the cause to be the nailing up of the coffins, each day, of those who had died in the last twenty-four hours; and I found that the dead-house, or place where the dead were deposited previously to interment, when taken out of the wards, being opposite the windows of the room I was in, afforded full opportunity for my beholding the striking and affecting scene, which could not fail to excite feelings of horror and dismay, in one so much enervated by the very disease, which I now witnessed to be so fatal to others. The average number of deaths was twenty-seven in a day and night; but sometimes the number so increased, that the Dutch could not furnish coffins sufficient for the demand of the day; and then the method of sewing up the bodies in the bedding they had occupied, was resorted to. Several wagon loads of bodies were carried off every afternoon for interment.\*

When able to walk about the room with the assistance of my stick, it happened that the regiment to which I belonged, was quartered in a village about two miles from the bank of the Rhine, opposite to that on which the hospital stood. Some of the officers came over to ascertain for themselves, whether any of the missing from their regiment were amongst the sick; at length they came into the ward where I was, and the second in command, with whom I was well acquainted, being with them, I requested his help to get me liberated from the hospital,—telling him, that I had no chance of becoming thoroughly well whilst in it, and of the danger to which I was constantly exposed of having another relapse. He immediately applied to some of the medical staff on duty, and conducted them to me through the wards; but it ended in his informing me, that the doctors could not suffer my going out until further recovered, as I was quite unfit for exposure. Not knowing how long I might be detained, I was now deter-

ined to make my escape on the first opportunity; and the next day being remarkably fine, I walked out two or three times into the air, though with much difficulty. The following morning I met with a person belonging to the regiment, who was going to join it again the same afternoon; and as we were well acquainted, I did not hesitate to disclose my intention of quitting the hospital in a clandestine manner, and resolved to accompany him, if possible.

I returned again to the hospital as at other times; and in the afternoon, as if going to take another walk, I proceeded to the river side; and the ferry boat being just ready for setting off, I got into it undiscovered, and passed the Rhine, arriving at the village of Kesterne soon after dark the same evening, without taking cold, although the river was thickly frozen over, and a passage cut through the ice, to allow the ferry boat to cross backwards and forwards. From this time I rapidly gathered strength, and at the end of a week was so much recruited, as to venture back to the hospital to see how those fared, whom I had left behind; at the same time, it is very probable, to show how I had fared myself; without any fear of being detained, as I was evidently much stronger than when under their roof. To lessen the fatigue, I procured a horse for the excursion, and proceeded accordingly towards the river side. The risk I then ran, however unwarrantable, afforded me another opportunity of seeing the effect of a renewed attack of this dreadful disorder, upon a Scotch sergeant of the Highland watch, who had had the fever twice, and both times recovered from it. He was a very stout man, and when I left the hospital appeared in perfect health and strength. In the interval of my absence, he had been seized with it a third time, and when I saw him, had nearly finished his course; he was speechless, and survived but a short time afterwards: I think this last time, he was ill only three days. Although I escaped any further infection, yet I was punished for my temerity before getting back again to Kesterne. After crossing the river in the boat, I had to pass through a small sheet of shallow water which had been frozen, but was then broken up by the loaded wagons that passed that way. On getting up to it, I found it in a half frozen state, the old ice not being sufficiently strongly united again to bear the horse, which refused to pass it; and on my urging him forward, he lay down with me in the water. It was with difficulty that I could extricate myself from him, and it is doubtful whether I should have succeeded, without the assistance of another person then at hand. In this wet condition I had a long distance to go,

\*The accounts of the deplorable treatment of the sick, and of the disasters of the British army in their retreat to Bremen, as given in the Annual Register of 1795, more than confirm the description of the author of this biographical sketch.



in a keen frosty night, in an open wagon, which, the day following, threatened a renewal of my illness; but by the timely use of medicines, I was favoured, not according to my desert, to escape without any serious indisposition.

In looking back at the marvellous manner in which I was sustained through all this conflict, and again restored as one brought back from the dead, I cannot avoid adverting to that period of my illness, when my mind felt so reconciled to the prospect of death, as before-mentioned; and I now fully believe, from what I have since been mercifully favoured to experience, that so far from being in any degree prepared for such an awful event, a deceptive feeling must have been superinduced by the state of torpor and insensibility in which I then was, and which totally benumbed any better feelings and desires as to the future. To this may be added a predominating fear, of having to endure more of those sufferings, of which I had had no small share; which, the probability of being again restored to health seemed to banish every hope of escaping. Truly awful is the thought which this view of my then lost condition occasions, when I contemplate the woe and misery which must have been my eternal portion, if unutterable mercy and long-suffering had been withdrawn; and if the soul had been required of one, who had witnessed no repentance towards God the Judge of all, except what at times the fear of punishment had extorted; and who was a stranger to that saving faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, as the "Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world,"—without which, his precious blood would have been shed in vain for me:—I should thus have died in my sins, which, unrepented of, would have followed after to judgment, in terrible array against my guilty soul—and yet when my end was apparently so near and inevitable, if such questions as are frequently proposed on the like occasions had been put to me, I have little doubt, but satisfactory answers would have been returned, as to my belief and hope in the essential truths of the gospel. But alas! this would have been from hearsay and traditional report, and not from any heartfelt saving knowledge of my own: for it is now plain to my understanding, that no man can have saving faith in Jesus Christ, who is unacquainted with, and does not walk in, the light of that divine Spirit, which is so justly styled the Spirit of faith. It is through this alone, that the death and sufferings of Christ and his whole sacrifice for sin are availing, and truly applied to all those, who through faith lay hold of him, the true Light and Saviour of them that believe in his inward and spiritual appearance. These

can say to others from sensible and blessed experience,—“Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world:” they have received the atonement by Him, and they reap the glorious fruit and benefit of his death and suffering for sin, by the sacrifice of himself, and of his resurrection and ascension; in that he ever liveth to make intercession for those, who are thus willing to come unto God by him. A man may yield an assent to all the great and solemn truths of Christianity; the miraculous birth, holy life, cruel sufferings, ignominious death, and glorious resurrection and ascension of our blessed Redeemer; he may believe in the abstract, in his inward and spiritual appearance in the hearts of mankind by his Holy Spirit; and yet he may fall short of the prize immortal,—unless he comes to witness the saving operation of the Holy Spirit in his own heart, and to know thereby, through faith in it, a purifying preparation for the kingdom of righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. How can I sufficiently appreciate or declare the extent of the endless mercy, which suffered me not to perish in the midst of my sins, when so many were swept away by the same pestilential disorder?

After having mentioned the facts connected with my sickness and recovery, it seems only due, however feeble on my part the effort, to endeavour to commemorate such gracious dealings with humble gratitude and reverence; earnestly desiring that no motive whatever may be allowed to prevail with me for making the attempt, but that of promoting the glory and honour of the great name; that others may know, and fear, and believe in the all-sufficiency of that power, which hath “shewed me the path of life,” and which alone can bless for their instruction what has been written, to press the necessity of contending for that saving faith, “once delivered to the saints.” Without it, all religious profession is a dream, a shadow, and a doubt; but with it, a glorious reality; yea, “the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen,”—even the salvation of the soul, through Christ Jesus our Lord.

Whilst the severity of the winter greatly facilitated the operations of the French army, by enabling them to cross the frozen rivers without difficulty, and at almost any given point; so it contributed most effectually to harass the diminished numbers of the retreating British forces. It was the more felt from the scarcity of provisions, occasioned by the inhabitants withholding from us every supply, in compliance with the intimidating threatenings of our victorious enemy; so that we frequently could not procure needful food even for money: whilst our opponents were supplied by

the terrified householders at free cost. In some places, the inhabitants openly declared they were withholding their provisions for the supply of the French, aware of the cruel treatment they should witness at their hands, if unable to provide for them when they arrived; although they considered the British to be their friends, and were well treated by them.

Before I left the hospital at Rhenin, the French had approached so near, that the windows of the place frequently shook with the discharge of their artillery. Sometimes a wagon load of the wounded English would arrive at the hospital; when many, whose recovery would, in a healthy situation, have been speedy and almost certain, were carried off in a few days, by the infectious disorder which prevailed at the place; and from the disastrous issue of the campaign, however greatly this was to be deplored, it could not be avoided. We were not long permitted to remain at Kesterne, before being obliged to move towards the north of Holland; when the town of Rhenin with the hospital fell into the hands of the enemy. Soon after this event, the frost became more intense; and the Dutch could no longer make graves for the interment of the dead, but piled the coffins upon each other in great numbers, until a thaw took place.

Although my strength was considerably recruited before we left Kesterne, I was yet very unequal to the subsequent exposure, having to pass great part of the first night in the frost after leaving that place: but although I slept in a cart with a canvass tilt, I do not remember taking cold, or otherwise experiencing any injurious effects, either then or afterwards, beyond what might have been expected from great fatigue and improper diet, there being at that time little to be procured, but coarse black bread and ardent spirits. During this harassing march, at such an inclement season, many of the poor men lost parts of their toes, by imprudently sitting down in the frost for too long a time at once, and from not having their feet properly protected. I can well remember having been so wearied myself, as to come to the determination to sit down, and risk the consequence,—although fully aware of the danger of falling asleep in such circumstances; but I was prompted by a secret impulse to resist the inclination, although nearly overcome with fatigue: then after moving about awhile longer, I have again begun to give way, but still struggled on. And when at last, it seemed as if human nature must give up, the thought of relations in England, as if I had had a home, would cross my mind, and stimulate me to try again in hope, until something has occurred, to bring relief, and shelter, and repose. Perhaps, if more food could have

been procured, the propensity to sleep, which exposure to cold occasioned, would have been irresistible.

In this manner the winter wore away; but at length we got so far out of the reach of the French, as to allow a longer space of time for rest at each place we arrived at. The cold weather continued, until we reached the banks of the river Weser; when the retreating wreck of our army was unexpectedly cheered with a sight of the mast-heads of the British fleet lying off Bremen-leke, and waiting to convey it from the shores of the Continent; where it had witnessed so much distress, wasting, and destruction,—to be attributed much more to hardship, fatigue, and pestilence, than to the sword of the enemy, although greatly superior to us in strength, and possessing local advantages, of which we were wholly destitute.

#### CHAPTER IV.

*Sails with his regiment to the West Indies—remarkable preservation—serious impressions—returns to England—becomes convinced of Friends' principles—received into membership in 1797—settles in business and marries—acknowledged a minister in 1816.*

IT is a matter of much regret, that for many years subsequently to this period, no biographical memoranda appear to have been made by our dear father; and it is impossible at this distance of time, to supply any minute details of that important change in his sentiments and manner of life, which occurred shortly after the time to which the preceding narrative refers.

In the autumn of 1795, he obtained a commission in a regiment destined for the West Indies, and sailed with the expedition appointed to this service, under Sir Ralph Abercrombie. After a most stormy and disastrous passage they were once in sight of the islands, but were driven back by a dreadful hurricane: in which several of the vessels foundered, and great numbers of the troops perished. A malignant fever also raged with fatal violence among the crews of the fleet, and in the ship in which he had embarked, no less than twenty-seven fell victims to it, within a short space of time.

Our dear father experienced some remarkable preservations at this time, to which he often referred afterwards, as the merciful interpositions of an overruling providence in his behalf: of these, one in particular appears to have arrested his attention. The vessel in which he was appointed to sail, and which was considered a remarkably fine one, was



exceedingly crowded, from the preference given to her by many of the officers. One morning after they had been some weeks at sea, a collier (being one of the vessels hired as transports,) coming alongside, he proposed to one of his friends, that they should go on board of her. His fellow-officers ridiculed the idea of preferring an old collier to the noble ship in which they were; but he and his friend persisted and transferred themselves to her. The same evening a hurricane arose, and the vessel they had quitted was never heard of afterwards. In connexion with this period, he once remarked to a friend, on being questioned as to the means made use of in the divine hand for effecting "a new birth unto righteousness" in his heart,—that he could not remember any outward means having been employed, unless indeed, he might except a storm at sea, during which his mind was deeply affected; and when, under a feeling of his own lost condition by nature, he was mercifully enabled also to see the remedy, and the entire spirituality of the Gospel dispensation. In accordance with this feeling, he remarked,—"I was at this time convinced of Friends' principles, they being neither more nor less in my estimation, than pure Christianity. I remember when the Friends visited me on my application for membership, I told them I was convinced at sea; for I verily believed in looking back, that this had been the case: no human means were made use of;—it was altogether the immediate work of the Holy Spirit upon my heart." Under these feelings, he became dissatisfied with the military profession, and resolved that, if permitted again to reach the shore, he would endeavour to lead a life of more circumspection, and which should tend to the glory of that Being, who had thus so mercifully visited him by His free grace. To this resolution he adhered:—he quitted the army in the early part of the year 1796.

For some time subsequently, to this event, he became an inmate in the family of his eldest sister, Barbara Hoyland; who was settled in the neighbourhood of Sheffield, in Yorkshire. She had married a member of the Society of Friends; and before the period of my father's joining them, had herself become convinced of their principles, and united to them. While residing with these near relatives, his mind became renewedly impressed with the importance of Divine truth; and in the course of a few months, he was led openly to espouse those views of it, of which, in after years, he was an unflinching advocate. The little meeting which he attended in the early part of his religious course, that of Hands-worth Woodhouse, was usually held in silence;

and he has been often known to refer to some of those solemn seasons, as times of peculiar instruction to his mind; in which the power of the Lord was sensibly felt, and his Truth revealed.

Being made a partaker of the great privilege enjoyed by those who are of the flock of Christ, in being enabled to distinguish between the voice of the good Shepherd and that of the stranger, he was earnestly desirous that obedience should keep pace with knowledge. He waited patiently upon the Lord for instruction in his various steppings; and being brought into a state of deep humility and prostration of spirit, he was made sensible, that the only path in which he could walk with safety, was that of self-denial. Much mental conflict was at this season his portion; but peace was only to be obtained by an entire surrender of the will: and in conformity with what he believed to be required of him, he adopted the plain dress. He once recounted to a friend in lively terms, the trial it was to him to put on a different hat to that which he had been accustomed to wear; especially as in going to the meeting at Woodhouse, he generally met a number of his former gay acquaintances, whom he crossed on the way to their place of worship, which he had himself previously been in the practice of attending. In this instance, it was hard to appear openly as a fool before men; he thought if his natural life might have been accepted as a substitute, he would gladly have laid it down:—but this was not the thing required. He diligently examined his heart, and believed he clearly saw his Master's will in the requisition; and that it was a discipline designed to bring him into a state of childlike obedience and dependence. In great distress he cried unto the Lord for help; and a passage of Scripture was powerfully applied to his mind,—"*whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven: but whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven.*" His resolution was immediately taken:—he put on the hat, and with his mind staid upon the Lord, set out to join his friends at meeting. His difficulties vanished,—sweet peace was his covering; and he was enabled experimentally to know the fulfilment of that declaration,—"*greater is He that is in you, than he that is in the world.*"

In the course of the year 1797, he was received into membership with the Society of Friends; and about the same time, he entered into business in Sheffield, in the seed trade. To this novel occupation he applied himself with that energy and assiduity, which characterized all his pursuits; and by the divine blessing on his exertions, he soon succeeded

in obtaining a business fully adequate to his very moderate desires. It was striking to some of those around him, to observe how readily he adapted himself to this total change of habits; and with what true content and cheerfulness he engaged in the drudgery and toil of a retail shop;—the daily attendance in which, rested for some years exclusively on himself. He has been frequently heard to refer to this period of his life, as one of great peace and comfort, and it appears to have been a time, in which his experience of the reality and power of divine grace was deepened and enlarged. It was his daily practice, at those intervals when the attendance in his shop could be dispensed with, if but for a few minutes at a time, to retire to a small apartment behind it, and in a prayerful spirit to explore the contents of the sacred volume; the light which shone upon many passages as he read, and the clear and strong views of religious truth which were then unfolded to his seeking soul, were such, as greatly to confirm his faith, and strengthen him to persevere in that strait and narrow path, into which his feet had been so mercifully turned. The perusal of many of the prophetic books of holy writ, was at this time the means of great comfort and encouragement to him; and the extensive and accurate knowledge of these parts of Scripture, for which he was afterwards conspicuous, was then chiefly acquired.

It was his uniform practice, from his first commencement in trade, to close his shop during the hours of worship on week days; and though this must have required a strong exercise of faith, at a time when his future support seemed to depend on his assiduity and exertion, he was never satisfied to neglect the worship of Almighty God, from the prospect of any outward advantage; and he has often expressed his belief, that a blessing had rested on this sacrifice of apparent interest to duty.

Soon after settling in Sheffield, the acquaintance with our dear mother commenced; and they were united in marriage, on the 13th of sixth month, 1800. She was the daughter of Thomas and Rachael Brady, of Thorne; and her family had been connected with the Society of Friends almost from its rise. Being a person of peculiarly mild and amiable disposition, and fully devoted to the promotion of the views and wishes of her beloved husband, she proved a true help-meet for him; and their union was productive of much solid happiness to both. The great delicacy of her constitution, at times involved him in much solicitude, and seemed to give warning of an early termination of that domestic felicity, for the simple pleasures of which, few, perhaps, have ever possessed a keener relish than himself; but

their union was mercifully protracted to the lengthened term of thirty-two years. Through all the vicissitudes that were permitted to attend them, she evinced that deep and devoted attachment, which led her cheerfully to forego every other enjoyment, and cordially to unite in every step which he felt called upon to take, however great the sacrifice it involved to her gentle and retiring nature. She may be said to have possessed pre-eminently the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit; and notwithstanding the great mildness of her disposition, this was most happily tempered with a degree of firmness and moral courage, by which she was enabled calmly to meet those dangers and difficulties, before which a casual observer might have anticipated that her gentle spirit would have shrunk. As a wife and a mother, she has, perhaps, rarely been surpassed in disinterested affection, or in that constant and quiet consideration for those around her, which led her habitually to forget her own liability to fatigue, and cheerfully to put forth all her energies for the promotion of their comfort and welfare.

Although my dear father for a series of years subsequently to this period, was actively engaged in attention to business, he was watchful to prevent its engrossing more of his thoughts, than was consistent with higher duties. As a tradesman, he uniformly maintained an unblemished character for integrity and fair dealing; and his daily course of conduct was characterised by an habitual reference to a higher principle than that of mere interest; which insured for him, in no common degree, the respect and confidence of those with whom he was connected. At length his health began to give way, under the close attention which he had thought it needful to give to business; and about the year 1809, he removed to a short distance from Sheffield, for the advantages of greater quiet and more exercise in the open air. This proved a great relief to him; but some time afterwards, finding that his concerns in trade continued to increase upon him, and demanded a closer attention than he felt satisfied to give, he thought it his duty to relinquish a branch, and that a very profitable one, of the business which he had so successfully established. When his mind was once satisfied as to the path of duty in the case, he hesitated not to yield a full and unmurmuring compliance; although, with an increasing family dependent on his exertions, and the comparatively slender means which he possessed, this step must have required no small exercise of faith, and in the eyes of the wise and prudent around him, appeared a doubtful one. To him, however, it occasioned not one moment's regret; and as he sought



not great things for himself, so the gracious and bountiful Master whom he served, failed not amply to supply his every want, and to grant him at the same time that blessing which maketh truly rich, and whereunto no sorrow is added.

His attention was now a good deal turned to agricultural pursuits, in the management of which he took great delight: indeed, rural occupations and the simple pleasures of a country life, harmonized peculiarly with his pious feelings; and he loved to trace in the works and beauties of creation, the goodness and power of the great Creator. It appears to have been in reference to the step just adverted to, that the following note, addressed to some intimate friends, was written:—

‘Forasmuch as it has pleased Almighty God, in his unutterable mercy and great condescension, in so eminent a manner to rescue my soul from the paths of vice and inevitable destruction, it seems incumbent upon me, in gratitude for such an unspeakable favour, to endeavour as much as in me lieth, to make all the return I am capable of; and as much as possible, through His divine assistance, to dedicate the residue of my days to so gracious and merciful a Creator. I have at seasons for some years past, when it has pleased the Lord to humble me and make me sensible of my extreme unworthiness, been made willing to make a surrender of my life and my all to Him and His divine disposal; and the query has often been raised in my heart, what shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits towards me? As I have from time to time endeavoured to dwell near, and abide in and under, the calming influence of His power, I have been led to believe, that something sooner or later would be required as a sacrifice on my part: and having for a considerable time past, been fully convinced, not only from my own feelings, but from impressions made upon my mind by divers testimonies borne by exercised friends, of the necessity of my separating myself as much as may be from the world and from the things of the world,—and having felt the force of our Lord’s declaration on the Mount,—“Ye cannot serve God and mammon;”—I am sensible that the time is at hand, for me to put into practice what I believe to be an indispensable duty. After having experienced such a wonderful and great deliverance from the power of sin and Satan, even as a “brand plucked out of the burning,” it cannot be supposed that the remainder of my life ought to be spent in the hurry and bustle of business of any kind, and particularly in one which has so much increased as to require more attention than I am capable

of paying to it, even if I had no claims of a higher and more important nature to attend to. I have frequently thought of late, that taking an active partner might answer the end intended, and be a means of removing part of the weight and care from off my shoulders, and at the same time set me at liberty to attend distant meetings, and take exercise in the open air, which my health very much requires: but having given this a solid consideration, I have found that it would only be doing things by halves, as great responsibility and anxiety would still rest upon me: it would seem also like making a reserve of the best of the sheep, and the best of the oxen, the bleating and lowing of which would be continually in my ears. I therefore fully believe, that it will be most conducive to my present peace, as well as future well-being, entirely to give up the trade I am at present engaged in, and retire with my family into a small compass. Not that I have acquired a sufficiency, without doing something for a livelihood;—far from it. I have still a prospect of maintaining my family comfortably, with care and industry, leaving the event to Him who knows the thoughts and intents of the heart: and though my income will be smaller than it is at present, my expenses will be smaller in proportion. It will no doubt be a matter of surprise to some, that one who has so young a family should think of declining so prosperous a trade, as many people, I believe, think mine is. To these I answer, that I have no desire to accumulate riches for my children; the blessing seldom attends it, and the baneful effects thereof are too often visible, even in our Society. This is a matter of no small importance with me,—it is not a sudden thing. I wish to consult my friends, and to take their advice in it. It has been a long time growing with me, and latterly has scarcely ever been out of my thoughts; and not having frequent intercourse with my friends, it seemed best for me to state in writing the principal grounds for taking such a step, which might be readily handed to those most likely to impart counsel.’

Perhaps the whole bearing of these impressions was never fully understood, even by himself, till some years subsequently; when he was called upon to make a still further surrender of his will to that of his heavenly Father, by quitting his native country, and the bosom of that Society which he so much loved, and going forth at the call of apprehended duty to sojourn in a strange land. But to return to the period of which we have been speaking. Though he had been necessarily much occupied with his own concerns, he had not been a useless or inactive member

of the religious body to which he was united. For many years he filled the office of overseer in the meeting to which he belonged; and in the discharge of the duties connected with it, he was remarkable for his unwearied zeal and charity, his labour, his forbearance, and brotherly-kindness. The power of divine grace having wrought so effectually on his own mind, his benevolence extended to the whole human family.

For a number of years, the impression was strong upon his mind, that he should be called to the work of the ministry; but in connexion with this feeling he was long harassed with doubts and fears. He was not rebellious, but his faith was weak; he earnestly desired to have indubitable evidence that such was indeed the will of his Lord and Master: but He who knew the sincerity of his heart, graciously condescended, in his own good time, to leave him without a doubt on this important subject. He underwent deep baptisms of spirit; indeed such were his mental conflicts, that his health materially suffered. In referring to this circumstance at a subsequent period, he remarked to a friend, that he regarded it as an especial blessing to him: for sometimes he slept little, and frequently his nights were spent in prayer; at other times, prayer being his last engagement previous to consigning himself to sleep, he found in the morning, (to use his own expression) his 'mind still covered with the same precious influence. I think,' he added, 'I at that time knew in measure what it was to "stand continually upon the watch-tower in the day time, and to be set in my ward whole nights."' His mind at this time appeared to be particularly impressed with the feeling of the great uncertainty of time; so that he has been heard to acknowledge, that for months together he seldom lay down in bed, without endeavouring to commit his soul into the hands of the Lord; feeling it very uncertain whether he should be permitted to see the morning's light. In reference to this period, a dear friend remarks:—"Of that time, and of many months previous to his appearance as a minister, my recollection is very clear. We were then confidential friends, and often together; and during the lapse of years that has intervened, I have frequently reverted to it. The exercise which then attended him, almost bore down the natural cheerfulness of his disposition;—he was so serious, so humble, so watchful, lest at any time he should be thrown off his guard in the freedom of conversation; and lest he should dissipate the influence of that heavenly love and goodness, which often filled his mind, and led him into holy covenant with his Lord. He one day took me to a small field nearly surrounded by

trees, on the south side of his house, where he told me he was accustomed to retire alone at an early hour of the morning and late in the evening, and often at noon when at home; thus adopting the resolution of David,—“Evening and morning and at noon will I pray:” the spiritual communion he witnessed there, and at many other times, would strengthen him no doubt in his earnest endeavour to perform the will of his divine Master. Yet it was only from his deportment that I judged my dear friend to be under preparation for the work of the ministry. He spoke of that exercise to no one, and when our friend, S. L., who visited families in Sheffield in the summer of 1813, in the sitting with his family, told him she was sensible that he was called to that important work, his dear wife heard it with extreme surprise.’

Sitting in meeting on one occasion, he was particularly impressed with the language of our Saviour, after he had cleansed the leper; “Were there not ten cleansed, but where are the nine? I tell you there are not found that returned to give glory to God, save this stranger.” The remembrance that he had ever read such a passage in the sacred volume was entirely obliterated from his mind; he thought he felt the requisition of duty to address it to the meeting, but he was perplexed: he knew not at the time where it was to be found: he gave way to reasoning,—his dependence not being simply on the Lord alone; and in great distress of mind, he allowed the meeting to break up. He hastened home, and opening his bible, the first passage that met his eye was,—“were there not ten cleansed,” &c. He was deeply affected:—he entered renewedly into covenant with the Lord, that if He would be pleased again to visit him, he would be more faithful; and when again he felt the requisition, he was strengthened in much brokenness to comply. A sweet and inexpressible feeling of peace was mercifully permitted to follow this sacrifice; confirming to his mind that it was indeed a sacrifice prepared of the Lord. From this time he continued occasionally to express a few words in the line of the ministry; and not unfrequently he was permitted to derive comfort from the united exercise of others engaged in this work, who were occasionally led to express the substance of the burden he himself was labouring under: this was very confirming to his mind: and he has been heard to recount with gratitude to God, his condescension to him during this period of infancy in the work.

At one time, accompanying a female minister, who had appointed a public meeting to be held in a Methodist meeting house, he was prevailed upon to go with her into the pulpit.



He had never spoken in a meeting of that description, and he had no apprehension that in such an assembly he should be called upon to take any conspicuous part. But his mind soon became involved in exercise; and being unwilling to yield to it, the Friend's way was quite obstructed,—no door of utterance was given. He saw and felt this, and arose, but under such conflict, as made him involuntarily cover his eyes with his hands; and in this attitude he addressed the meeting. His companion followed; and through the divine blessing, the meeting was crowned by the sensible feeling of the overshadowing love of their heavenly Father.

He was acknowledged a minister in the year 1816; and shortly afterwards he accompanied another Friend in a visit to the meetings in Lancashire, and some parts of Yorkshire.

## CHAPTER V.

*Prospect of duty in Russia—offers himself to the Russian government to superintend agricultural improvements near Petersburg,—voyage to Cronstadt, 1817—interview with prince Galitzin at Petersburg, also with the Emperor—voyage homeward.*

A NEW field of action was now about to open before him, for which his mind had been secretly preparing, until a willingness had been begotten in his heart, to follow the requisitions of his Lord, whithersoever these might lead him, or whatever sacrifice to his natural feeling, an acquiescence in them might involve.

For several years, he had an impression that it would be required of him to go abroad. This prospect frequently cost him much exercise of mind; and one day whilst pacing up and down his parlour, feeling unusually burdened under it, he was led earnestly to cry unto the Lord, desiring that he would be pleased to show him to what part of the world he must go. One of his children was in the room putting together a dissected map, and as his father approached him, his eye rested on Petersburg with such an intimation that thither his divine Master would send him, that, said he, in relating the circumstance many years afterwards to an intimate friend, 'I never afterwards doubted:' he however kept the matter entirely to himself, believing that when the right time should come, way would be made for him.

Early in the year 1817, enquiry having been made, by order of the late Emperor of Russia, for a person to undertake the man-

agement of an agricultural establishment in his dominions, Daniel Wheeler believed it his duty to offer himself for this service. The Emperor, as the reader may recollect, visited this country, in the year 1814, and was much struck with the perfection of the English system of farming. His attention had been drawn in several ways to the Society of Friends; and a casual visit made to the farm of a Friend, on the Brighton road, had given him a favourable impression of their character as agriculturists. This impression, as the event proved, was not soon effaced; for having three years afterwards concluded on the drainage and cultivation of certain marshes and waste lands, in the immediate neighbourhood of Petersburg, and enquiry being made in England for a suitable manager for this work, the Emperor particularly specified his wish, that a member of the Society of Friends should be selected. The information was circulated in the Society, by the late Richard Phillips of Wandsworth; and the following extract from a letter received from a Friend of Sheffield, in reference to this subject, is inserted, as showing the manner in which this undertaking was entertained by D. W.

Second month 15th, 1817.

Little did I suppose on the receipt of thy letter of the 22nd, that I should have occasion so speedily to reply to it. Soon after reading it, I observed to my wife, if such a Friend as Daniel Wheeler had believed it right to embark in such an undertaking, I knew of no person, that for all the purposes required, might be so fully recommended. But this idea did not at that time operate further on my mind, than to induce me to conclude to take him into consultation, respecting some one well qualified. On the receipt of thy letter, he was engaged in a family visit in a neighbouring meeting. In consequence, I was prevented from communicating the subject to him, until yesterday; when I perceived, to my surprise, that it made considerable impression on his mind, and that, from some questions he put to me, he was making the application to himself. Without noticing this, I told him, I wished he would give the overtures of the Emperor a place in his thoughts; and if any eligible person occurred to him, to inform me within a week. But my surprise was increased this morning, by his coming to inform me, that it would be mere form to defer acknowledging, that his mind was already made up to offer himself for the situation, for which it had been preparing more than two years. Great as the trial will be to many, to spare such an one out of our monthly meeting, there was an assent in my mind, like that

of "thou art the man." I have often said, that in respect both to civil and religious attainments, I knew of no one, moving in a similar sphere, who is so much qualified for the superintendence and the direction of others. A novice as to the world, or one who had had little experience as to the ways of men, however much he might have had of agriculture, would want many requisites, essential to filling with propriety a station, designed to be under the immediate eye of an Emperor. In his character, so much of true dignity is united with Christian humility, as qualifies him to appear before princes.

After acquiring the first reputation in Sheffield as a tradesman, he took a farm, as if to give proof of his practical skill in agriculture; which has excited the admiration of the neighbourhood, and demonstrated that his talents in this direction are of a superior kind.

For a person of his qualifications, to come forward on the ground of religious sensibility, appears to me an extraordinary instance of devotedness; but he has been heard to say, he has been forgiven so much, that he cannot give too great proof of gratitude and attachment to the King of kings. If he enter upon this undertaking, it will be no small sacrifice in a pecuniary consideration, which he will have to make.—

One of the first difficulties which presented itself, in regard to this movement, was that of mentioning his prospect to our dear mother. He believed her timid nature would be ready to shrink under such a requirement. His distress therefore on her account was great: but what was his surprise and comfort, when on informing her, and querying whether she could leave her friends and native land to go with him, she sweetly and calmly acquiesced; stating her belief, that if it was the will of the Lord, strength would be given them to bear the trial, as well as ability to perform the service required, whatever it might be.

His own explanation of the motives which induced him to enter into this engagement, is thus given by himself, in a paper addressed to an official person in Petersburg, during his first visit to that city, from which the following is extracted:—

Eighth month 13th, 1817.

It seems altogether unnecessary to preface what I am about to state in this memorial, seeing that the truth never did, nor ever will need any apology. I shall therefore proceed by observing, that it is now two years and a half since the subject of visiting Russia, and rendering myself useful in promoting the happiness of its numerous inhabitants, was pre-

sented to the view of my mind, by that inward principle of light and grace, a manifestation of which is given to every man to profit withal, in which I believe; and Petersburg was the place pointed out to me as the scene of my operations. It was, I must acknowledge, a prospect at which I was ready to shudder; for, although we may at times feel a willingness, and even profess it, to go with our Lord and Master into prison and unto death; yet such is the frailty and weakness of human nature, that when the trying hour cometh, like Simon Peter, we are ready to deny Him. But He who is touched with a feeling and compassionate sense of our manifold infirmities, I trust saw that it was not wilful disobedience, but human weakness; and He who only knoweth the thoughts and intents of the heart,—yea, from whom "the darkness hideth not, but the night shineth as the day,—the darkness and the light [being] both alike to Him,"—in adorable condescension and mercy, doth at seasons qualify his poor, dependent, humble followers, acceptably to breathe the aspiration, "Lord thou knowest all things, thou knowest that I love Thee." However, I must honestly confess, that at the time I could not possibly devote myself to such an undertaking; for I am certain, that no earthly consideration whatever, could have induced me to leave my beloved wife and tender children: but He, who "bloweth with his wind, and the waters flow," at whose touch the mountains of opposition melt down and vanish, hath by His wonder-working power, reduced my mind to a willingness to go, whensoever and wheresoever He is pleased to lead, and to do whatsoever he is pleased to call for.

Some time after this, as I was returning home late one evening, I had a sense of invitation after this manner, 'What if the Emperor of Russia should want a person for the superintendence of agriculture:?'—at which time a willingness was begotten in my mind to go, if that should be the case; but when, or in what manner, this was to come to pass, was totally hidden from me. The frequent conflict of soul I had to pass through, none can conceive or have an idea of, but those who have been alike circumstanced: all which was permitted in infinite wisdom, for the subjection of the natural will, and is what I verily believe all must pass through, before they can in sincerity of heart say,—"Not my will, but Thine be done."

In this manner I was prepared for this great event, and I cannot but record it, as a great and signal event in the life of a private individual: for when a letter was received from Russia by Richard Phillips of London, a copy of which was sent to a Friend in Sheffield,



and by him handed directly to me, it did not create any surprise, as I was in a state of preparation to receive it, and in daily expectation of something important coming to pass. The circumstances which afterwards took place, are too well known to need enumerating.

I have had to leave my family for short periods of time, having been called upon to proclaim the glad tidings of the everlasting gospel, and to endeavour to stir up the pure mind by way of remembrance of those things that are most excellent, in visits to my brethren and sisters, in their separate churches, in different parts of England; and I humbly hope the day's work was keeping pace with the day: but now a greater trial of faith was to be exercised, a greater sacrifice to be made; I must not only leave my family, but my country also. The second letter arrived from Russia, and the time seemed fully come. Accordingly I drank the cup with all its bitter dregs of separation, and tore myself away.

If my proposals be altogether rejected, I do not know what I can do more. I have not stood at a distance, but have actually come into Russia, and offered myself, my family, and the sacrifice of nearly all the resources I possess. If this offer be refused, I humbly trust the will will be accepted for the deed, and that obedience will have kept pace with knowledge; for verily it matters little our knowing, unless we practice also. It is "not the hearers of the law, but the doers of it, that are justified" in the sight of Almighty God: it is "not every one that saith Lord! Lord! that shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but they that do the will," &c.:—and again, "If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them." In this case, I shall of course return immediately home, and resume my former occupations; committing myself to Him who will not break the bruised reed, nor suffer it to be broken; and whom I earnestly desire to serve to the latest moment of my breath.\*

To return to the narrative:—it was concluded that Daniel Wheeler should, in the first instance, visit Petersburg alone; and for this purpose he set out from his home, towards the close of the sixth month, 1817; and, after making a satisfactory journey, returned the same autumn. The following are extracts from memoranda made during this visit:—

On board the 'Loft,' 115 miles from the Holderness coast.

Sixth month 29th, first-day.—My mind constantly bending towards home, and tracing the

various situations and occupations of my dear wife and family, as the different periods of the day advanced, and I remembered my beloved friends in their meeting at Sheffield; but I had very little opportunity for retirement myself, the affairs of the ship being much unsettled on account of having so recently come from harbour, and the cabin subject to frequent interruption. Last night my mind was disquieted, and being very desirous of promoting the safety of the ship, I stayed on deck until after midnight; and when I lay down in my cabin, it was with reluctance, as if the ship was not safe, unless I was upon the look-out. I have felt deserted and uncomfortable a considerable part of the day; but have been this evening favoured to see that it arose from want of holding fast my confidence,—from not being sufficiently resigned into His hands, "who sleepeth not by day, nor slumbereth by night," and without whose protecting arm of help, "the watchman waketh but in vain;" and I believe that I have nothing to do but to be quiet, and endeavour patiently to trust in the all-sufficiency of His power.

30th.—As the forenoon advanced, the wind increased and the sea arose, and by degrees we were obliged to diminish our canvass. I have been a passive beholder of what has been going on upon deck, my mind now and then recurring to the cause of my being here; and I can, with humble gratitude, acknowledge that I feel myself free from any accusation, believing I am in my proper place; and truly nothing short of this will do to lean upon.

After a series of boisterous and contrary winds, we were favoured to anchor in the roads of Elsineur, about one o'clock, P. M., on second-day, the 7th of seventh month, and the tenth day from leaving Hull. The captain going ashore to clear at the Quarantine Office, I accompanied him; and whilst he attended to his duties, I walked as far as Cronenburgh Castle, also to a royal palace and garden not far distant. Here I may remark the attention paid me by a young Englishman, an entire stranger to me, who was very desirous of going about with me. I soon found he wished to converse on religious subjects; and I gave him all the opportunity I could. Before we parted, I was strengthened to declare to him the way of life and salvation: and may He who has begun the good work in his heart, be pleased to carry it on, to the praise of His own great and excellent name,—for it is His own works only that can praise Him. I believe the language of our blessed Lord may be applied to this young man,—"thou art not far from the kingdom of God." We reached the ship in safety, between 11 and 12 o'clock at night, taking a

\* The above was copied from the original in 'the Chancery of drainage and cultivation of the neighbourhood of Petersburg.'

pilot on board with us. If I should have been instrumental in any degree in fanning the immortal spark, which I believe to be mercifully kindled in the heart of this young Englishman at Elsinour, I shall think myself amply compensated for coming so far.

Seventh month 8th.—I think the Danish coast surpasses all I ever saw before for beautiful plantations, interspersed with houses, from Cronenburgh Castle to Copenhagen: at this place, the devastations committed by the British fleet, under the late Horatio Nelson, are still visible, and are suffered to remain in nearly the same ruinous state as they were left by our shipping. The king's residence is principally here. I observed at Elsinour a few solid countenances; but I thought the generality of them seemed to be living as without God in the world, and the faces of many plainly show the low price at which spirituous liquors may be purchased. The pilot, who brought us through the grounds, appeared to be a thoughtful man, and conducted himself in a solid manner while with us; my heart yearned over him as he left the ship, and I could not help craving that the divine blessing might rest upon him.

10th, fifth-day.—Fresh gales and fine weather; pressing forward before the sea and wind. I felt myself rather unwell this morning, and when I endeavoured to hold my solitary meeting in the cabin, I might have said, as Mary did,—“They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid Him.” But I trust I am endeavouring to learn in all states to be content,—a very necessary qualification (however difficult of attainment) for all poor finite beings. In the afternoon, saw the island of Gothland, and hauled to the northward a little, to obtain a fresh departure from it. In the evening, poverty of spirit and indisposition of body were my portion; I retired to rest early, and in the morning was favoured to feel my mind quietly resigned and comfortable, and nature refreshed.

11th, sixth-day.—Off the east end of Gothland, still running before the wind and sea. One of our sailors had managed, whilst we were at Elsinour, to get a supply of Hollands, with which the poor fellow had kept himself in a state of intoxication, and was twice dismissed from the helm, for not keeping the ship in her course before the sea. This man when sober is an excellent sailor, and well knows how much depends upon the steering of a ship in these narrow rocky seas; but such is his love of liquor, that his own life, the ship, and all her crew may take their chance, if he can but get his darling grog. He looks very grave at the helm this morning.

12th, seventh-day afternoon.—Gulf of Fin-

land. We are now very near a small island called Oxholm, on which resides a respectable English widow, who suffered shipwreck here about twenty years ago; her husband was captain of the ship, and perished at the time. She could never be prevailed upon to leave the island, and by the interest of Admiral Greig, of the Russian navy, and his friends, she was enabled to open a boarding school, to which the children of very respectable English families in Russia are sent: last year she had about forty scholars. There are few other houses, besides those belonging to her establishment. She has cultivated a piece of land as a garden; and from the view we had of it just now, wears the appearance of management and neatness: she has also the care of the lighthouse close to her dwelling. The island is not more than from three to four miles in circumference, and only four leagues from the main land.

13th, first-day.—Steering towards the island of Hogland, and expecting shortly to see it. I have had my silent sitting in the cabin this forenoon; but ships at sea are not very quiet places. I was however favoured with a sense of my own weakness, and humbled therewith. My mind has for these last two days begun to feel a burden upon it, which increases as we draw nearer to Petersburg; and He only, who seeth the end from the beginning, knows what is to befall me there. But I am fully sensible, He will require no more than what strength and ability will be furnished to perform; and I have abundant cause to trust in Him, “who walketh upon the wings of the wind, and maketh the clouds his chariot;”—who not only commands the storm, but at His pleasure rebukes it, and causes the undulating waves to be at peace: of which I have had renewed instances during our passage from England. I have this morning thought more than usual of my dear wife and family, desiring they might be comforted by the Great Comforter; and I have traced some of them to their seats in Sheffield meeting, among my beloved brethren and sisters; whom, though absent in body, my heart is often with, and on whose account, I have frequently felt, and still feel an affectionate interest, that every age and every class among them may come to know Him, “who is from the beginning,” and sit under His teaching; whose teaching remains to be excellent, to those who are happily found in the counsel of His will:—“bread will be given them, their waters will be sure,”—even that bread which the world knows not of, and that water which will be in them a well of water springing up into everlasting life.

Seventh month 15th.—Arrived at Cronstadt. After the ship was secured, we went



on board an old ship of war, fitted up as the Harbour Master's office. In the places where the public business is transacted, are paintings of the saints richly ornamented, before which the members of the Greek church repeat their prayers; they make a point of bowing and crossing themselves as soon as they see them. I observed the people, employed in the office, stared very much at me, principally I believe on account of my wearing my hat. On going into the presence of the Port Admiral, of whom I had to obtain a pass, I observed he also noticed my hat; and finding he could speak English, on his coming to inquire my name, I said, I hoped the keeping on my hat would not be considered as intended disrespect, and entered into an explanation of my reasons, for not taking it off unto man; when he stopped me by saying, when it was omitted from any motive of religion, he did not wish it. I left Cronstadt in the steam-packet that afternoon for Petersburg, and on landing there I was met by one of the Bible Society's agents, who conveyed me to the Bible Office, the gift of the Emperor to the Bible Society; at which place I was treated with great kindness and courtesy, and found in it a quiet asylum for several days.

The next morning, I had an hour's conversation with Basil Papoff: he is called 'his Excellency,' and I think with some propriety, as he appears an excellent man. He thought my business would go on slowly, as the Emperor was so much engaged on account of the marriage of his brother, the Grand Duke Nicholas. I was introduced to the minister of the Moravian congregation here, also to William Glenn, who is going to Astrachan to translate the Scriptures into the Persian language. I have also met another person from Scotland, who I have since found is desirous of knowing the way of Truth more perfectly.

17th.—I traversed a considerable part of the city, and went up the country opposite the summer palace of Kamenny Ostrof, where the Emperor now resides. I think the generality of the soil is better than I expected to see it. I recognised clover and several kinds of grasses by the roadside, and abundance of weeds in the gardens, of pretty much the same kinds as we have in England. In returning, we passed the hut that Peter the Great at one time inhabited; and we saw the boat built with his own hands. We passed through the public gardens, which are beautiful. Most kinds of provisions are good here; but the water at this season is unwholesome. Thirteen cart-loads of Bibles and Testaments have been sent off to-day for Moscow.

21st.—Took possession of a room at an inn kept by an Englishwoman. Drank tea with

an English family, and had a good opportunity of explaining to the head of it, the nature of our silent meetings, which was such as he had no conception of. He had an idea that Friends went to meeting to meditate, and he thought that might be done at home; and that on account of the young people, we should, at any rate, read the Scriptures. I told him we read the Scriptures to them at home. He then concluded, it must be the bias of education, that reconciled us to sitting in silence. I replied it could not be so, as related to myself, for I was brought up in what is called the Established Church of England. This led to many questions on his part, all of which I was enabled to answer; and best Help being near, I explained to him the nature of true worship, and that there was at seasons a power to be felt, which was before words were, and which will remain when words have ceased. He asked whether I came to a knowledge of the truth, whilst I was in communion with the Established Church. No, I said, never whilst I was pestered with words. I could not help inveighing against words, as they seemed to place all their confidence and dependence in them.

23rd.—Received a message that I was to be introduced to Prince Galitzin to-day: I had little time to spare for preparations, but had not many to make, having no clothes but what I landed in, my luggage having been detained at the Custom House. I was accordingly conducted to the splendid mansion of the Prince, the entrance and marble staircase of which were well lined with attendants; in whose countenances surprise and anger were evidently depicted, at my assurance in keeping on my hat. We waited a short time in an open gallery, as the Prince was engaged; and took a turn into a spacious room, the walls of which were hung with pictures of all the imperial family of Russia, from the first to the last. In a short time a messenger came to say that the Prince was at liberty; when we were ushered into his apartment of ample size. The Prince came forward, and met us in a very courteous manner; and on — introducing me, he took me by the hand, and we retired to the back part of the room, and sat down at the end of a writing table. He asked many questions with great affability in Russian,—my companion interpreting betwixt us. Amongst others, he inquired what family I had; which being answered, he wished to know whether I would bring them all with me, if I came to reside in Russia. I said, 'Yes; I should not leave a hoof behind;' at which he seized my hand, and expressed his satisfaction. He then inquired, how I should do, as there was no place of worship for me, no meeting;

no society,—how was that? I told him the worship of Almighty God was not confined to either time or place,—that is, neither in this mountain, nor at Jerusalem; but in every place incense should be offered to His name, and a pure offering. After pausing a little, he desired the sentence might be thoroughly explained to him. He then seemed quite to understand it, bowing his head in a reverent manner, and appeared to ponder over it. In the midst of this, I found my mind drawn into silence; but the Prince kept asking question after question, as if afraid of losing time; my answers were now very short; and at last, I endeavoured to explain to my companion the situation I was in, but could not make him understand me. The conversation then turned to agriculture, and the soil of the neighbourhood, and to the Emperor; but as a burden still remained with me, I cannot recollect all he said, or what answers I made him. At last, we rose from our seats as with one accord; but before the Prince had time to bid me farewell in his way, I found my time was come: and I was enabled to declare unto him the everlasting foundation,—even Christ Jesus, the rock of ages, who was “to the Jews a stumbling block, and to the Greeks foolishness;” but to them that obey his gospel inwardly revealed in the secret of their hearts, Christ crucified, the power of God, and the wisdom of God unto salvation. As I stopped at the end of every sentence, my companion interpreted, as if he had been accustomed to the work, and might have known what he was going to do. After we had finished, we stood like statues for a short time; and on my moving, as if I was at liberty, the Prince took me by the hand, saying, ‘although our languages are different, the language of the Spirit is the same.’ He held my hand till we got near the door, when I bade him farewell, and departed, comparatively as light as a feather. I cannot but admire how I was guided; for in delivering what was upon me to the Prince, at the end of every sentence, all was taken from me, as if I should have nothing further to say; but when ——— had had sufficient time to interpret, then a supply was again vouchsafed. Whereas if I could have proceeded, as it were without stopping, I should have overpowered the interpreter, and the work would have been marred altogether. Thus the blind are guided in ways that they know not, and in paths that they have not seen: but truly the pillars of my tabernacle were mightily shaken. May I ever be preserved in that humility, through which alone the grateful heart can bless His holy name; “who redeemeth our lives from destruction, and crowneth us with loving-kindness and tender mercies.”

In the afternoon, I met with some very humiliating circumstances in the course of my business at the Custom house, which helped to keep under the creaturely part.

[From this time to the 15th of eighth month, Daniel Wheeler was employed in examining the waste crown lands and the marshes in the vicinity of the capital, in preparing reports of his investigations, &c.]

27th, first-day.—After I had sat down in my room to hold my meeting, I was interrupted by the coming of an individual, whom I had before seen. He resides about twenty versts from hence, and had come on purpose to inquire into the principles of Friends. He had once had a sight of ‘Barclay’s Apology,’ but was never able to get it a second time, and I much regretted I had not one to give him. He is well acquainted with the Scriptures, but very desirous of having them expounded and explained. After a long conversation, I referred him to the never-failing and only key, the Holy Spirit, by which they were given forth, and without which the natural man will ever read them in vain,—or when he has done, if he thinks he knows any thing, he knows nothing as he ought to know. He gave me a kind invitation to his house, and we parted in a friendly manner.

Eighth month 3rd, first-day.—I spent the day at home in retirement. In the evening the city was illuminated, and I understand there was a great display of fire and water-works at the country place of Peterhoff, on account of its being the saint’s day of Dowager Empress Mary.

On the 15th, I began a letter to my dear wife, and had finished two sides of it, when I seemed quite at a loss for a subject, which I could not account for. I went into the yard, and walked up and down for fresh air; but had not been there long, when I received a message, that the Emperor would see me that afternoon, and that I was to be at five o’clock at the lodgings of Prince Galitzin, which are close to the gate of the palace of Kamenny Ostrof. Having been kindly assisted in procuring a conveyance, I was there in time, and the Prince received me with his usual openness. In about half an hour a messenger came, and (bareheaded) conducted me through the garden, and the different guards, who stared at me not a little. At last we entered the palace, and after going through a range of rooms, I was shown into the apartment of the Emperor, who received me with more parade than I expected; but I thought afterwards this was only on account of the page, for as soon as the door was shut, he took me by the hand, saying, ‘Sit down, sir.’ I was not, however, quite ready to sit down; for the salutation



arose in my heart, of "Grace, mercy, and peace be multiplied, from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ," upon the noble Emperor, &c. As I proceeded I took off my hat, and the Emperor stood quite still, until I had finished; when we both sat down. He had several questions to ask, and expressed his surprise and satisfaction at the manner in which I had been led into Russia. I had a great deal to say to him, and full opportunity to express every thing that arose on my mind. He mentioned my memorial, and I think touched upon every particular head distinctly, and said he agreed to the whole. I then gave him a paper I had ready in my pocket book, which brought the peculiar principles of our Society into view; this he read, and questioned me about all of them; which gave time to clear myself fully. I had a good deal to say to him on silent waiting. I remember my last words were, the expression of a desire that attended my mind, 'that when time shall rob thee of thy earthly crown, an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled—a crown immortal, may be thy happy portion.' He held my hand fast in his for some time, and did not utter another word. I then returned to Prince Galitzin, and on taking leave, I had a little matter to express to him, which, ——— who was present, interpreted. The next morning, I finished my letter to my wife, in time for the post, and thought myself clear of Petersburg: but in the evening, I found something like an invitation to such of the English people as inclined to sit down with me.

The next day, after dining with J. Paterson, he invited me to go to hear their sermon, which I declined; but afterwards I told him, that if his friends inclined to sit down with me in a large room at the Bible Office, if I had any thing for them they should have it, and if not, they must forgive me. It was accordingly fixed that we should meet at seven o'clock the next evening. I repaired thither about the time, and found a larger number assembled than I had any expectation of, including four ministers of the Independent denomination. Scarcely an individual amongst them had sat in silence before, in this way: it was, however, exercising to me, and we had a solemn sitting. I was enabled to declare the truth amongst them about three-quarters of an hour, to the relief of my own mind, and the sitting ended well: there seemed something like an unwillingness on their part to break up: I was, I trust, thankful when it was over.

The forepart of the 18th and 19th instant, was employed in taking leave of my friends, and preparing for my homeward voyage. On the 20th, I went down to Cronstadt by steam-boat, and proceeded at once on board the For-

tune, a fine ship for Hull. I concluded to remain on board, although the ship was not quite ready for sea; and, as night came on, I began to be very uncomfortable, and was fearful I had been making more haste than I should have done, and that in my hurry I had not hit upon the right vessel. I walked the deck till late, and a willingness was wrought in my mind to quit the ship in the morning, if required. This exercise, being amongst entire strangers, made the pressure very heavy. I retired to my cabin, and got some rest, and when I awoke in the morning, I found my accusers were all gone, and tranquillity again restored; for which I was thankful. Going on shore in the course of the day, I found a long looked for letter from home, and thankfulness was raised in my heart to the Giver of every good and perfect gift, for the cheering account it contained.

23rd.—We got out of the Mole this morning, and having been boarded by the guard-ship, by eleven o'clock all impediments were removed, and we proceeded down the Gulf, with a fair wind.

24th, first-day.—When I awoke in the morning, I found the ship was rolling, which she would not have done if the wind had not been fair, and the sea following us; so that I got up cheerfully. I went into my state room in the forenoon; but found I could not get into any settlement of mind. The thought of proceeding homeward with a fair wind was too much for me to be able to keep out of view; but I trust the Father of mercies saw my weakness with his eye of compassion.

31st, first-day.—Having no opportunity of sitting down in the cabin, I held my sitting upon deck; and though I met with many interruptions, yet I was favoured with settlement of mind in a good degree. In the afternoon, rounded the Falsterbo Reef, on which lay the wreck of a large ship, and at five o'clock made a signal for a pilot to carry us through the Grounds; but could not perceive one coming off to us. As I was walking the deck, it just passed my mind, how soon our prospects are blighted; and going to the quarter-deck, I heard the sailor who was heaving the lead cry, 'by the deep four, a quarter less four,—by the mark three, a quarter less three,' and immediately after I felt the ship strike on a rock; in a few seconds she struck a second time, and then stuck fast. The crew were of course all in a state of consternation, and the captain was almost speechless; and indeed it was a serious moment, for the ship was under full sail when she struck, and on a lee shore too. The first thing was to take the sails off her; then the boats were lowered, and two anchors carried out with strong hawsers.

During this time several ships passed, to whom our captain waved his hat by way of signal to keep off; and very mortifying it certainly was, to see the different ships take in their pilots, and make sail. Soon after, a large boat full of men approached, with whom, the captain agreed, after hard bargaining, to carry out a large anchor for us; this took up some time, and as night came on, the wind rose, and things began to wear a gloomy aspect. I was favoured however to feel quietness cover my mind like a canopy; and a petition arose in my heart to the Father of mercies, to bless the endeavours of the toiling crew. Whilst the Danish boat was receiving the anchor and cable, finding I could be of no use, I went below, and stretched myself on the locker, with my arm supporting my head. I continued in this position till the sailors began to heave upon the cable; and, at length, I plainly felt her keel grate upon the rock. Being fully satisfied that she moved, I hastened on deck with the pleasing intelligence. Shortly after one in the morning the ship floated, and was soon in deep water again, which was cause of humble thankfulness. We anchored in Elsinore roads the same afternoon.

[The voyage to England was completed in safety.]

#### CHAPTER VI.

*Removes with his wife and family to Russia—voyage thither, 1818—settlement at Ochta near Petersburg—William Allen and Stephen Grellet—agricultural success—visit from the Emperor, &c.*

DURING the ensuing winter, D. W. was actively engaged in winding up his affairs preparatory to leaving England. Ample provision of agricultural implements, seeds and cattle, was also made; and, at length, all being in readiness, he embarked for Russia, with his wife, family and assistants, in all twenty souls, on the 22nd of sixth month, 1818,

The following memoranda are from the pen of a friend, and refer to this period.

On the 18th of sixth month, 1818, we were agreeably surprised by seeing our dear friend Daniel Wheeler, come into our meeting at Sheffield; for he had taken leave of us, not expecting to meet us again before embarking for Petersburg: towards the close of the meeting, he expressed himself nearly as follows:—

‘It has afforded me consolation once more to sit with my dear brethren and sisters, though in great weakness; and painful my feelings have been, when thinking that I may

never have another opportunity of doing so; being with my dear family about to be removed from scenes like these, to a land of strangers, amongst a people whose language we know not. I do not wish to multiply words unnecessarily; but as there are perhaps few present who are acquainted with my motives for leaving, I have believed it would be right for me, near the close of this meeting to inform you, as ability may be afforded. Nearly four years ago, in the vision of that light in which I believe, it was clearly manifested that it would be right for me to remove with my dear family to that land. Many were the conflicts and deep the baptisms I passed through, known only to Him who seeth in secret; but whilst abiding under these impressions, for he that believeth maketh not haste, I was brought into a willingness to give up thereto: and thanks be to the Preserver of men, I can now say without boasting, I am willing to go whithersoever He may be pleased to send me. With these feelings, I went over last summer to see this strange land; and though I met with many trials, my faith was not shaken, but remained fixed on Him, “who walketh upon the wings of the wind.”

‘Painful as the separation is to me, I would not have my dear friends think that I consider my lot hard; for in sincerity I can adopt the language of,—“What shall I render unto the Lord for all his mercies?” Few have received greater benefits from His hand,—few have experienced greater deliverances; and none more unworthy. I am weak and frail; yet in me you behold a monument of His everlasting mercy. He has kept me from the devouring sword;—He has preserved me from the raging pestilence, when thousands have fallen by my side;—He kept me alive in famine;—He saved me from shipwreck, when the deep was ready to overwhelm, and the briny waves to swallow me up:—but, above all, He has showed me his marvellous truth.

‘To this Power, my dear friends, I commend you, which is able to do all things for you. When we are far separated, we may still pray for each other; and perhaps those prayers may prove more availing, than whilst we have been together. In the words of the Apostle,—to His grace, which is able to keep and preserve you alive in the most holy faith, I commend you, together with myself and my dear family,—all that go, and all that stay; and in the love of the everlasting gospel, I salute you, and affectionately bid you fare-well.’

The last visit our dear friend D. W. paid before leaving his native country for Russia, was at the house of S. E. of Hull, where he



took his last meal on shore, the 22nd of sixth month. In a short opportunity, after dinner, he told us that his mind had been gratefully affected, in renewedly feeling the life-giving presence of Israel's Shepherd, accompanied with a belief, that he should not be deserted in the time of need; but, that He who had been with him in six troubles would graciously preserve him in the seventh: under which precious feeling he had been ready to adopt the language,—“Surely goodness and mercy have followed me all the days of my life, and I shall dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.”

[He proceeded on his voyage; in the course of which he addressed the following letter to his friend, the late Samuel Smith of Sheffield.]

Sixth month 26th, 1818.

My dear friend,

According to my promise, I have the pleasure of informing thee, that we are now pushing for the roads of Elsineur, and expect to anchor in about two hours, having had a passage of four days and nights. It has been what the sailors call a fine run; yet some of my company have thought it rough enough. The supper-table was well attended the evening we left Hull, and sailing was talked of with the greatest enthusiasm, but a great alteration had taken place by next morning; the land was out of sight, the wind had got up, and we found a tumbling sea upon the Dogger Bank. But little breakfast was wanted, and at dinner-time, I had not one guest to bear me company. The *Arethusa* has proved herself a noble vessel; and, although much weighted upon her decks with water-casks and cattle, she has borne her costly freight, (to me not only costly but precious indeed,) nearly seven hundred miles in this short time, without any leakage, though sorely buffeted by wind and sea. My dear wife has been very ill; yet through all has been favoured with calmness and resignation, and I fully believe has never once let in fear.

The sincerity and kindness of all our friends who have sheltered me and my family, serve to make us the more regret being thus torn away from them. But amidst these painful sensations, quietness has presided amongst us; and in our silent meeting in the cabin yesterday, some of our hearts were tendered, under a sense of the continued regard of the unslumbering Shepherd.

We were so amply provided with every article of provision which our Hull friends could think of and prepare, that our fare has been very different from what is usual at sea. In short, we have so many things to be thankful for, that there is some danger of our being

deficient in gratitude to the great Author of all our blessings; but I humbly trust we shall be preserved in humility and watchfulness, and in that fear which can alone entitle us to divine protection and regard.

[After his arrival at Petersburg, he again writes to his friend S. S., as follows:]

Ochta, near Petersburg, Eighth month 19th, 1818.

My dear friend,

I am fully aware that thou hast long before this time heard of our being favoured to land in safety, complete in number as when we left our native country. After replenishing our stock of hay and water at Elsineur, we proceeded on our voyage, and arrived at Cronstadt, on the 16th day from Hull: one day was lost at Elsineur, so that we could not well have had a more favourable and expeditious passage; for which, I humbly trust, all of us who are capable of reflection, are truly thankful. Several things combined to detain us at Cronstadt, so that it was eight days before we reached the habitation prepared for us, which is situated on the bank of the Neva, nearly opposite the Smolny monastery. It is a stuccoed brick house of two stories, with the necessary stabling and outbuildings; and we have now got it into tolerable order.

I have called upon my old acquaintances and friends of last year, and have met with the most handsome treatment from all with whom I have had to do; and I have found, to my great comfort, the greatest sincerity in all those who made profession last year. Sometimes I cannot avoid partaking of their sumptuous tables, which I can assure thee is no treat to me, though I believe it has its use: and if so, however mortifying, I hope I shall be willing to bear the cross of it. I always look forward to such times, as if I was going to be tried by a court-martial, or something of the sort; but if it was not for these feelings, I should be afraid that the creaturely part would be in danger of exaltation, from the caresses of these people. So that although much strippedness and abasedness are my lot, I believe that there only is my safety. Truly there is a precious seed scattered up and down in this place; and I think it is very remarkable, that so many of those in high stations are not only great, but are sincerely desirous of doing good, and are so little in their own eyes.

The greatest part of the time we have been here, it hath pleased Him, who best knows what is best for us, to dispense a season of poverty and barrenness, as far as relates to myself; and my dear wife has been pretty much in the same condition. At the same time, a ray of light hath mercifully been per-

mitted to shine upon the path, sufficient to strengthen the belief, that our being here is in the counsel of His will, without whose knowledge a single sparrow falleth not to the ground. If it was not for a gleam now and then of this kind, though faint and transient, how deplorable would our prospect be,—separated from those we dearly love, surrounded by many persons disposed to take every advantage of us, with a dreary half-year's winter gathering round us.

We are now making preparations for the winter, and have laid in a large store of wood for fuel; much more than I should have thought we could possibly consume. But as many fears are entertained by our friends here, lest we should suffer from the cold, we are forced to comply with their advice. The Russians keep themselves much warmer than we shall like; and I think it will be better to wear a little extra clothing, than to keep our rooms so excessively heated.

We have lately had some frosty nights, which have obliged us to try the stove in one room; we are much pleased with its construction, and think it preferable to our open English fire-places.

I have lately been inquiring the manner in which the winter here begins; and am informed that, after some cold rainy weather, the English winter commences, which freezes over parts of the Lake Ladoga: these are soon broken up by the wind, when the ice comes down in large flakes, and blocks up the Gulf of Finland and the Neva. Shortly after this, the winter comes in reality, and fixes the ice, often in a very rough state, just as it has been hurried down by the current,—many of the flakes lying one upon another. Often, the whole becomes solid in forty-eight hours; after which roads are levelled over the rough ice, at those places where the pontoon bridges and ferries have been, which are marked out by fir trees set up in the ice. These crossings, frequently remain passable until the fourth month; for although the snow melts off the land three weeks earlier, yet the river remains frozen, owing to the frosty nights: the roads are sometimes dusty before the ice breaks up in the river. This I believe is the season when people suffer the most, as the days are so warm that they change their clothing, whilst at the same time there are strong frosts by night.

Ninth month 4th.—Finding I have yet time, I feel disposed to lengthen my already lengthened letter. I do not wish to tire my friends; but I believe they are so much interested in our welfare, as to accept it as an expression of that gratitude and love, which I trust will never cease to flow in my heart, whilst me-

mory holds her place in this frail tabernacle, and however distant we and our little ones may be exiled. I alluded in the forepart of my letter to the stripped situation of mind, that had for some time been my portion; and have now, with humble thankfulness, to acknowledge the inexpressible comfort where-with I am comforted; which nothing short of the great and promised Comforter could administer to the drooping mind. Last first-day, in our little meeting, the Master was pleased to preside, and it was indeed “a feast of fat things;” and the language which arose in my heart was, “Take eat; this is my body.” I never remember being under such a covering, and my desire is, that I may never forget it: and oh! that the fear of the Lord may so prevail amongst us, as to entitle us to His love, which can alone enable us “to run through a troop, or leap over a wall;” and which at this time enableth me to call every country my country, and every man my brother.

#### TO BALBY MONTHLY MEETING.

Second month 17th, O. S. 1819.

Dear friends,

In conformity with the desire expressed in your minute of the fifth month last, we have endeavoured to render an account of ourselves in the foregoing part of this letter. It was thought that by drawing up answers to such of the queries as were applicable to us, the most correct statement of our situation would be obtained.

In thus drawing the attention of the monthly meeting to its distant members, a belief accompanies my mind, that tender sympathy and feeling are excited on our account; and my heart is humbled within me, in the remembrance of the “goodly tents of Jacob, and the quiet dwelling places of Israel,”—of those dear brethren and sisters, with whom I can no longer assemble before the Lord, and from whom my dear family and self are far separated, as from the bosom and fostering care of the church. Yet amidst a dispensation so painful to human nature, I have abundant cause to acknowledge the continued regard of Israel's great and compassionate Shepherd; who faileth not to care for His sheep, however widely scattered, and who at seasons is graciously pleased, not only to afford the healing balm of resignation, but to replenish with His love, which many waters cannot quench, nor distance diminish; but which at times is sensibly felt to flow towards the flock at home, even to the hindmost,—and to clothe with ability in secret broken aspirations to supplicate on their behalf, that “not a hoof may be left behind,” and that none may be missing in



the great day; but that all of every age and of every class, may hear His voice, be known of Him, and follow Him: that when He, the Great Shepherd, shall appear, we may appear also, and be all bound up together in the Lord's "bundle of life;" which is frequently, fervently, and at this time the desire of your friend,  
D. W.

To M. C.

Third month 19th, 1819.

I do not know that we have ever had more than 21 degrees of frost by Reaumur's scale, (16° below zero, Faht.)—indeed, but few of the Russians recollect so mild a winter. I think we never passed a winter in England with less sickness in the family: the merciful Dispenser of all our blessings has indeed done more than we could have thought or asked for. During four months of the darkest season, we have had the company, generally two days in the week, of our beloved friends W. A. and S. G.; through whom we have often been cheered and refreshed as with dainties from the dear Master's table. They have had a narrow path to tread in, yet are well satisfied with their labours here; though they have been in a different way from what is customary with those who move on such errands; they have truly been led in paths that they knew not, and in ways that they had not seen, to their own admiration, and to the praise of the great and excellent Name. They left us ten days ago, with minds full of peace,—beloved and regretted by all who had the happiness to become acquainted with them. The stream of gospel love, which was at seasons permitted to flow, when channels were open to receive it, has made, I believe, an impression on the minds of some, which will never be obliterated; and which has clearly evinced, "whose servants they are." They were, I think, of all men the most fit to move in such a work, in such a place, and under such circumstances.

I saw them set off from the city, just at the edge of dark, in a covered sledge, in the midst of a heavy snow-storm. They are furnished with letters and documents, sufficient to open the way wherever they go: they have also a document called a *podorojni*, which obliges the post-masters to furnish them with horses as soon as they arrive at a station; so that they are not likely to suffer detention on the road. Their luggage is put in the bottom of the sledge; over it is a bed covered with black morocco leather, on which they can either sit or lie: they have also provisions with them; and a servant who can speak French, German, and Russian.

Since the departure of our friends, we have felt much poverty and strippedness; yet at times a renewed evidence hath in unutterable mercy been vouchsafed to us, that the Rock remains, and that the Foundation standeth sure; so that there is still encouragement, even amidst the gloom by which we seem surrounded, humbly to hope that we shall be preserved and enabled to maintain our ground; however feeble our attempts may seem, and however much our weakness may be felt. The responsible situation in which we are placed, is at times almost enough to overwhelm me with fear; lest I should let fall any of those precious testimonies given us to bear, and thereby bring reproach upon the blessed cause of Truth. I have however great consolation in observing, that my eldest son also begins to feel the importance of this; and it is a great favour when the eldest takes the right way, as there is then a hope that the younger ones will follow after.

To B. H.

Ninth month 22nd, O. S. 1819.

My dear sister,

Since I last wrote to thee, our work has made great progress, and being now widely extended, is not likely to lessen my fatigue; but I am looking forward to a little respite, as the winter is expected shortly to be with us. Since the spring opened, I have been much harassed, having been engaged from four in the morning until late at night, except on first-days, when I do not suffer any work to be done, and of course I have no occasion to go out myself. It is a common practice here to transact business, and hold the principal markets on first-days; but I made a stand against it, as soon as I came, and have been under the necessity to this time strongly to object to it. On fifth-days also, I take the forenoons; so that our little meetings are regularly held, which is a great comfort to me, as well as a respite from toil, and at seasons the great Master is pleased to preside and own the slender few.

Since the spring opened, we have sown about forty acres with clover, and other grasses, also with some oats, but merely to protect the smaller seeds from drought; about four acres of potatoes have been planted, and ten acres of turnips sown with the Northumberland drill. On the whole, these have done well, particularly the turnips, which are bought up at a high price, as fast as I can get them into the market. But I am most surprised by the grass seeds, which in twelve weeks after the sowing were in full flower, looking like a full crop, the year after sowing in England;

such is the astonishing quickness of vegetation here.

Amidst the numerous avocations of the Emperor, time has been devoted by him for a thorough examination of the work carrying on by us; which gave me full two hours' time with him alone, and another hour was occupied at our house: so that I had an opportunity given of clearing myself, and I hope nothing was kept back on my part. I rejoice in believing, that a spark remains unextinguished in his noble bosom, which I trust will never be suffered to go out or diminish; but may be permitted increasingly to brighten, even unto the perfect day. Yet I cannot help fearing, when dwelling on the critical situation in which he is placed, the exalted station he fills, and the many besetments by which he is surrounded. I will content myself with reviving his own expression;—when speaking on the subject of war, I alluded to the vast army in this neighbourhood, and the state of mankind in general; he replied,—‘the things that are not possible with man, are possible with God.’

We have also had a visit from the reigning Empress: she is a very amiable woman,—so unaffected and unassuming, that our fears of being embarrassed in her presence were soon changed into admiration and regard; and though she manifested great condescension and affability, true dignity still appeared. She came to the house, and afterwards went to view the work; and I showed her every thing that I thought would please. She walked for a considerable time on the land, and was much gratified with its being so dry, as well as with the apparent change in the face of the country. The Empress speaks a little English, and had with her a companion who understands it well. I remain, &c.

#### TO D. M. OF SHEFFIELD.

Ninth month 22nd, 1819.

How often have I thought of my beloved friend and his dear wife and family, when in a situation in which I could not possibly address a few lines to them; and as often lamented and grieved, as month after month has rolled away, when they have been again brought to my remembrance.

In the winter, my time was much occupied in making preparations for the ensuing campaign; and since the ice left us, I have been constantly hurried and fatigued. This year my labour has been much increased, by my having been appointed to assist in the improvement of some land of the Dowager Empress, situated about twenty-four miles distant. I have in consequence seen the Dowager several times; and I find it a trying situation for a

Friend, to pass through the apartments of a palace, amongst a host of servants and military, who stare as if I was not a fellow-man. I sometimes think no one was ever in a situation similar to mine, or so much like the pelican in the wilderness, or the solitary sparrow on the house top; and am ready to query, whether my being here can answer any good end. Yet there are seasons, when I am comforted in the belief, that some minds are led to consider and to inquire our motives, for differing so widely from the rest of mankind; and I uniformly find, when opportunities of this sort occur, something like an assent in the minds of such, and a lamentation raised that a larger portion of mankind do not follow our example. Alas! little do they know how frail I am, and how weak I feel; often stripped of every thing that can afford any real comfort, and apparently left to myself to walk in slippery places. Sometimes my mind glances at my dear friends at home; but there I must not dwell, though I believe I shall always consider my country as my home,—and I trust my friends will ever remain dear to me, and that however separated or circumstanced, we shall be dear to each other in that love, which is not subject to change, but “hopeth all things, endureth all things, beareth all things; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth;”—which rests upon the meek as a diadem, and crowns the humble sufferer with eternal life, if constantly and earnestly laboured after and abode in. However we may be permitted to feel our nothingness, let us remember it is “by these things we live;” and truly, my dear friend, and but lately very often my companion in tribulation, I believe He is a strong rock and impregnable fortress to dwell in. For my own part, I need not ask the question, “whither shall I go;” having no choice left, and consequently no merit, if I should be found frequently turning unto Him, who only “hath the words of eternal life.”

I know I am many letters in debt to many of my dear friends; and I am afraid I should not be warranted in saying, ‘have patience and I will pay you all;’ and yet as it is really my intention to answer them, I hope they will be disposed to give me a little longer credit; at the same time to attribute my long silence to the true cause, and not that they are any of them blotted out of my memory, or that my regard is in any way lessened. For I think I may say, that all the members of your meeting, with whom I have been acquainted during the time I have been permitted to dwell amongst you, are frequently the objects of my remembrance and regard, from the oldest down to the little child. But when my time is so limited, that I cannot keep up a regular correspondence,



even with those that I have had the most intimate acquaintance with, I hope the charity of others will lead them to put the most favourable construction upon my long silence in this way, and I really believe they will be disposed to do so.

Well, my much loved friends, it was once very pleasant to be with you and the dear children; but those days are over and past, when it was often my lot to drop in amongst you; they are departed as a shadow when the light is withdrawn; but the Ancient of days remains: He changeth not, neither do His years fail. May he be your happy portion, not only through time, but, when the struggle is over and the warfare at an end, through the never-ending ages of eternity.

Believe me, though the restless Baltic rolls between us, your affectionate friend. D. W.

#### CHAPTER VII.

*Severe winter of 1819-20—His affectionate address to Balby monthly meeting—Sundry letters to his friends in England—visit from the Emperor Alexander.*

To D. M.

First month, 1820.

My dear friend,

Annexed are the answers to the queries from our slender meeting at Ochta, which I hope will be received in time for the monthly meeting in the third month next.

We often wonder how you are going on in England, whether you are sharing in any degree our cold winter. I sometimes think yours must have been more severe than for several years past, as the wind has been between north and east for the greater part of the last three months. I cannot possibly describe what we have had to encounter here; the Russians say, there has not been so severe a winter since the year 1800. It came upon us all at once: in the beginning of the tenth month, we could not get the plough into the ground, and we were shortly driven off altogether. The quantity of snow is great, and where it has drifted, it is very deep indeed, and the frost has been intense. This night we have twenty degrees, and it has been as low as thirty-one degrees by Reaumur's scale (37° below zero, Faht.) I was in the city on the coldest day, and did not suffer; though when I shut my eyes, perhaps for half a minute, it was difficult to open them again. At one time our prospect was very gloomy, as the children seemed as if they could not bear it; and the four youngest were ill at once with the scarlet fever;—but the Great Physician helped us. I did not like the idea of sending

for a doctor; it seemed like distrusting the hand that has so often been stretched forth for our deliverance: but one of our Russian domestics being ill, on his account a doctor was called in, and it was through him we learned what fever it was. They are now, through mercy, in usual health; and are all enduring the cold, I think as well as the Russians themselves.

We have abundance of wolves, which are drawn by the severity of the weather nearer than usual to the abodes of men. The intense cold sometimes drives them mad; six cases have occurred within our knowledge, of people being bitten by wolves in this state,—four of which proved fatal, and in the other two, the parties recovered, having had the parts cut out, and the wound seared with a hot iron. One man had his face torn by a wolf close by our house, but he succeeded in killing it; we all saw it, and a terrible animal it is to encounter, I can assure thee.\* When the frost is very great, the smaller birds fall to the ground; I have several times seen this. But though the wolf prowls round our habitation by night, we are favoured to be quiet and peaceful within, and to partake of many consolations.

#### TO BALBY MONTHLY MEETING.

First month 12th, 1820.

Dear friends,

Through the continued mercy of Him, who "crowneth the year with his goodness," I am once more permitted to send you answers to the queries from our little meeting at Ochta.

As great poverty and strippedness of mind are often, and particularly at this time, my portion, I feel quite discouraged in attempting to take up my pen on the present occasion; but in these dispensations, I have frequently to admire, that a precious feeling of love towards my dear brethren and sisters at home, is vouchsafed and permitted to remain, when every other feeling of good is wholly withdrawn from me. This being afresh brought to my remembrance, a hope is revived and cherished in my heart, (although peculiarly situated, and at times made painfully to feel the prevalence of the power of darkness by which I am surrounded,) that a small spark of life is yet unextinguished; and which, while I am writing, kindles an ability, though under an humbling sense of great weakness, to hold forth a word of encouragement to the afflicted, and to those among you, unto whom it is not only given to believe in, but also to suffer for the name of

\* This man though he submitted to the operation, subsequently fell a victim to hydrophobia.

Jesus; which may have a tendency to strengthen minds that are often drooping, and in their own apprehension, no longer able to sustain the seemingly unequal combat,—who know what it is to be plunged into the depths of indescribable distress;—for such I am persuaded there are. “Fear not,” was the gracious language of the Most High to “worm Jacob;” and it continues to be so, to all the Lord’s children, who are endeavouring faithfully to abide under, and patiently to endure the turnings and overturnings of His holy hand upon them: and though for the present these trials are not joyous but grievous, yet afterwards the peaceful fruits of righteousness will be the blessed experience of all those who are exercised thereby. It is indeed no other than the suffering path that leads to blessedness, which the dear Master himself trod; and which all his tribulated followers must tread; for the disciple cannot expect to be above his Master, nor the servant above his lord. So that, my dearly beloved friends, there is no real cause to be discouraged or to marvel at these things; but rather to rejoice, in that you are counted worthy to suffer, and in that you are at times made sensible of pain: for truly, pain is a certain sign of life, as that which is dead can feel no more; and it brings with it a consoling evidence, that such are living members of one and the same mystical body, whose members suffer not alone; but whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it,—or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it, of which Jesus Christ our Lord is the holy head. “Fear not, therefore;”—the kingdom is appointed unto you: it is those that endure to the end that shall be saved.

The trumpet has often sounded amongst us, my dear friends; but the alarming sound of late waxeth stronger and stronger; sufficiently so, I trust, to arouse those who have long regardlessly heard it. I would fain dismiss this painful subject, but in attempting to do so, sadness covers my mind, and fear begins to show itself, lest I should be found wanting in my duty to any; if such there are, who have long been neglecting the great business of their lives, and instead thereof, pursuing with avidity those things which perish with the using. Alas! what will be the situation of these in a day that is fast approaching, when the heavens shall depart as a scroll when it is rolled together; when every false delight will appear in its true colours, and nothing will be left for the poor mind to rest upon, not so much as a small island in the midst of this sea of perplexity and trouble—not a single act of dedication to the Lord’s righteous cause of Truth upon the earth to reflect upon; when those things that have occupied the heart, will

serve only as memorials of past folly. Let such be entreated by one who long hovered on destruction’s brink, and who hath known the terrors of the Lord for sin and disobedience; and under a sense thereof, is now most earnestly desirous that others may take warning, and thereby shun the fatal snares which keep the soul in bondage and in darkness. Let such be persuaded to seek the Lord, “while he may be found;” and endeavour to redeem the past and precious time,—to acquaint themselves with God and be at peace, to come to the knowledge of Him in the secret of their own souls,—who is “the way, the truth, and the life,” whom to know is life eternal; who willesh not the death of a sinner, but that all should repent, return and live. Then let me beseech you, in the love of him, who died for us and rose again, for the peace of your never dying souls, to accept the gracious invitation, “be ye reconciled to God,” before it be too late, and the things that belong to your peace are hid for ever from your eyes.

There is another class to whom my attention is now turned, for whose best welfare I feel an affectionate and tender solicitude; in whose hearts the babe immortal hath been mercifully begotten, creating therein new desires and breathings after soul-sustaining food; whose spiritual eyes are in a good degree opened to behold the beauty and excellency that dwell in the everlasting and unchangeable truth. To you, my dear friends, many of whom are young in years, my heart and pen are now directed,—earnestly desiring your preservation in the alone path that most assuredly leads to peace in this world, and in that which is to come. May nothing be suffered to turn you aside therefrom, but may you be strengthened stedfastly to contend for the like precious faith, which was once delivered to the saints,—that inestimable gift of God—that life of the just—that substance of things hoped for and evidence of things not seen, “without which it is impossible to please God, and of which Christ Jesus is not only the holy author, but the blessed finisher. Here let us make a pause,—lest any should spend their precious time, that treasure of eternal consequence, in vain. This most necessary and heavenly gift cannot be obtained from man, nor from the doctrines of any set of men. What saith the great apostle?—“Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.” Have not all heard? Yes, verily,—the blessed sound hath gone forth from sea to sea, from shore to shore, and from the river to the uttermost ends of the earth. But let none be misguided by an imposing appellation given, I sometimes fear by design, to the Holy Scriptures, styling them the “word of God.” Al-



though the Holy Scriptures are replete with the most sublime truths,—the book of books, wonderfully preserved from the earliest ages of time, “given by inspiration of God,” and “profitable for correction, for reproof, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works,” and “are able to make wise unto salvation;”—yet let us mark what follows,—it is “through faith which is in Christ Jesus.” For some of you this explanation may not be needful, but for me it is safe. Faith cometh then by that all creative Word, which was with the Father before the worlds were; “all things were made by Him, and without Him was not any thing made that was made:” who in the beginning changed the wild chaos, when it was without form and void, into habitable earth; who spake, and the worlds were made:—and it is by this divine Word alone, that we must all be changed from a state of nature to a state of grace, and renewed again into the heavenly image that man was in, before he by transgression fell.

Behold then the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last, the root and offspring of David, the bright and morning star! Behold the marvellous display of everlasting love! the all-powerful, saving Word, the blessed medium by which faith and hearing come, is nigh in the heart and in the mouth, as saith the apostle. Search then, my dearly beloved friends,—seek, and I humbly pray the Father of mercies, that you may be favoured to find. Be of good courage;—humble yourselves before God: ask in the language of unceasing prayer, and you shall receive; knock, with earnest, faithful desires, and the door of boundless mercy shall be opened unto you. “For every one that asketh, receiveth; and he that seeketh, findeth; and to him that knocketh, it shall be opened.” Remember it is on you that the weight of the law and the testimony must devolve, when the faithful standard-bearers of the present day are numbered with the just of all generations; and that on your example greatly depends the future bias of the tender minds of the dear innocent little children. In so doing you will not only be a blessing to them, but they will bring down a blessing upon you; and the Lord Most High, in his infinite goodness and mercy will bless you altogether.

With the salutation of that love which desireth the good of all, I remain your affectionate friend,

D. W.

To S. S.

Second month 2nd, 1820, O. S.

Thy account of ——— towards the close of his day was truly consoling; and I trust the

VOL. VII.—No. 2.

retrospect of this period would have a tendency to comfort his dear widow in her affliction. We feel much for her; but she has a strong tower, into which the righteous have in all ages fled, and found refuge and safety,—even the power of the Most High God; who remains not only a judge for the widow, but will plead her cause himself, and be a Father to her fatherless children, if they are but willing to commit themselves into His holy keeping. In love and tenderness this is what I very much desire on their account,—that they may choose the Lord for their portion, and the God of Jacob for the lot of their inheritance; that so they may be taught of his ways, and walk in his paths: and then the great loss they have been permitted in unerring wisdom to sustain, will not only be sanctified to their dear bereaved mother, but to themselves also. And if happily the elder are good examples to the young children, in humble walking with their God, and in uprightness and integrity amongst men, and by ordering their conversation aright,—they will be the blessed means of turning the feet of their dear little brothers into the paths of truth. The Lord himself will not be wanting to draw their minds into an early acquaintance with that light which is the life of men, in their own hearts; which if attended to will lead them out of all error into all truth: in righteousness will they be established, and great will be their peace. Our love is to them all.

I will endeavour to give thee some idea of a plan which opened in my mind last autumn; but I must in the first place make thee a little acquainted with the state of things here. The land belongs principally to the nobles, who have immense estates cultivated by the peasants born on them, who are the absolute property of their masters, man, woman and child alike. They either work for their proprietor, or they deliver to him a part of their earnings, liable to be increased at his pleasure. The result is, that they have no interest in any thing; and I have heard it said among them, that life is not worth a copeck, or the hundredth part of a shilling: this is a very affecting circumstance. My idea is, to make a trial of placing peasants in farms at a moderate fixed rent, on the land we have drained and cultivated; and if these are favoured to prosper, I have a hope that the nobles will see it their interest to divide their large estates in a similar way, and place their peasants on the same footing; and I am persuaded their incomes would be greatly increased. If when each peasant had paid his rent, either in money or produce, the remainder was to be his own, he would be stimulated to industry; there would be something worth living for.

It was intended that the whole of the land which we drain and cultivate, should be farmed by us; but this is now in part set aside. The land is now to be divided into small farms, of from thirty to forty-five acres, to be let at a moderate rent, but sufficient to pay interest on the outlay for draining, cultivating, and building; the tenants to be under wholesome restrictions in the management of their land, that their farms may be taken proper care of. On each piece of land where there are farms established, a part will remain in my hands, as an example for the small farms, where a complete establishment for agricultural purposes will be built. I have been very busy constructing a model for a farm-house, suitable for the object in view; and it is expected that several of these houses will be erected next summer.

I had the happiness to see the land which has been drained, quite free from vapour, when all around it was covered as with a cloud; so that the surrounding neighbourhood cannot fail to become more healthy from its expulsion. This would be a pleasant picture for the mind to dwell upon, if there was not mourning and lamentation on other accounts: but the state of things, in a religious point of view, is very affecting and discouraging; and the query often arises, what can be done for these people;—to which the answer at this time is, “vain is the help of man.” And truly I am often fearful that the creaturely activity of man, instead of helping, is marring the good work already begun in the tender minds of many; causing them to stop very far short of that undefiled rest, which is prepared for the people of God; but it is my most firm belief, that their earthly wisdom will be confounded, and that the Most High will scatter them as chaff is scattered before the wind; and that He will magnify His own glorious power in the hearts of his children, who in simplicity are turning their faces towards his holy mountain,—taking of the things of Christ, and showing them to these his little ones.

For my own part I am a very poor creature, and sometimes fearful that I myself shall become a castaway; yet after times of deep suffering and self-abasement, love for the dear people here abounds more and more in my breast; and often is the desire breathed, that the cultivation in their hearts may not only keep pace with, but abundantly surpass and excel, that of the wastes, by which we are surrounded. Then would “the wilderness be as Eden, the desert as the garden of the Lord;” joy, gladness, thanksgiving, and the voice of melody would be heard therein.

The question—when shall we meet again?

I should be glad to have it in my power to answer; but it is only known to Him who seeth the end from the beginning, whether again in this world or not. Let us look up with humble confidence to Him, to enable us through every dispensation yet to come, to say—“not my will, but thine be done;” at the same time labouring with unremitting assiduity to know, what His righteous will is concerning us. Evening, morning, and noon, let us pray, my much loved friend; and He, who will not break the bruised reed nor suffer it to be broken, in his own time will not only reveal it to us, but will enable us to perform it, to the praise of His great and excellent name, and to our unspeakable peace. Farewell in the Lord, my dear friend.

To R. C.

21st of Second month, 1820.

My dear friend,

Hearing by letters lately received from England, that affliction had visited your abode, I cannot help waiving all other considerations, however pressing at this time, and endeavouring to dip into sympathy and sweet feeling with my long loved friends; to whom my spirit is united in the binding influence of that love, which extends from the river to the uttermost parts of the habitable globe: humbly desiring that the God of all consolation may be with you, and comfort you together, with the riches of peaceful resignation to His righteous will; sustaining you in lowly patience, wrought by tribulation and suffering, in mysterious wisdom dispensed for sanctifying purposes, to His own glory, and the refinement of those who are precious in His Divine sight. “It is by these things men live;” they have led the righteous in all ages to blessed experience, being productive of that glorious hope which maketh not ashamed, because the love of God is shed abroad in their hearts; which in the true dignity of its character, animates the Christian travellers with innocent boldness, to persevere in the tribulated path cast up for them, to meet with unshaken firmness the yet remaining storms of time, and to behold with the placid eye of faith, the “far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory” about to be revealed, and which awaits the ransomed and redeemed of the Lord in the kingdom of Christ Jesus, that will never have an end; where pain and sorrow cannot enter, and all tears are for ever wiped away.

I well remember the dear young woman, who has terminated at an early period her innocent career, and entered into everlasting rest; and fresh in my memory is every part of the family at whose hands I have so often had



kindness shown me in simplicity and godly sincerity. These circumstances may not have been thought of by you; but in my memory they will long retain a lively and sweet fragrance. This acknowledgment will apply to many of my beloved friends, and I would gladly make it to all of them: very pleasantly can I reflect on the intervals which I was permitted to enjoy, when a sojourner amongst you, when my mind has been refreshed with the countenances of my friends, as "iron sharpeneth iron;" with some of whom, though a weak and feeble helper, I have been engaged in endeavouring to turn "the battle to the gate;" whilst united together in love, and harmonizing in sentiment, as "our bows abode in strength, the arms of our hands were made strong" by the mighty God of Jacob. But as a dream vanishes when the sleeper awakes, so are these seasons departed; leaving me to gaze in abasedness of self, to adore and tremble at the gracious dealings of that Almighty power, which has been with me all my life. Though few and evil have been the days of my pilgrimage, yet few lives have been more chequered with vicissitude and variety, since cast upon the wide world an orphan boy; then cradled on a boisterous element and nursed in the free-school of iniquity, with sinners my companions,—but myself the chief! Oh! wondrous mercy, signally displayed!—in saving from the fire a burning brand, and following up from time to time with judgment's rod, the far-fled wanderer!—flying still, and still pursued! until overtaken, and in matchless love obliged to yield, and reluctantly to retrace step by step destruction's mazy track,—and to stop at many a place; and, I hope in sincere repentance, made to dwell on scenes of mispent time and sinful deeds innumerable, "gone beforehand" (I humbly pray) to judgment;—not to "follow after," or where would be now my hope at this late hour, if forsaken by that gracious Lord;—who in so great compassion, wrought the miracle, and in the greatness of his love and strength, has led my straying feet beside the still waters, and made me to lie down in the green pastures of life: who brought me amongst the assemblies of his people, with whom I now feel precious unity of spirit in the bond of sweet consoling peace;—and though far separated from them, I am at this day, I trust, "sitting and clothed and in my right mind," under a sense of my own unworthiness, and of such great and unmerited mercy.

When I began this letter, I had not the most distant thought of saying what I have done; but on looking it over, I believe they are words of truth and soberness, and I do not feel at liberty to alter them. Truly my

mind is at this moment humbled as in the dust, in taking a retrospective view of the things that have been, and of our present peculiar situation. I think I never knew a time, when watchfulness and prayer felt so needful, in order not only "to strengthen," but even to retain "the things that remain, that are ready to die." It is like contending for every inch of ground in a well contested field, and being unable at night to discover whether the morning's position has been maintained; so that we stand in need of the prayers of our brethren in old England, that we may be preserved watchful, humble and faithful, amidst the various snares and temptations by which we are surrounded. Believe me thy truly affectionate friend,

D. W.

#### TO BALBY MONTHLY MEETING.

First month, 1821.

Dear friends,

I now enclose the answers to the usual Queries from our little company, and at the same time acknowledge the receipt of your certificate on behalf of S. K.

I trust that none of my dearly beloved friends will attribute the brevity of this letter to any thing short of the true cause;—neither absence, nor distance, have in any degree lessened my love or diminished my regard for you. "Can the children of the bride chamber fast, while the bridegroom is with them? As long as they have the bridegroom with them they cannot fast. But the days will come, when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them, and then shall they fast in those days." To you who have experimentally-witnessed the truth of this saying of the Saviour of men, it is unnecessary to say more, than that these days are my days;—the days are indeed come, when strippedness and weakness are all that I seem to possess. Should there be any of my dear brethren and sisters alike circumstanced, it is with me to say, for the encouragement of such, (although destitute myself of any claim, and totally unworthy of partaking thereof,) that if this humiliating, though purifying dispensation be patiently abode under, the result will be unspeakably glorious. Mourning will be turned into joy; the painful and perhaps protracted fast, will become a precious and delightful feast,—even "a feast of fat things, of wine on the lees well refined:"—"know ye what I have done to you," will be sensibly understood; and a language will be excited by gratitude and love, similar in kind to that of Simon Peter, when the dear Master silenced his objections by explaining the terms of apostleship, "Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head."

The tree of the field sustains no injury by the wintry season's rest, on the contrary, it is invigorated, if sap remains in the root: so the foregoing dispensation, if the precious life remains, however low and hidden it may be, tends only to strengthen and establish the humble Christian more firmly in the heavenly vine; and when the spring of life and love is permitted to return, buds and blossoms will again appear, and new fruit will be brought forth by these chosen ones, which will lastingly remain, to the praise and glory of the great and good husbandman, and their own eternal peace.

Let me remind my dear friends of every age and class, that another year hath passed swiftly over our heads; this intimation is accompanied by an earnest desire, that as days are multiplied and years increase, an increase of heavenly treasure may be ours, through an increasing knowledge of the only true God, and his Son Jesus Christ. I remain your affectionate friend,

D. W.

To J. H.

Second month 7th, 1821.

My dear friend,

The prospect of approaching intercourse once more with our beloved friends in England, through the medium of the shipping, administered comfort to my mind, as I was about to take up my pen to address thee, and brings to my recollection, that this letter will probably reach thee about the time of our quarterly meeting held at Leeds. This circumstance awakens a feeling, which humbles my heart, and afresh revives in my view, days that will never return, and precious seasons, in which I was permitted to assemble with my dear brethren and sisters, and even to partake of the same food, though unworthy to gather up the crumbs that fell from the table. But from scenes like these I am now set apart, and can no longer behold the venerable towers of Zion, nor mark her bulwarks, nor consider her palaces,—except from the reports of others. The accounts that have reached us in the course of the summer, have excited painful sensations; lest any thing should tend to “divide in Jacob or scatter in Israel,” and cause a shyness amongst those who have been valiants in support of the law and the testimony,—or embitter the latter moments of any, who have laboured through a long life with uprightness and integrity of heart, for the welfare of Zion and the enlargement of her borders. I cannot contemplate these things, and divest myself of fear, lest a root of bitterness should spring up, and many be defiled. “Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong;”—is the language that presents itself on the pre-

sent occasion; and if not applicable to others, I am well satisfied it is to myself. For the older I grow, the more needful I find the watch: there is no other safe dwelling place; there is no cessation of arms; the warfare is continual, and must be continually maintained, or there is no standing fast in the faith. But to such as endeavour, through watchfulness and prayer, to quit themselves like men, strength will be administered in due time, not only to stand fast in the faith, but to become strong; yea, they will be “strong in the Lord and in the power of his might.” So that I very much desire, that the minds of all may be clothed with the invincible armour, wherewith they will be “able to stand in the evil day, and, having done all, to stand.”

The winter with us is considered a mild one. I do not know that we have at any time had more than twenty-five degrees of Reaumur's scale, (24° below zero, of Faht. ;) but there have been frequent changes, and I think we have all suffered more from the cold than heretofore, owing partly, we suppose, to the high winds which have prevailed with little intermission all the season. The roof of our house has been much damaged, and at this time at least thirty square yards of it are uncovered; and we are told it cannot be repaired until warm weather comes again, as being made of sheet iron, the workmen cannot well handle it during the frost.

To S. S.

Third month 12th, 1821.

Having now dwelt among these dear people nearly three years, I think I can say with truth, that my love for them has not diminished, but on the contrary greatly increased, particularly for those who are of least account among men; their simplicity and sufferings, which I often witness, render them dearer than ever to my heart; though I have often to turn aside, and lament in heaviness and mourning. My heavenly Father has been pleased of late in retirement, to clothe me more and more with ability to pray, not only on account of the many evils that are in the world, but for His little ones wherever scattered; and for ever blessed be His great and adorable name, to pray for one who seemeth to need help more than they all—even for myself; whose backslidings cannot be numbered for multitude, and whose sins and transgressions are more than the hairs of my head, twice told; whose day's work is drawing fast towards a close,—yea, the shadows of the evening are beginning to appear. Can it be any thing but Almighty love, that thus awakens and makes sensible a poor frail mortal? “As an eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young,



spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them and beareth them on her wings,"—thus preparing them for flight; so doth a compassionate and ever merciful Lord God nourish, cherish, and strengthen in the tenderest manner, his unworthy and often ungrateful children. How often would He gather them;—but oh! they will not. How often in love unutterable doth He strive to save, by convincing their understandings in the most undubitable manner, that "there is a reward for the righteous, and a God that judgeth in the earth;" and, unwilling "that any should perish, but that all should repent, return, and live," how often doth He alarm and shake the false rest of those, who are dwelling carelessly and at ease, and thus warns them of the uncertainty of their continuance here. By His judgments, all in mercy and in truth, how often doth He fill our hearts with sorrow, which worketh repentance never to be repented of, to reduce and bring us into humility; that He may draw us nearer and nearer into acquaintance with Him, in whom humility and meekness are personified;—who said "no man cometh unto me, except the Father, which hath sent me, draw Him;—no man cometh to the Father, but by me;—him that cometh to me, I will in no wise cast out."

Oh! that there was a willingness wrought in us to bear the turnings and overturnings of our heavenly Father's hand:—what blessedness would accompany that simple child-like state! The dear Master would have many things to say unto us, but we cannot bear them now,—we are unprepared to receive the sayings of the heavenly guest. Then what abundant cause there is for the tribulated weary soul, to come unto the meek and lowly Jesus; and in humble resignation, to receive His yoke, and learn of Him, whose teaching is ever sublime and excellent;—peaceful and easy is His yoke,—light the burden,—sweet the rest. He can teach us to pray "in faith, even unto Him, who seeth in secret," and who will condescend to hear from heaven, His dwelling place, and to accept the broken, humble, contrite breathings of the soul.

I perceive that much of what I have written, applies to myself, which is often the case with what I write to others; my friends will, therefore, have the better opportunity of knowing and feeling the true state and condition of a poor shattered vessel, that has partaken of a tolerable share of buffeting (great part of which might have been avoided) through the voyage of life; and is now drifting with a fleet of many others, that are endeavouring to reach the same port, but into which it is impossible to enter without a pilot. Some knowing the danger of delay, and the difficulty

of obtaining a pilot, unless timely and earnestly sought after, prudently hearken to counsel, and provide at setting out. Such steer along safely, with wisdom at the helm; but too many neglect this, till near the end of the voyage, when, as they begin to discover their great risk, by certain indications of danger which cannot be mistaken, they are continually making signals to other vessels, by way of warning them. To some who follow, the warning may be quite unnecessary, as such may be amply prepared, having a glorious prospect of an entrance being abundantly administered unto them.——

### To R. C.

Tenth month 3rd, 1821.

It is necessary to make great allowances for those in high stations in every country, but particularly in this, which is but just emerging from a state of barbarism. The difficulties by which a few virtuous individuals here are surrounded, make it a matter of astonishment to me, how such are enabled to persevere in a tolerable degree of well doing, amidst such a host of corruption and opposition. Scarcely a day passes over but we have cause to mourn and lament: but although there is much to grieve for, there is also a great deal to love and pity.

There are a number of foreigners here, and not least my own countrymen, who have done a great deal of harm, by flattering some truly worthy characters; and from self-interested motives, making them think more highly of their religious attainments, than otherwise would have been the case. This helps to keep such wrapped up in false garments, and renders the language of simple and undisguised truth more harsh and impalatable, when they do meet with it. Some time ago, a person of consequence and his secretary, visited the land we are cultivating on this side of the city. The crops were at the time in a very luxuriant state, with which they were much pleased. They wished to ascertain what the people about thought of the improvements, and asked several of them what they thought of it. These all expressed their approbation; at last, one was asked, who said, 'if the Lord had not given the man wisdom to do it, it would have been a morass still.' With this answer they seemed much pleased. The secretary said, 'our people have always faith, they ascribe every thing to God.' I said, 'I often hear them mention his name.' 'Always,' said he. But, I said, 'I am sorry to hear them call the great name to witness what they say in the markets and in their trade.' It was easy to perceive he did not like my remark. Almost

invariably the people here, in asserting the price of an article, which is often a great falsehood, call upon the Almighty as a witness: when rather than lose a customer, they will come down to one-half the price they first asked. Now, if I had assented to the observation of the secretary, and called them 'a good people,' (which is a common mode of expression here,) he would have been delighted. In short, they are so used to adulation and flattery, that they look for it every where, and from every person; which makes the way more difficult for those who are not satisfied to feed them in this manner.

I had a conference with the Emperor a short time since, and was never so much satisfied with any previous interview. He has passed through much conflict of mind within the last twelve months; the state of political affairs and many other trying circumstances combined, have served to reduce him both in body and mind. A knowledge of his peculiar situation renders him in my estimation, an object of commiseration and sympathy. Few, I am persuaded, are really aware of the difficulties by which he is encompassed, or of what he has to contend with; and when I consider the education he has had and training up altogether, I am more than ever surprised that he should have any relish for serious things. He had been absent about ten months at the Congress; and on my telling him he had been a long time away from his large family, he said, 'I have had a great deal to do. It is a very difficult thing to act for a nation, but I hope I have acted under God; and the measures I have taken I hope are approved by Him. I am encouraged to believe so, because not a drop of blood has been spilled. When the nations were in great distress and suffering during the late calamitous war, they then prayed to God: but they are like the Jews of old, they have now forgotten Him. There are societies of men in different places, who are disseminating bad principles under the cloak of bringing in Christianity: they are in many parts of Europe,—they are every where.' I told him I had often thought of him, and that a petition had been raised in my heart on his account. 'Yes,' he said, 'and I have often thought of you; there has not been one day, not one day, but I have thought of you and of Messrs. Allen and Grellet, and always felt myself united to you three in spirit.'

Previously to this conversation, we sat down in silence before the Lord; and in the course of our sitting, my mouth was opened to declare unto him the goodness of God, and His great mercy, variously displayed to the children of men; and to speak of the precious promises,

which the humble heart only can sensibly partake of. After which, we continued our sitting until I had cleared my mind a second time; in this I had to recite the invitation of the dear Master;—"Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden," &c. After having sat some time in silence, feeling myself at liberty, I told him my mind was relieved; when he gave me his hand, and attempted to describe his feelings, but was unable to utter any thing, except 'I have felt it,' laying his hand on his heart: I never saw him so brought down before. He stayed with us, I think, nearly three hours, and then left us in an affectionate manner, saying, 'I must leave you. I hope this is not the last time that I shall come: remember me in your prayers.' I attended him to his carriage, and as it drove off, he said, 'God bless you.' Our large family Bible lay in one of the rooms; on seeing it he opened it, and readily turned to the 119th Psalm, which he said he had read that morning. He had a copy of the Scriptures in the carriage, which he always carries with him. My mind was so covered with sadness during the remainder of the day, and at intervals long afterwards, that my dear wife said, she thought I must have said too little or too much to the Emperor. I told her, no;—I felt satisfied as to that: but I could not help lamenting, that such a man should be in such a situation.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Address to Balby monthly meeting in 1822 and in 1823—Visit from the Emperor, &c.—Great flood at Petersburg.*

### TO BALBY MONTHLY MEETING.

First month 20th, 1822.

Dear friends,

Being once more permitted to send you the answers to the Queries from our little company in this land, my mind is renewedly and affectionately turned towards my dear brethren and sisters, whom I have long and tenderly loved; for whose welfare every way, an unabated solicitude remains, and I trust will ever have a dwelling place in my heart.

Great indeed is the weakness, and painfully discouraging the feelings I am under on the present occasion. "What could have been done more to my vineyard," than hath been done unto it, is the language that presents itself to my mind. In the breast of every individual capable of reflection, I believe the acknowledgment will be found,—'Nothing Lord.' None can say, knowledge has been wanting; for "the grace of God which bringeth salvation hath appeared unto all, teaching"



all: "precept upon precept, line upon line," have been abundantly administered. How unavailing and ineffectual will be the feeble efforts of one, who feels himself less than the least of all the flock and family, to stir up the pure mind in any, to a remembrance of things that are excellent—things that accompany life and salvation; when so many dignified servants have hitherto pleaded the blessed Master's righteous cause in vain. How many of the Lord's deeply baptized, faithful messengers have been sent from time to time, to "cry aloud and spare not,"—clothed with indisputable authority to preach, rebuke, exhort; and in that love which causeth joy in the presence of the holy angels, beseeching us to be "reconciled unto God." What could have been done more, that hath not been done? We ourselves must testify against ourselves, to the truth of this.

Dearly beloved friends, consider what I say; and the Lord give you understanding hearts, rightly to estimate the greatness of His love and mercy. "May the Lord direct your hearts into the love of God, and into the patient waiting for Christ,"—strengthen your faith in Him, and enable you to obey His voice; lest His glory should depart from Israel, and nothing be left but a name.

Be pleased, O Lord! to remember them that sigh. Be with thy little ones, wherever scattered; who for Zion's sake cannot hold their peace, and for Jerusalem's sake cannot rest; "until the righteousness thereof go forth as brightness, and the salvation thereof as a lamp that burneth." Strengthen them to cry day and night unto thee: sustain, support, and comfort them. Bless them, and continue with them to the end; and crown them with everlasting glory.

So prays your affectionate friend and brother,  
D. W.

To E. R.\*

Tenth month 27th, 1822.

My dearest E.

Notwithstanding I have hitherto been silent, the affecting events which have taken place since we last saw each other, have not been suffered to transpire unregarded; on the contrary, they have only served to heighten that love and affection, which have long dwelt in my heart towards thee, and thy dear brothers and sisters. Believe me, my dear niece, that through all, you have had my nearest sympathy; and that I have participated most feel-

ingly and sincerely in all the painful afflictions, which "the Father of mercies and God of all comfort," hath in His unsearchable wisdom been pleased to dispense unto you; although I have been dumb as to the expression of it by letter. Often has a secret petition been raised in my heart for your protection and preservation, to Him whose Almighty power can sustain our minds through every conflict; who will not break the bruised reed, nor suffer it to be broken. When contemplating your situation, I am often comforted by a knowledge of the many near and dear relations and friends who surround you, who are affectionately careful and solicitous for your welfare every way; but my greatest consolation arises, from a firm belief that you are indeed the peculiar objects of Divine regard. Ah! my very dear E., what a blessed privilege to be under the superintending care and oversight of Him, who slumbereth not: such, though cast down, are not forsaken in the day of trouble;—resignation's healing balm, which soothes the keen anguish of an afflicted mind, in purest love is given;—not a tear, not a sigh, escapes His ever-watchful eye, in those who strive to bow in meek submission to His holy righteous will. How do I long that I could find words to convey the sweet consolation which pervades my mind, when turned towards thee; it cannot be expressed, "Behold the tabernacle of God is with men,"—is the language that arises in my mind, while dwelling under the precious influence of this feeling; and I humbly pray that it may be richly verified, to thy inexpressible comfort and delight, and to the admiration, gratitude and praise, not only of thyself, but of all thy dear connexions and friends. It is the broken, contrite spirit that the Lord regards;—it is the heart that wears the costly robe of sweet humility, in which the lowly Jesus makes His blessed abode. O the riches of His grace! it is peace, joy and love;—that precious peace, which the world with all its perishing enjoyments, however splendid and specious in appearance, cannot give; and, blessed be the name of the Lord the only Giver, neither can it take one particle away;—that joy, in which the ransomed and redeemed only can rejoice, "unspeakable and full of glory:"—that love, which enlargeth the heart, and casteth out all fear,—even the love of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord, to the children of men. "He will dwell with them, and they shall be His people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God. And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away."

\* It may be worthy of remark, that E. R., to whom the letter is addressed, expired the very day on which it was written.

## TO A FRIEND UNDER AFFLICTION.

Eleventh month 22nd, 1822.

I have been for many months desirous of writing to thee; and be assured that my silence has not arisen from any diminution of love or regard. On the contrary, the fight of affliction thou hast had to pass through, since we last exchanged letters, has rendered thee more than ever the companion of my thoughts, with increased affectionate solicitude; and yet it is only of late, that I have come to the determination of addressing thee.

Now, my dear friend, I hope I shall not awaken feelings of a painful nature, as from my own weakness and poverty I feel more than usually incapable of administering the smallest ray of comfort or of lulling them again into quietness and repose. But, while it is not in my power to strengthen, I trust I shall be preserved from weakening or lessening, in any degree, thy confidence in Him, who hath been pleased to strip thee of, I believe, thy greatest earthly treasure. How mysterious to our poor finite comprehension, are the ways of Infinite wisdom, to prepare and purify us for an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, and which will never fade away! How difficult it is for us, in the hour of dismay and extremity, to distinguish that the arm of everlasting mercy is still underneath for our support: but as humble resignation and submission to that Holy Will which cannot err, are patiently sought after, the poor tossed mind becomes mercifully strengthened to look unto Him, who gave, and who hath been pleased to take away;—and to say in the depth of humility, Amen—Blessed be the name of the Lord! This, I trust, has been thy sensible experience, my very dear friend, long before this time; and that patient fortitude hath conspicuously shone forth to thy sympathizing relations and friends: that they who have been eye-witnesses, may also have been partakers with thee of that tranquil and peaceful resignation of mind, which sheds a lustre, consoling, comforting, and animating to all within its sphere. It is this that designates the true Christian,—rising with increased brightness through the gloom of affliction, lowly and weak in self-estimation, and poor indeed,—disrobed of self and what self most delighted in;—but ah! how rich, in heavenly garb attired, and decorated with the costly gem of sweet humility, which has been won by keenest suffering, and which suffering alone can purchase!

These last seven weeks I have suffered from rheumatism in my right arm, which has deprived me of much sleep: while it takes from my rest, it allows a larger portion of time for

reflection, and I hope will teach me to number my days; and if happily I am found applying my heart unto wisdom, it will be a blessing indeed; that so the day's work may be finished, when the night draws nigh. For truly I am often filled with fear on this account, finding yet much to do, and many things alive, which ought to have been long ago slain. And O! the weakness and poverty that I daily feel! and the want of that ability, which can alone qualify for every good thought, word and work! If under feelings of this kind long dispensed, there be no cause for discouragement, then may I hope yet to praise Him, who was the health of David's countenance and his God.

## TO FRIENDS OF BALBY MONTHLY MEETING.

First month 23rd, 1823.

Dear friends,

I herewith enclose our answers to the Queries which are usually considered at the spring quarterly meeting, and at the same time am desired to acknowledge the receipt of your certificate on behalf of ———.

On looking towards my dear brethren and sisters, I am thankful in feeling a degree of that love, which alters not by separation, neither is subject to change amidst the vicissitudes of time; in which I once more salute you, with desires for your present and eternal well-being. Under an humbling sense, produced by the recollection of those precious seasons, when I have been permitted to assemble with you, previously to the spring quarterly meeting in each year, I am induced to bring to your remembrance the days that are over and past. Nearly five years have glided away, since I saw the well-gathered assembly on such an occasion; at that time there were many vacant seats which had been occupied by faithful labourers in the Lord's vineyard, both in word and doctrine, and by those who were in their day and generation fathers and mothers in our Israel. During this period, others also of blessed memory have been called away, who "rest from their labours, and their works do follow them." In thus calling to mind a succession of friends whom I knew and loved, who have sooner or later finished their earthly course, fought the good fight, and kept the faith, for whom a crown of righteousness is prepared; I feel an engagement of mind, that those who are left a little longer in this scene of conflict, may be thereby encouraged and strengthened to persevere in following Him, in whom they have believed; that they also at the end of their race, may obtain the immortal prize. And Oh! my beloved friends, upon whom the weight of the



precious cause of truth and righteousness must soon devolve, when the few remaining pillars of the present day are gathered to their everlasting rest, how earnestly do I desire that you may be aroused to preparation, by a deep sense of the important station that awaits you. Let me entreat you seriously to consider, how far the time and talents, so richly and so mercifully bestowed, are employed and devoted to the service of the Most High God; and whether the many vacant places would have remained unfilled up to the present day, if obedience had kept up with knowledge, which has been from time to time vouchsafed. To the just witness in every heart I appeal, and in tender love I refer you.

And dear brethren and sisters, I wish to press it not only upon heads of families, but upon all who are capable of reflection, to lay these things to heart; for it is a glorious cause in which all are or ought to be concerned, inasmuch as all are called to glory and virtue. Let these things sink deep in your minds,—let them have a place equal to their vast importance. How great is the responsibility, how awful the consideration, that by the influence of your example in faithfulness and upright walking, and by your religious care and oversight, the precious young people may be induced to choose the “Lord for their portion, and the God of Jacob for the lot of their inheritance.” Of ourselves we can do nothing; but dear friends, help is laid upon one that is mighty to save and to deliver:—unto Him all power in heaven and on earth is given; even our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,—the blessed medium of access to God! He hath graciously declared, “Him that cometh unto me, I will in no wise cast out.” All things are possible with Him: counsel is His, and sound wisdom:—He is understanding:—He is strength. What then remains, but for us, in humble prostration of soul, to draw nigh unto Him! By yielding simple obedience to His divine requisitions, this work of eternal consequence begins. It is not limited to a chosen few; it is extended unto all:—“What I say unto you, I say unto all, Watch.” The watch, with constancy maintained, will lead to prayer. Praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto, will lead the soul to God; to whom all power belongs. “Blessed will be those servants who are found so doing.” Great will be their peace while here; glorious their reward hereafter. They will be numbered with those, that shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and amongst them, who, turning “many to righteousness,” shall shine as the stars for ever and ever. I am your affectionate friend and brother,

D. W.

To R. C.

Eighth month 6th, 1823.

Day after day passes away, leaving accumulated cause to regret how much I am indebted to thee, my dear and long loved friend; without being able to give thee an assurance of my unabated love, or to acknowledge the receipt of many affectionate tokens of remembrance, which have from time to time been conveyed in thy acceptable and welcome letters; all of which, though unreplyed to, have been regularly received with gratitude and renewed feeling of affection. I have long meditated writing to thee, but have always been prevented; now, however, I have once more taken up the pen, and must endeavour, in some degree to account for such apparent neglect.

Laying aside all other causes, which time and paper will not permit my bringing forward, I must inform thee that sickness has hung about our dwelling since the middle of last winter. The severity of the weather laid us all by for a time; but as spring opened, all the invalids came about again, with the exception of my dear wife and my Joshua, who lingered on until the fine weather fairly opened, and seemed likely to recover; but great heat coming suddenly upon us, their already weakened frames could not support it. Every means was tried which a skilful physician could devise, without any material benefit being visible: returning to England seemed the only alternative he could point out. I believe nothing could have induced my wife to leave us, but the hope of the change being beneficial to her son; however, she at length came to the resolution to make the attempt, and accompanied by my daughters, they sailed for London on the 18th of last month. I was three days on board the ship with them, previously to their sailing, but was obliged to return home the evening before they got to sea; although this was a disappointment, I was very glad I had been with them, as the first night they slept on board, there was the most dreadful storm of thunder and lightning I ever witnessed. I felt thankful I was with them, for I think they would have been quite terrified, if they had not had somebody to cheer them a little. I hope by this time they are in sight of the ‘white cliffs,’ and I shall rejoice to hear of their safe arrival.

I am grieved to find the character of our Emperor does not stand so high with many in England as it did; and fully believe he has been prompted by evil-disposed persons to do things that he does not approve of, and would not have done, but at their instigation. We know of no difference here, in respect to the government of the internal affairs of this

country. I think his judgment has been biased by some of the other crowned heads, with whom he has of late associated; at the same time there is reason to believe, he has seen through some of their devices. I only wonder how he bears up, amidst the many difficulties that surround him; and the constant exercise of moderation, patience, and forbearance, he is in the daily practice of, is to me extraordinary. The manner in which he is imposed upon by many who enjoy his confidence, would scarcely be believed in its full extent. With my work, and as regards myself, I find no lack of assistance, when any thing that requires his aid is brought to his knowledge. I have frequently seen him passing on the road, since he returned from Verona. A few weeks ago, I was looking at some oats pretty soon in the morning, in the neighbourhood of a pavilion to which he was going with the Dowager Empress to breakfast; and they passed close by me in a low carriage with a pair of horses. He looked very well; and I observed he pointed me out to his mother. I am at present much occupied in the neighbourhood where he mostly resides in summer, about seventeen miles from Petersburg; and ten days ago, whilst laying out some ground in a wood, which is preparing for cultivation, a carriage stopped near the part where I was. My William was near, and called to me that it was the Emperor. On seeing him alight and spring over the ditch towards the place, I went to meet him. He gave me his hand, and immediately entered into conversation with his usual freedom. One of his Generals followed him; but it appeared to make no difference in his manner. He remained for some time, made many inquiries about my family; and having no doubt remarked our hay crops, he said,—‘You will have more hay than all the people in the neighbourhood.’ I mentioned the indisposition of my family, and that my wife was gone to England; he seemed a little surprised, and directly asked if she would return. I said she intended it. He appeared greatly interested in my report of the abundant crops upon the ground. Last year there was quite a dearth of fodder in this neighbourhood; a large number of cattle were lost for want of food. After explaining to him what were my plans relative to the parcel of land on which we were standing, he shook me by the hand, and said, ‘I will let you do what you like.’ I understand that the next day he made some inquiry as to the cause of the sickness among us, and having learnt that it was occasioned by the coldness of the house in which we live, he gave orders that it should be altered immediately. On the third day after the interview,

an architect arrived to ascertain what was wanted; and we are now well stocked with bricklayers, carpenters, and the like.

I believe I have long been partaker of the tender sympathy of my friends in England; but I think I never knew a time when I stood more in need of it, than the present. Exclusive of domestic enjoyments, I have long ceased to have any delights, the loss of which would give me an hour’s pain or thought: in the bosom of my family was to be found all that could afford me gratification or comfort. With them about me, I had every thing I could wish for or desire, in this state of mutability. The compact is, however, unexpectedly and suddenly dissolved, and one-half diminished as in a moment. I have, however, one consolation, which is, that they will not feel it as I do: they, if permitted to reach their native land in safety,—strengthened, I humbly hope, through heavenly goodness and mercy, by the sea air, and their health in some degree restored, will be cheered and comforted by the countenances of many dear relations and friends.

I confess my prospects here wear a very different aspect; but I trust I have in some degree learned in all states to be content. There is, my dear friend, and without any inclination to boast, I believe I may say, I know there is,—a soul-solacing presence to be felt in a retired and lonely mansion, as well as in a place where large assemblies crowd; which, unbounded and unlimited by time and space, extends to every clime, to every place, to every heart;—and O! saith my soul in humble prayer, may it be felt by us all!—that all our hearts may be so cleansed, so prepared and purified from every defilement, as to be in constant readiness to receive the heavenly guest. That the whole human race may be brought to the same blessed experience, is the earnest desire of thy tribulated friend at this moment of time; that all may have life, that all may be washed, that all may be sanctified, that all may be “justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.”

I must now come to a conclusion, after saying, that although my dwelling is in low places, I am frequently favoured to feel humble resignation of mind; at the same time believing, that the hand of the Lord is in the present dispensation, I can freely commit my all to His divine disposal, who I am persuaded will not break the bruised reed.

To thy dear wife and family I beg to be remembered in love unfeigned, and assuring thee that thou art included in the same. I remain thy affectionate friend,

D. W.



To S. S.

Second month 16th, 1824.

Thy last letter came duly to hand, and was welcome indeed: my beloved invalids, it is true, had furnished me with repeated accounts of their improving health; yet to receive a confirmation from an affectionate eye-witness of the same, demands every acknowledgment of which I am capable, for thy kindness in thus adding to our comfort and consolation. Thou hast no doubt heard before this time, that a variety of circumstances combine to prevent my projected visit to England, which I most sincerely regret; although it must have been short, and professedly to accompany my dear family back to this country, as I could not have had a short space of time to perform it in, and of course should have seen but few of the faces of my friends, and comparatively for a moment only; yet this would have been very precious to me. Our present solitary situation may be better imagined than described; I need not advert to it, except to acknowledge with gratitude and thankfulness, the preservation and support we have witnessed. I hope most sincerely, that the journey of my dear wife and children to England, will be productive of much future comfort; not only through the restoration of the health of the invalids, but by causing a renewal of affectionate regard and intercourse with our friends; which, I trust, will be strengthened and increased, by a more frequent interchange of letters, which will have a tendency to keep alive feelings of love and sympathy for each other. I remember very well, it was the advice of our dearly beloved friend, S. G., when in this country, that we should make a great point of keeping up a correspondence with Friends in England.—

I am quite aware, my dear friend, that thou must sensibly feel the loss, when thy beloved niece is removed from under thy roof; but thou needest not fear, thou wilt be cared for; thou hast cared for many; her place will be filled, I believe, to thy comfort and admiration. I sometimes think that heavenly goodness and loving-kindness are plainly evinced in these things, and all in love and mercy to us poor creatures, gradually and progressively to separate us, and more perfectly to wean us, from every sensible delight, even from things which may at one time have been graciously dispensed, and whereon our affections may have been properly and lawfully fixed. In infinite wisdom they are withdrawn, for our further refinement and purification, that our minds may become unfettered and loosened more and more from the things of time and sense; that nothing may hinder or stand in the way of

the complete removal of all that can be shaken, that those things only which cannot be shaken may remain, which are founded on the immutable Rock; and that the great and good God may be all in all. So that we may not only have our lamps trimmed and lights burning, but, like the wise virgins, we may be ready and looking for the coming of the heavenly Bridegroom; at the same time prepared to wait, should the time be prolonged, having a supply of “oil in our vessels with our lamps.”

[In the following letter he speaks of the safe return of his wife and party from England.]

To J. H.

Fifth month 31st, 1824.

I have now the pleasure of informing thee, that we were much surprised by the arrival of the Fanny, after a passage of sixteen days, as we had had a succession of easterly gales. She was quite unlooked for on our part. A little before bed-time, on fourth-day, we were roused by the sound of wheels; but had not the most distant idea who our guests could be. There were only a few moments to think about it, before the whole party were in the house; and our surprise and joy may be more readily conceived than described.

As I have once more got them safe at home, I may now tell thee somewhat of the trial of faith, patience, and feeling, under a lengthened-out sickness, which I have had to pass through for several months. It is near four months ago that I became seriously ill, and at one time there seemed little probability of my struggling through, until my wife could reach her home; but as I could not bear the thought of making her uneasy whilst in England, and without a possibility of getting to me or affording any relief, I took great pains to keep it from her, either in letters from us, or from any other person that I knew was writing. At times, when at the worst, I blamed myself for having withheld the information, as it seemed almost presumptuous to suppose I should recover; but at seasons I had hope; and I trust I can in some degree adopt the language of the Psalmist, and say,—“The Lord is my strength and my shield; my heart trusted in Him, and I am helped:” and great cause I have to ascribe all to his goodness and mercy, and to put my trust and confidence in Him.

I had intended visiting England this spring, attending the yearly meeting, and bringing home my family in the summer; but the Lord prevented me, and not man, as I had every permission that man could give me. This reconciles all, and raises consolation in my mind, and a hope that I am still an object of his divine compassion, although under a humiliating sense of my unworthiness.

## To D. M.

Tenth month 25th, 1824, O. S.

According to expectation our dear friend Thomas Shillitoe arrived about seven weeks ago, and seems very comfortable amongst us. All who have seen him are much pleased with him: and his having brought no books with him has prevented much trouble, and removed all suspicion far away. He is remarkably furnished with a sense of things in this place, and acts with the greatest prudence and caution. The more we know him, the more we love him; his conduct and conversation are altogether consistent with his profession, without which he would make little impression on the minds of the people, whose views and expectations are altogether outward; and they take more notice of external appearances perhaps, than the people in England or in other nations further advanced in civilization and religious sensibility.

[The awful visitation upon the city of Petersburg, by the great inundation in the eleventh month, 1824, is thus described:—]

## To J. H.

Eleventh month 11th, 1824, O. S.

As it is probable that accounts of an alarming nature, relative to the situation of this neighbourhood will shortly reach England, and knowing from experience the lively interest which thyself and family at all times take in our welfare, I thought I would prevent your being disturbed with unnecessary fears, occasioned by imperfect statements, as to our personal safety.

On the 7th inst., the inhabitants of Petersburg experienced the most awful visitation that has ever occurred within the memory of the oldest person living, by a deluge, which threatened for several hours the destruction of the city and suburbs. A dreadful tempest came on during the night of the 6th from the south-west, and continued to rage with unabated fury nearly the whole of the next day. Two days previously, an unusual roaring of the sea had been noticed about the head of the Gulf of Finland, and at Cronstadt. On the morning of the 7th, the sea began to rise, and shortly afterwards to push its waves into the heart of the city. The people at first supposed it would only be one of the floods which have frequently occurred, and manifested no particular alarm; but before noon, they became convinced of the necessity of flying for their lives. The road we live on exhibited a scene of terror and dismay not easy to describe: every one anxious to save himself and

his cattle. As our situation is somewhat higher than the city itself, we had many applications for food for the cattle and shelter, which of course we were glad to comply with. Our neighbourhood was protected from sharing in the general calamity by the bank of the Ligofsky canal, which is raised above the regular surface of the country; but from the upper part of the house we could see over this bank, which discovered to us the city, standing as it were in the open sea.

The water continued to rise until three, P. M., when the wind shifted to the north-west, and although its violence continued, it prevented the water from rising any higher. At that time the water was twelve feet deep in the main street on Vasily's Island. Buildings consisting of only one story were of course filled; and the frightened occupants obliged to take refuge upon their roofs. In the afternoon, we made some attempt to go towards the city; but found it unsafe to try much further than the bank of the canal just mentioned. The land under our care, between this and the city, was nearly all under water, so that we could hear nothing that night of the distress which prevailed there.

By the morning of the 8th, the water had subsided so much, that it could only be seen about the low places; in the afternoon I went off intending to see how our friend S. K. had fared, but after passing the barrier, I was compelled to return, as all the bridges were carried away by the force of the water. The 9th (a first-day) arrived, and brought only our dear friend Thomas Shillitoe to meeting; who, although he knew enough of the general suffering to prevent his speaking for a short interval on first coming into the room, yet knew almost nothing in comparison of what has since been unfolded. The part where dear Thomas lives, stands pretty high, but in those streets the water stood only eighteen inches below the lamps. For three hours, a general silence prevailed in the city; and from Thomas Shillitoe's windows, which command a view of four streets, nothing was to be seen but one poor struggling horse, and the police rowing about in boats to see where any assistance could be rendered.

Our land before hinted at, is covered over with timber, boats, dead horses, cows, barrels of fish, crosses from the grave yards, parts of coffins, and other articles, and I regret to add, with many human bodies, drowned by this disastrous flood; one is a female with a child under each arm, which she was endeavouring to save.

It is now third-day night: I have been both to day and yesterday in the city, and have heard such accounts of accumulated suffering,



as, are impossible to be set forth. I fear the number of lives lost will amount to ten thousand, and the loss of cattle and property is estimated at 20,000,000 roubles, (£800,000 sterling.) Whole squadrons of cavalry horses were drowned in their stables, and many saved by being led up stairs. One Englishman, a horse dealer, has lost all his horses.

When the water began to rise above its usual height in floods, the Emperor went in person, and ordered the sentinels away from the different posts. When the palace became surrounded by water many feet deep, he appeared with the Empress on the balconies, encouraging the people to exertion, and offering rewards to those who would endeavour to save life, wherever he saw any particular danger: by this, many were saved, who would otherwise have been inevitably lost. A subscription has been begun to-day for the benefit of the sufferers, to which the Emperor has given 1,000,000 roubles, (£40,000 sterling;) and he has ordered the military governor to take care that the poor people are furnished with food. Yesterday, it was difficult to procure bread, as the bakers' ovens were mostly deluged by the water; to-day, there is a supply. All the sugars at the Custom-house are melted, and all goods that will damage with water are spoiled. The shops in many places were full up to the ceilings: oats which have been under water in the stores, are selling at two and three roubles (from 20 to 30 pence) the chetvert of five English bushels. The inhabitants and houses of three villages near the Gulph, are with their cattle, said to be entirely swept away. The Emperor has been to-day to several places, where the greatest suffering has occurred, to devise relief for the people.

However affecting this visitation may appear, I cannot but view it with a hope, that it may yet prove a blessing in disguise to those that remain: and I very much desire that it may have its proper and lasting effect upon all our minds; that so all may repent, and turn unto Him, with whom is mercy and plenteous redemption; lest a worse and more terrible warning should follow. There is, I think, reason to fear, that another woe will succeed that which has now passed over, I mean the occurrence of pestilential disorders, which the dampness of the houses may bring on; particularly, if intense frost should succeed, before they are in some degree dry and aired: last night it froze hard; at present there is less frost, but with the appearance of more snow.

Our friend S. K. is likely to suffer less than we feared, although her furniture was floating in her parlour. Her day scholars were in the house when the water rose, so that she was obliged to lodge them as she could.

We scarcely know what to conclude about our friends at sea, as so much depends upon the situation of the different ships: we hear that some have been wrecked, and others have returned to Cronstadt. This island has been entirely under water.

In the midst of the general distress, we have been permitted to partake of peace and quietness, of which we seem altogether unworthy. I sometimes fear we are not making an adequate return for the numerous comforts and blessings we enjoy; and were it not to acknowledge with gratitude the loving-kindness and mercy which surrounded us, I should willingly omit saying any thing about ourselves: all belonging to us seems to shrink into nothingness, when we behold the surrounding scene of woe and misery.

#### CHAPTER IX.

*Visits England, 1825—Returns to Russia—Death of the Emperor Alexander, and occurrences consequent thereon—Address to Balby monthly meeting, 1826—Extensive fires, etc.*

In the early part of 1825, Daniel Wheeler visited England. He took the overland route, in company with Thomas Shillitoe, and landed at Harwich after a fatiguing journey of thirty-six days. His stay did not much exceed three months: during this time, he attended the Dublin yearly meeting, to which he had felt his mind drawn before leaving home; also the yearly meeting held in London.

The following extracts are from letters written on, and after, his return to Russia.

To J. H.

Alster, off the Spurn, Sixth month 23rd, 1825.

The pilot being about to leave us, I hasten to inform thee that we shall shortly shape our course for the Naze of Norway. The vessel, I believe, will be very comfortable, when we get fairly out to sea, and the decks cleared up.

It would have been very pleasant to have assembled once more with my dear friends on shore, if it had been permitted; as it is, I have great cause to be thankful, for having been allowed at seasons to partake, while on this side the Baltic, of the streams of that river, which makes glad the whole city and heritage of God. At the same time my heart is filled with gratitude, at the prospect of returning to my dear wife and family, with my health so much restored and renewed; which cannot fail to raise in all our minds, the tribute of thanksgiving and praise to the great and good Shepherd; unto whom not only every sheep,

but the most helpless lamb of the flock is known, wherever situated, or however hidden.

TO ONE OF HIS FAMILY.

Alster, Seventh month 13th, 1825.  
In sight of Hogland.

My dear ———,

Within the last twenty-four hours we have only got about as many miles to windward; but we must learn in all states to be content. I little thought when I wrote from Elsinour, that another fortnight would elapse without my reaching home,—and several days may yet intervene. There is, however, abundant cause for humble gratitude and thankfulness, that we have been so far preserved from accident. One night, since we have been in the Gulf, we drove very near the rocks on the Finnish coast. I had been up till after twelve o'clock, which is my usual practice at sea, as midnight often decides the weather we are likely to have: the mate had had the first watch, and when he called the captain at twelve o'clock, he asked whether the ship should go about. The captain said, 'No; let her stand on.' I did not feel satisfied with this, particularly as the mate went to his berth, and the captain did not turn out: but I lay down in my cabin, and kept myself awake, as it was highly needful that somebody should be ready, if wanted. Before one, A. M., a sailor discovered the rocks, and had the captain alarmed, who without waiting to put on his clothes, went on deck, and immediately the sailors were called out, and the ship's head laid the other way. Had it been much darker, we might have gone ashore, before the ship could have been got round. But our great and merciful Helper was nigh to deliver; to whom belongs all praise.

21st.—After beating about two other days with a contrary wind, in the night of the 14th the wind altered, so that the vessel could lay on her proper course: the captain carried as much sail as she could bear, and at six in the morning we hove to, off the guard-ship; and as soon as they had boarded, we filled sail and stood in for the Mole of Cronstadt. I succeeded in getting a passport without delay, and proceeded in the afternoon steamer, and was favoured to find thy dear mother and all the family in good health. I trust we rejoiced together in humble thankfulness for being permitted to meet once more.

Now, my dear child, I must bid thee farewell. Unite with me in grateful thanksgiving to the Lord Most High, for all his gracious mercies to us, and in humble prayer that he will be pleased to keep us meek and lowly in His fear, watching continually; that so we may be favoured to discover and escape every

temptation, and be preserved from the many evils that are in the world, and alive unto Him who liveth for ever, through Jesus Christ, the Saviour of men: whose blessed spirit dwelleth in the contrite and humble heart.

To R. C.

Moscow Road, Ninth month 26th, 1825.

My late visit amongst my dear friends in England, very frequently furnishes us, when the family is collected together, with a pleasant theme for conversation: and when absent from them and alone, it is often with me the subject of contemplation. But while it serves to revive affectionate feelings for those I love, a sting of regret remains behind, at having enjoyed their company for so short an interval, and being again so widely separated from them, as has been my allotment for the last seven years. But, I trust, I have no disposition to murmur or repine;—on the contrary, I am often favoured to feel that resignation of mind, which, as it is abode in, has for its companion, a feeling of sweet peace, of more value and more to be desired than the wealth of nations.

No part of the journey leaves so much solid satisfaction when brought to remembrance, as my visit to Dublin. This was not a matter of choice, but undertaken and performed in the cross to my own natural will and inclination: and, although I am unworthy to be trusted with a sling and a few small stones, yet I was permitted to see how my brethren fared, and to take their pledge,—a pledge of love, which I believe will be long treasured up in my heart, and cannot diminish; being impressed with a belief, that it sprung from an inexhaustible source, a fountain of eternal duration, constantly flowing through innumerable channels, but still full to the margin of mercy and truth. There are several dear friends in that land, with whom I feel a precious unity; and whether they ever remember the stranger or not, he often thinks of them, with feelings which time and distance only serve to heighten.

From what I have said of Friends in Dublin, my dear friend must not suppose that those in England are forgotten, or that any thing like a transfer of affection has taken place on my part. Such is the transcendent quality of true love, that whilst it embraces new objects, it does not lessen for those, on whom it has long and deservedly been fixed. Be assured my attachment has not lessened for those whom I have long known and loved; on the contrary, it is strengthened by the renewal of intercourse.

I am informed on good authority, that John Gossner, the reformed Roman Catholic minis-



ter, is now allowed to preach in any part of the Prussian dominions. He has lately had an opportunity of preaching before the Crown Prince of Prussia, and also before another great personage at that court, who was so much affected as to faint in the course of John Gossner's discourse. The wife of the latter personage, it is said, has long been a serious character; so that one cannot help rejoicing in the hope, that the great and good work is going forward in the hearts of some, and perhaps in the hearts of many, where least expected or looked for by poor short-sighted man.

To S. S.\*

Fifth Verst, Moscow Road, Tenth month 29th, 1825.

Thou wilt soon have been twelve months in England, and by this time canst form a judgment of the state of things in the meeting at Sheffield. I shall much rejoice to hear that there is a prospect of the younger branches coming forward to advocate the precious cause. The burden-bearers are thinly scattered in that large and once flourishing meeting; and some of those who yet remain on the watch-tower, cannot be expected to continue much longer, before they are called to receive the reward prepared for all, who have fought the good fight, and kept the faith. It so happened that I was not at a week-day meeting at Sheffield, when last in England; there seemed no deficiency on first-days as to numbers; but, then, numbers do not always add to strength: on the contrary, large meetings are often painfully laborious, as it frequently happens that but a small remnant are rightly concerned in endeavouring to roll away the stone from the well's mouth; and there is reason to fear, on these occasions, that many return home without having been sensible that any of the assembly have been feeding upon that bread, which alone can nourish the immortal part. I think I have witnessed, in the course of my pilgrimage, that the most favoured meetings I have been permitted to share in, have been those held in the middle of the week, or on other days than first-days.

At our little meeting here, seven or eight is the greatest number that now collects, only one or two individuals besides our own family, ever attending. We often sit as in low places; yet at times are permitted to feel that power, which can subdue all things unto itself, and enable us to draw near in the silence of all flesh to the "fountain," which is "opened to the house of David and to the

inhabitants of Jerusalem" to wash and to bathe in. What a favour it is, although far removed from the fostering care of the church, not to be deprived of the privilege of worshipping Him, whose watchful unslumbering eye beholds the feeble endeavours of all, who desire to seek his face in sincerity of heart; and who, in matchless and unmerited love, hath provided the blessed means to help our infirmities, which, though unutterable, are understood even in sighs and groans.

[In the next letter, he gives an account of the death of the Emperor Alexander in the south of Russia, and of the occurrences at the capital consequent upon that lamented event.]

To J. H.

Twelfth month 13th, 1825.

When the intelligence of the death of our much lamented and justly beloved Emperor was made public in the city, consternation soon spread among all ranks of the people. At first, I thought it possible there might be some mistake, as the health of the Empress had been for some time declining, and had occasioned her journey to the south of Russia; but the military being called upon to swear allegiance to the new Emperor Constantine, removed every doubt.

I was favoured with peaceful quiet and resignation on this mournful occasion, and felt but one desire—that the death of Alexander might have been a fair one; and we have the most indubitable proof that it was unattended with any of those horrible circumstances, which, in some instances, have terminated the existence of the crowned heads of this country. I have often put up a feeble petition that the hand of violence might never be permitted to touch him; and although I cannot help deploring, with the many millions of Russia, the loss of such a man,—yet a secret joy triuphs over every selfish feeling, and raises in my heart a tribute of gratitude and praise to the great Preserver of men, who hath been graciously pleased to remove him in so remarkable a manner, from this scene of conflict and trouble. We could scarcely have desired more than has been given: I believe it has been the lot of few monarchs to end their days, whilst in the meridian of power, in a retreat so quiet, and so distant from all the pageantry of a court: it may be said, that he died in the bosom of his family. It appears, for the first two or three days of his indisposition, that he considered it of no importance, and could not be prevailed upon to take any medicine,—he had a great aversion

\* He had resided some years in Petersburg, and been a constant attender of the little gathering at Daniel Wheeler's house.

to medicine at all times. It is thought by some here, that if he had taken timely precaution of this kind, the fever, which is very prevalent in that part of the country, might have been kept off: it is probable, its effects might have been less violent, and its progress impeded in some degree; but we learn from those who are acquainted with that neighbourhood, that strangers seldom if ever escape an attack of it, and it is often fatal to them. The climate immediately round Taganrog, where the Emperor died, is considered very healthy; but at a very short distance from it, it is considered quite the reverse; and it seems that Alexander had been beyond the healthy boundary, and had taken cold on the south coast.

It is very consoling to find, that his mind was so peaceful, as appears, when he was persuaded to take what is called the sacrament; it is probable that delirium came on afterwards, but towards the last he was perfectly sensible. On the morning of his death, the sun broke through the clouds, and shone into his room; when he remarked, 'how beautiful the weather is:—and the manner in which he committed the Empress to the care of Prince Volchonsky, his faithful adjutant, although done without the assistance of words, plainly shows that he was collected, though deprived of speech.

From concurring circumstances of late date, my hope is greatly strengthened that he has exchanged an earthly crown for one immortal, that will never fade away. He had reigned about four months less than twenty-five years. The Russians say he was too mild, and too good for them.

I enclose some translations of letters relating to the illness and death of the Emperor. The two first are from the Empress Elizabeth. Some of the expressions in them are not just such as we should use, but we must make allowances, for education. They were written to the Empress Dowager.\*

This event will naturally bring about many changes. I have endeavoured to look round as to myself and family, but all is at present enveloped as in a cloud. Every thing here has been conducted quietly. The army have all sworn allegiance to Constantine.

First month 1st, 1826.—Before finishing my letter, another proof of the uncertainty of all human affairs is handed to us. I shall insert the copy of a letter I received the day after the foregoing was written.

St. Petersburg, December 14th, 1825.

'Little did I think of giving you to-day such weighty news, as that of an accession

to the throne of the Emperor Nicholas, who is proclaimed to day; and we are going to take the accustomed oaths, as the Grand Duke Constantine has entirely renounced the crown. I have not read the manifesto; but those who have seen it say, that amongst other things, the Emperor tells the nation, that he will reign as his brother did; and that his reign will be only a continuation of his brother's. The Minister of the Interior, whom I saw this moment, says that the Emperor has verbally assured them of the same. Let God's will be done on earth, as it is in heaven. Wishing you well, I am most sincerely yours.'

This letter I received about two, P. M.:—before five o'clock, the scene was entirely changed, and rebellion most artfully contrived, had thrown off the mask. As the army about us had most willingly declared for Constantine, only ten days before, some hesitation in several regiments became visible. This moment seemed favourable for the wishes of some who were aiming at a general overthrow; and they artfully spread a report among the troops, that Constantine was only two hundred versts from hence, but was prevented from coming forward; and that the newly declared Emperor was only an usurper. This had the effect of drawing several large bodies of troops into the snare; and I believe many of these poor fellows considered they were only acting faithfully to the oath they had so recently taken: it was very evident they had no pre-concerted design against the government. However, an armed force collected in the neighbourhood of the Senate House, and were joined by a number not in military garb, and a mob of intoxicated rabble, who had been stirred up to act on the occasion. In vain did the new Emperor send to them, to endeavour to persuade them to peace and quietness. At last, the military governor, an old soldier and a popular character, went to harangue them; and might probably have prevailed, but the real plotters amongst them, fearing the soldiers would become reasonable, had the audacity to fire upon him. This poor Count Myloradovitch, who had been unhurt, it is said, in thirty-four engagements, was now mortally wounded. He rode off towards the Emperor, but soon fell upon his horse's neck: he was carried home in a sledge, and died in the night.

This circumstance led to a dreadful carnage. The Emperor was very unwilling to resort to force, and at first a volley of blank cartridges was fired; but this only causing the rebels to advance, a fire of grape shot was opened upon them with terrible effect, followed

\* See Appendix, A.



by a charge of cavalry. As most of the rebels who were able fled towards the river, the cannon were pointed in that direction; and the Academy of Arts on the other side of the river was struck with the shot. The carnage in the neighbourhood of the Senate House was dreadful, but all was cleared away before morning, except the blood upon the snow, which bore testimony to the great slaughter of the preceding day. We cannot ascertain the number of poor creatures who were thus hurried into another world; it is believed, however, that several hundreds perished. The city barriers were immediately closed, and no person allowed to leave the city, in order to secure all those implicated in this diabolical plot: the fort is full of prisoners.

My feelings on this night were such, as no one need or would envy, except perhaps some of the wounded who were groaning in agony, exposed to the frost. The night was long and dark enough; but we were favoured to pass through it, without the slightest molestation, in quietness, and, I trust, in confidence.

The next morning, we found the whole of our neighbourhood patrolled with soldiers. As it was reasonable to suppose we should not long remain without visitors at our house, I had a little prepared my dear family for this; and about one o'clock, P. M., a colonel with four other officers and seventy hussars entered our premises. These poor fellows had been summoned from a distance the day before, and were stationed on the roads near our house: they had been twenty-four hours in the frost, having passed the whole night in scouring the country to pick up the flying rebels. They were almost famished with hunger and cold. It was very well they came to us, as there was no other house in their whole range, that could have provided food for both men and horses. They behaved with great civility and thankfulness for their wants being supplied: they had only a confused idea of Friends, and inquired whether we came from England or Pennsylvania. There was only one line of conduct for us to pursue in this situation of affairs; as it was difficult for us to come at the truth, whether these men were confederates in the plot, or faithful adherents to the government. If the government had really been overthrown, we should not have fared any better for having entertained a loyalist party; and, on the other hand, if these men had been accomplices in the plot, we might have been censured by the government. In either case, we could do no less than relieve the great distress they were in: and we have every reason to believe, they were true to the government, as they talked amongst themselves very freely on the subject of the revolt in

French, which they supposed none of my family understood. They had not been more than two hours with us, when the appearance of a Cossack riding in haste along the high road, caused their speedy departure. We had no further visit, although the roads were patrolled for several days and nights afterwards.

Thus we have abundant cause to bow in reverent and humble gratitude, to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, for mercies innumerable, and blessings which have from time to time been graciously showered upon us, far beyond what we can ask or think. In the midst of a convulsion which has caused such a waste of life, and which will in a few days terminate the existence of others only waiting to receive their doom,—and which, from its extent, must prove the ruin of thousands who have been implicated and connected with the rebellion, we have been permitted to remain undisturbed, and almost as if nothing had happened;—favoured with resignation and peace of mind, and supported and comforted beyond the reach of fear. What can we render in return for such unmerited favours? In this there is just cause to fear, lest we should fall short in gratitude and humility of heart; and on this account I believe I daily fear, and daily feel the necessity of prayer, and am fully persuaded that I stand in need of the prayers of my dear friends in England, that I may be preserved in watchfulness and faithfulness unto Him, whose wondrous mercy has never been withheld, from the days of my youth unto the present hour.\*

#### TO BALBY MONTHLY MEETING.

First month 19th, 1826, O. S.

Dear friends,

In forwarding the annexed answers to the Queries at this time, my heart is bowed down under a sense of the continued loving-kindness of the Lord, and my own unworthiness to partake of the least of all His tender mercies; yet I have abundant and renewed cause, to exalt His great and ever excellent name, and to commemorate His wonderful works to the children of men. "Who can declare the mighty acts of the Lord? who can show forth all His praise?" Truly, in vain would such an attempt be on my part; but duty, gratitude, and humble admiration prompt me to acknowledge His might, to magnify His power, and to celebrate His praise, who hath been graciously pleased, in unmerited compassion and mercy, to preserve us in peaceful quiet and resignation of mind, beyond the reach of any fear, except the fear of Him,—at a period replete with

\* See Appendix, B.

events unusually affecting and appalling, which have swept many away from this stage of existence, as in a moment, and plunged thousands into inconceivable anxiety and fearful suspense. Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might, be ascribed unto Him, who sitteth King for ever, by all those who live in His fear, and place their trust and confidence in Him.

And now, my beloved friends, in a feeling of that love which would gather all to blessedness, my soul salutes you once again; desiring for all, as for myself, an establishment on the everlasting foundation, even Jesus Christ, by and through the revelation of his Holy Spirit, in the secret of every soul. Although deplorably deficient in this important knowledge, which I daily feel and daily mourn on my own account; yet I am fully and awfully persuaded, that nothing short of this inestimable treasure can purify from every defilement of flesh and spirit, and restore again that heavenly image, defaced and lost by sin and transgression, in which man was originally created. Nothing but this can reconcile the trembling soul to God. Conscious of its own sad need, my longing heart most ardently desires that all mankind were brought to feel the force of this great truth, and to behold its vast importance in the same unflattering mirror which presents it; but without the same lamentable cause, which makes it doubly precious in my view. Strong is the desire I feel for myself, and for every member of our highly professing and highly favoured Society, that we may so sanctify the Lord God in our hearts, as to be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh a reason of the hope that is in us, from sensible conviction, with meekness and fear,—not from traditional report, nor from education; nor like those of old, who were such strangers to the Lord of life and glory, that “some said he was John the Baptist, some Elias, and others Jeremias, or one of the prophets;” but from the same living and eternal source, that enabled Simon Peter to say,—“Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. Jesus said unto him,—Blessed art thou Simon Barjona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee; but my Father which is in heaven: and I say also unto thee,” continued our gracious Lord,—“thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.”

If what I have written has the effect of awakening in any of my dear friends a serious consideration of this important subject, such as are building upon the immutable rock will not be discouraged or dismayed, but rather strengthened and confirmed in the hope

of a sure and eternal reward. And should there be any who have neglected to examine the foundation on which the hope of their everlasting happiness is laid, let me warn these in the tenderest manner no longer to delay, not only to enter into a heartfelt inquiry, but to begin an earnest search, if happily they may find the chief and precious corner stone, elect of God,—whilst the day of visitation is mercifully lengthened out; lest the night approach, when no man can work; and the language of our blessed Lord, be sorrowfully applicable,—“if thou hadst known, even thou, in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace; but now they are hid from thine eyes.” But seeing the arms of wondrous and boundless mercy are ever open to receive the returning penitent, and the grace of our Lord is indeed exceeding abundant,—none need despair, who are willing to come unto God by him. It is indeed a “faithful saying and worthy of all acceptance, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am chief.”

In the love of the gospel, I remain your affectionate friend and brother, D. W.

To R. C.

Dated about Fifth month 30th, 1826.

In the first place, I sincerely congratulate thee on the recovery of thy dear wife, and in the prospect of her being spared to thee and to her friends a little longer. I am satisfied there is nothing in this scene of conflict and trial worth remaining for, but that the will of our good and gracious Lord God should be perfected in us,—excepting also, the company of our near and dear connexions, to whom we have been long and affectionately attached; with every thing else I could readily shake hands, and bid them a farewell for ever; if but happily in a state of preparation to meet the great and awful event. On this head, I have many fears, as regards myself, from a knowledge of my own unworthiness; and I am thoroughly persuaded, that if an attainment so high should ever be my happy experience, it must be through the great and unmerited mercy of God in Christ Jesus.

What a change a few months have produced in this country! The late reigning Empress has only survived her much lamented husband five months and fifteen days; she died at Beliof, between Taganrog and Kalouga, about 280 versts south of Moscow. Her death has been as private, as her life was retired and hidden from the world. She had arrived at Beliof much exhausted the preceding evening, and retired to rest pretty soon, and about eleven o'clock at night became se-



riously ill. Her physician was sent for, but from some unaccountable circumstance, could not be found. On her being informed of this, and that they were about to send off to some distance, where he was expected to be, she desired them to desist, saying, 'it is of no consequence.' She then requested to be left alone; and nothing further transpired, until three o'clock in the morning, when her confidential attendant went softly into her room, to see how she was, and found to her great astonishment, that nothing remained but the frail tabernacle; the countenance retained its usual composed and serene appearance, but the spirit had returned unto God who gave it. Her many virtues will long live in the memory of those who knew her worth; and, although she has passed away as one almost unnoticed and unregarded, yet her memorial is on high, and will never perish. Her body is expected here about the middle of next month, and will be laid by the side of her late husband in the Fort. She had many enemies, but they were only those whose luxurious habits and vain inclinations were exposed and restrained by her humble, simple, and virtuous example. It may be said, she died generally beloved and regretted, and very deservedly so. Her decease took place on the 4th of fifth month, O. S.

#### TO ONE OF HIS FAMILY.

Moscow Road, Ninth month 13th, 1826, O. S.

My dear —,

I have spent great part of this season on the bogs of Shoosharry, returning home only on fourth and seventh-day evenings, and leaving it again at noon on fifth, and in the mornings on second-days. I hope that all the drains will be cut before the winter drives us from the work; but we look for an early winter after so unusually long and hot a summer. On the 9th instant, we had a frost which froze the water in the drains, and on the 11th, there was a considerable fall of snow, but it did not lie long. We have had the advantage of being allowed to burn all the surface rubbish, moss and brushwood: the large roots are preserved for fuel. But owing to the uncommon dryness of the season, we have been unable to burn until lately, for fear of setting the soil itself on fire, as has been the case in many places around us. The damage done by fire in the course of the summer is incalculable. The woods have been on fire for fifty versts together; in the neighbourhood of Ijora many regiments of soldiers have been employed, in endeavouring to save the towns and villages: several of the latter have been destroyed by the devouring element. At times, we were

alarmed for our own buildings;—in vain we tried to arrest the progress of the fire, when at a considerable distance from us; but this could not be done, as the heat and smoke prevented the people from working when near it; so that we were obliged to content ourselves with forming a defence, in advance of the fire, at a sufficient distance from the buildings that the flames might not endanger them. This was done by removing the tree-roots and sods, in short every thing of a combustible nature, from the surface down to the clay, in the shape of a semicircle, about three-quarters of a mile in length, to the edge of which the fire actually came. Even with this precaution, it was necessary to station watchmen, as the sparks flew over the barrier and set the earth on fire in several places; and our safety depended on extinguishing these places immediately, for if they had once gained strength, it would have been impossible to check them, as every pool in the neighbourhood was dried up by the long continuance of heat and drought. For several weeks we were threatened by this formidable enemy; but were favoured to escape without accident.

Latterly we have had some fine rains, and have been burning in the fields at every opportunity. The rubbish is piled up in lines a fathom wide, and nearly the same in height. The other day, we had upwards of a mile of them on fire at one time, which made a singular appearance when night came on.

It is very pleasant to us to hear that the coronation has been attended with great satisfaction, far more than was expected. The unexpected appearance of the Grand Duke Constantine at Moscow seems to have diffused quietness over the whole empire. The generality of the people had an idea, that it was without his full concurrence, that his younger brother was proclaimed Emperor. We have heard from very good authority, that the first interview between the two brothers was very affecting; the behaviour of the Emperor was truly amiable and conciliatory, whilst that of Constantine gave ample proof of a noble and generous mind.

As they rode together through the streets of Moscow on horseback, the population of the place were witnesses of the cordiality that subsisted between them; and shouts of joy resounded through the city. In the course of a day or two, a review of the troops took place. The army has been most of all dissatisfied, and were generally of the mind, that Constantine had been forced aside to make way for his brother; but when the two brothers made their appearance in front of the troops, these were fully satisfied, and their shouts of approbation continued an unreason-

able length of time. It is now generally supposed, that things will go on smoothly, and that every spark of sedition will be extinguished; the Emperor will begin to feel himself more firmly seated on his throne, and will doubtless assume a more decided tone of character: it will soon be seen what he is; from his abilities, much may be expected that is good.

To R. C.

Twelfth month 14th, 1826, O. S.

In vain would it be for me, to attempt to recount the multiplied favours and blessings that have been showered down upon us, since I last wrote. Perhaps, some might be disposed to think many of these circumstances too trifling to be noticed, or if noticed at all, only as things which happen in the common course of events. But upon my mind they make a different impression; and I cannot but record them as so many additional instances of the mercy and protecting care of Him, without whose knowledge a single sparrow cannot fall to the ground. At the same time, it is only proper that the effect should be more striking with me, as few others have witnessed so many great deliverances; and none so unworthy, in my own estimation, as myself. I know not how it may be with others, who like myself are past the meridian of life, and in the common course of nature, cannot look forward to many days in this state of mutability; but on looking over the actions and transactions in which I have been engaged in the course of my pilgrimage, few indeed are to be found, that can bear examination when brought before the penetrating and impartial glass of truth, and which are altogether divested of selfish motives; although perhaps at the time, when performed, they may have afforded sufficient satisfaction to feed the creaturely part, and keep that alive which ought to have been slain. But what an unspeakable privilege it is, that none of these things are permitted to pass unnoticed or lie concealed, but are from time to time brought into remembrance; whereby self may be abased, and judgment set over the transgressing nature; which must not only be brought under condemnation, but must actually die in us, before the lowly and precious seed can live and reign; which delighteth in purity, and which will, if suffered to rise into dominion, wash, sanctify, and justify the believing heart, that is made willing to submit to the precious influence of its power. Verily, herein is the love of God manifested, "in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God," through the one, great, sinless,

spotless offering, which hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified.

I regret it is not in my power to gratify thee with any information as to our future prospects; but things remain to the present time in the most clouded uncertainty. My dear friends and my native land are often the subjects of my thoughts. Sometimes I cannot help cherishing a hope that I may once more be permitted to return with my beloved family and pitch a tent for a short time among them; but I find it will not do to dwell much upon what I earnestly desire, as it has only a tendency to unsettle the mind, and disrobe it of that peaceful resignation, which I can thankfully acknowledge is often my favoured portion.

The nature of our employment, and the wide field of labour before our view, in which at times it appears as if we should be called to assist, create a feeling of dismay; but again circumstances occur, which for a season, darken any probability of this being the case; so that whichever way I look, it is but toiling in vain. "He that abideth of old," only knows what is in store for us; and unto Him I commit myself and my all: well knowing from long experience, that a way can be opened, when perhaps there may be less expectation than at other times.

#### CHAPTER X.

*Address to Balby monthly meeting, 1827—the Emperor Nicholas—address to Balby monthly meeting, 1828—general correspondence.*

TO BALBY MONTHLY MEETING.

First month 26th, 1827.

Dear friends,

Our little meeting being now reduced to only six members, who are those of my own family, and three of these in their minority, we have of late been brought more closely into the solid consideration of our humiliating and stripped condition. At our last meeting, under a painful sense of this, and in a feeling of our peculiar situation and weakness, we were unitedly of the mind, that the monthly meeting would not expect answers to the Queries in the usual manner: as in our apprehension it would be presumptuous to attempt it, and too much like upholding a lifeless form. I am therefore requested to give the monthly meeting some general information of its distant members, in the hope that our dear friends will not only approve of this conclusion, but that they will feel as we have felt on the occasion, and concur in its propriety.

But although the answers are not furnished as formerly, the Queries have nevertheless



been duly read and considered: and I trust we have endeavoured by individually applying the comprehensive particulars contained therein, seriously to reflect and examine how far we are fulfilling the important duties required at our hands, in the faithful support of our different Christian testimonies.

Notwithstanding our depressed and disqualified situation, our meetings are regularly kept up as heretofore; and although some of us may feel at seasons as "the owl of the desert," or the solitary "sparrow on the house top," yet there are intervals, when that gracious power is witnessed, which can set bounds to the tumultuous sea of thought, and arrest the wandering imagination;—which can not only command the storm, but at his pleasure rebuke it, and cause the restless waves to be at peace. It is, my beloved friends, a sensible evidence of this sustaining help, that diffuses comfort to the mind in our exiled allotment; and renders the lonely habitation a peaceful abode; wherein we are permitted to dwell together in love and harmony, whilst widely separated from the fostering care and bosom of the church, and excluded from a share of that tender counsel and advice, of which others so frequently partake in our highly favoured native land. And although subject to many privations, and often under feelings of extreme poverty, weakness and dismay; yet such is the mercy, the goodness and compassion of a long-suffering and all-gracious God, "who maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust," that all our wants are and have been abundantly supplied, through Christ the ever-blessed and only Saviour; to whom be the glory and the praise for ever!

Lest I should be found deficient in love, gratitude, thankfulness, and devotedness to the great and bountiful Author of such multiplied and utterly unmerited favours, the loving-kindness of the Lord maketh me even afraid, from a deeply engraven sense of my own unworthiness. In this state I earnestly desire to be preserved; for this, my spirit often breathes in the language of prayer. I find it, my dear friends, a safe hiding place: it is indeed that food which is most convenient for me, and daily needful, because it leads into lowliness of mind; and whilst it chains down self in every appearance, the tribulated soul is preserved near to the innocent harmless life, which, dwelling in the light, recoils at the slightest impurity. Then our wants may be all plainly felt and seen; how great is the need not only to implore for daily bread, but for a qualification and disposition to forgive those who trespass against us, that we also

may be forgiven; and that we may be permitted to feel a portion of that love, which would gather all into the heavenly garner of rest and peace,—even the love of God shed abroad, to comfort and strengthen our hearts.

I trust in a degree of this love, I once more salute my dear brethren and sisters, and remain their affectionate friend,  
D. W.

To J. H.

First month 29th, 1827.

The Emperor Nicholas is indefatigable in his exertions to support the interests of his people throughout the empire, by strictly insisting upon the most rigid adherence to justice in all causes; which has given great satisfaction. His leisure hours, at least those absolutely necessary for exercise, he makes subservient to the general good, and is daily going about to inspect the hospitals and other public institutions, in the most minute manner, which has already had a salutary effect.

I may be mistaken, but I think that he is almost the first crowned head that ever entered the doors of a prison, with the benevolent object of inquiring into, and improving its state: this he has lately done, and not in a superficial manner; having, in many instances, entered closely into the examination of particular cases with great interest, and caused many to rejoice in being set free. This work is carried on without any parade; he just steps into a sledge with a single horse, and no one knowing where he is going, of course there can be no preparation made to receive him; in this manner all are taken by surprise, and the real state of things is fairly developed, whether rough or smooth. He has a great work before him; and stands in need of that wisdom, which is better than rubies, to direct and support him in such an arduous and responsible station.

To D. M.

Twelfth month 7th, 1827.

I have duly received thy letter of the 13th ultimo, which was truly acceptable; and particularly as it conveyed a more favourable statement of the health of thyself and thy dear family, than has been transmitted to us by any of our correspondents for a considerable time past; and we shall rejoice to hear, that this inestimable blessing is continued to you all. It is indeed a blessing we cannot too highly appreciate, or be sufficiently grateful for; as it enables us to bear the changes and vicissitudes incident to this state of probation, with greater calmness and fortitude, than when both mind and body are suffering at the same time; which is sometimes in best wisdom permitted to be our portion. We have also great cause to number our blessings in this respect,

as we have been favoured to enjoy an almost uninterrupted share of good health for many months past; which I desire to be found daily sensible of, and humbly to acknowledge.

Thy mention of having visited the Isle of Man, and of its having been of use to thee and thy dear —, is very pleasant intelligence. The benefit, I trust, will be lasting to you both. It brought afresh to my remembrance its rocky coast; although it is more than forty years since I traversed its bays and harbours. I was fourteen months on the station in a man-of-war cruiser, and have good reason to remember Douglass, having been there in a heavy tempest, when the light-house and eighty feet of the pier were washed away by the force of the sea. I was also riding in the bay, when the Hawk packet of Liverpool was driven in by rough weather; though at that time a stranger to the treasure she had on board,—having for a passenger, that dedicated servant of the Lord, Sarah Grubb, on her way to Ireland in 1785. (See her Journal.) But she had finished her career and received the crown immortal, some years before I heard of her name, or knew the Society of Friends. Ramsay bay was another sheltering place, in which we occasionally anchored. We sometimes stood in close to Castletown; but could not go in for want of water. At other times, we looked at Peel and Port Iron on the opposite side of the island, ranging on both sides, from the Point of Aire to the Calf of Man. But I need not recount particulars, which will afford thee no satisfaction, nor yield myself any other than painful reflections, in the consideration, that so much valuable time was wasted, which ought to have been employed in a more noble and important pursuit; the fruits of which, I should not now be ashamed of, nor have to remember with vexation of spirit.

Our dear friend J. D., is greatly to be felt for in the loss of her son, who was a hopeful young man when I saw him last; and I rather looked at him, as one likely to be a comfort to his poor mother in the evening of her tribulated day: she has had many trials, and has borne them with Christian fortitude and meekness; which plainly evince in what school she has been taught, and that her standing is on that sure and eternal foundation, against which the storms and afflictions of time can make no impression, beyond that of producing a renewed strain of acceptable devotion, in the sublime language of "Thy will be done."

To R. C.

Eleventh month 16th, 1827.

It is long since I gave my endeared friend a proof of affectionate remembrance in this

way, yet he may rest assured, this has not arisen from want of inclination. On the contrary, it is often cause of regret, that I cannot more frequently enjoy a privilege so congenial to my feelings, as that of maintaining through this medium, a more constant social converse with those I dearly love; and with whom I am favoured at seasons still to feel a precious unity, although not dwelling amongst my brethren in religious fellowship, but in a land where nearly all around me seem insensible to such a source of comfort, consolation, and strength. This circumstance perhaps, only serves to render that unity doubly precious to my often drooping mind, imparting to it a refreshing fragrance, as of the "ointment poured forth;" for which my heart rejoices with humble thankfulness. It is true I have numerous engagements, which naturally occupy a considerable portion of time, and not a little thought. But when at liberty from these things, there are hours afforded, upon which my beloved friends in England have a claim: and in which much might be done in the way of correspondence, if it were not for the valley of humiliation in which it is frequently my lot to dwell; where the past and the future are amply sufficient to constitute the distress of the present, and from their vast and awful importance, cannot fail to absorb in the most appalling manner, every faculty of sense and feeling in a poor worthless mortal; and to bring down self into such a state of nothingness and abasement, that the tossed mind is left almost without a ray of hope, and ready to doubt whether the smallest progress has been made towards "the city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God." In these stripping seasons, I feel a total incapacity for letter-writing or any other thing that requires application of the mind; which would gladly remain in a state of oblivion, rather than again emerge, and take a part in the things of time.

These dispensations are far from palatable to the creaturely taste, yet I believe are very wholesome and absolutely needful for all, who like myself are encumbered with dross and tin; in order that every thing that cannot stand the fire, may be removed out of the way, and the vessel be cleansed from those impurities, which render it unfit to contain heavenly treasure.

But if these times of proving and trial, are permitted in the end to rank amongst those afflictions, of which the Apostle speaks, that work out for the tribulated soul "a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory,"—then, indeed, they will appear light and momentary; and they will be commemorated with humble gratitude, as the choicest bless-



ings of redeeming love, administered in unutterable mercy to the sons and daughters of men for their eternal welfare: greatly do I desire to be patiently resigned to these and all other dispensations yet in store, however painful to human nature to endure.

Thy letters are at all times very acceptable to us, and if deprived of such a source of information, we should remain strangers to much that is passing relative to the movements of our friends. Thy accounts of those dedicated servants, who are labouring in the excellency of the gospel, for the restoration of backsliders, and the general promotion of truth and righteousness in the earth, as well as for the strengthening and comforting of the faithful, afford much heartfelt satisfaction. I trust we shall ever feel a lively interest in them, although excluded from partaking of the refreshment which others are permitted to enjoy, who have the privilege of picking up the crumbs which fall from the Master's table.

I should greatly rejoice, if I had it in my power to render thee any satisfactory information, as to the probability of our labours terminating in this country. It is a subject on which my mind could dwell with great delight; but when I have suffered myself to indulge in such a pleasant prospect, I have felt a restraint which has compelled me to desist. I have however been mercifully favoured with resignation, in the midst of trials which have befallen us, since our lot has been cast here; and when from peculiar circumstances, home and dear relatives and friends have revived to my recollection, under feelings which made them doubly dear, I have, I think, uniformly endeavoured to commit myself to the divine will, and to behave in some degree "as a child that is weaned of its mother." But I must ever remember, with longing desires, those ties of love and long continued friendship, that neither length of time nor absence can efface or obliterate; and of late, I have felt my mind in an unusual manner drawn towards my friends in England, in the binding influence of that love, which seeks the good of all mankind. So that I have been almost ready to cherish a belief that the day is not far off, which may produce a change, and liberate us from these frozen regions; but when I look around, it is beyond my finite comprehension to conceive how such a change is to be brought about. Yet I have abundant cause to know from marvellous experience, that all things are possible with Him, who bloweth with his wind, and the waters flow into every creek and inlet; and when we are reduced to a thorough sense of our own weakness, He is sometimes in gracious condescension, pleased to magnify His power, and show

forth His strength, to our humble admiration, far beyond our conception, and still further beyond our deserts: and, therefore, I desire to wait in patience, whether it be our lot to depart hence, or to remain in exile.

We have heard no particulars of the death of dear M. F.; who, having lived the life of the righteous, has finished her course with joy, we cannot doubt. We have just heard of the decease of dear J. K.,—another standard-bearer, summoned from works to rewards. How many seem to be removed from our poor Society, and others in readiness to depart! And when we look around for those who are to fill their places, they seem very thinly scattered up and down. The prospect is to me very discouraging and gloomy; but although the fathers and the mothers may be taken away, and the prophets do not live for ever, I am consoled with the recollection, that a gracious and compassionate Lord God remaineth; whose years fail not, and whose power is the same to-day as yesterday, and will for ever endure.

#### TO BALBY MONTHLY MEETING.

Second month 4th, 1828.

Dear friends,

Being permitted to witness the dawning of another year, I am desirous of again renewing a correspondence, so justly due to those with whom I am united in the bonds of Christian love and religious fellowship; and unto whom I feel accountable in the same degree, as if dwelling under their immediate care and oversight, as was once my favoured portion, in days that are over and past. Frequently, and I trust fervently, a petition is raised in my heart, on my own account and on that of my beloved family, that we may be preserved blameless in life and conversation; lest by any means, through us, the precious cause of truth should suffer, and the important testimonies borne by the Society, of which we enjoy the privilege of being members, should be neglected and laid waste in a distant land.

Our meetings are kept up as heretofore, and although mostly held under feelings of great discouragement and sensible weakness, yet there are seasons when a precious solemnity is witnessed amongst us, which sustains a humble hope, that the loving-kindness of our gracious Lord is not withdrawn from us, in this forlorn and solitary situation, unworthy as we are of partaking in the least of all his tender mercies.

Although it is still my lot to be absent in body from my beloved brethren and sisters, they are often the endeared companions of my anxious thoughts. On the present occasion,

my heart expands with a renewed feeling of earnest and affectionate solicitude for their present and eternal welfare. "I write unto you little children, because your sins are forgiven you for His name's sake. I write unto you, fathers, because ye have known Him that is from the beginning. I write unto you, young men, because ye are strong, and because ye have overcome the wicked one." This apostolic language, has unexpectedly fastened upon my mind; I would to God that it was truly applicable,—comprehending, not only every member of our religious Society, but every age and every class of professing Christians, the world over; then indeed there would be joy and gladness, and a good day, as "when the morning stars sang together, and the sons of God shouted for joy."

Mourning and heaviness are the present covering of my mind, arising from fear and jealousy on my own account, which produce a like feeling on account of others; lest the day's work should not be keeping pace with the day of merciful visitation, and that woful night of darkness overtake any of us, when the Spirit of God ceases any longer to strive with his creature man. "How often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen doth gather her brood under her wings, and ye would not," was the language of our ever-blessed Redeemer, when lamenting over the inhabitants of Jerusalem; and such was his unutterable love and compassion for the rebellious children of that city, that on beholding it, he wept; saying, "if thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace; but now they are hid from thine eyes." By this, it doth evidently appear, that we may withstand the continued offers of divine love and mercy, until we are left desolate, and the day of our visitation is passed for ever away. "If the tree fall toward the south or toward the north, in the place where the tree falleth, there it shall be." As death leaves us, judgment will find us; "for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in the grave," whither we are all hastening, and some of us apparently with lengthened strides. Whilst reviving these awful and momentous considerations, I feel their vast importance, and therefore long to impress others with a sense of the necessity there is for us without procrastination, (for we know not what a day may bring forth,) to "use all diligence to make our calling and election sure," before we go hence; that so we may be amongst the happy number, who have an entrance ministered abundantly into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.

Strong is my belief, that there are many

amongst my dear friends, to whom it may be said, "your sins are forgiven you, for His name's sake;" who by patient submission to the cleansing and sanctifying operation of Divine grace in their hearts, are born again; are "become as little children," meek and lowly; whose eyes behold their heavenly Teacher, who seek to know his will; and in humble resignation of soul, endeavour to perform it. These can testify from blessed and living experience, that peaceful and easy is his yoke, light the burden, sweet the rest: continuing in dedication and obedience to the pointings of duty, these grow "from strength to strength," from the state of little children, to that of young men, strong in the Lord and in the power of his might; because "the word of God abideth in them, and they have overcome the wicked one." Standing fast in the faith once delivered to the saints, a more perfect stature is attained, even to that of fathers in the church, because they "have known him that is from the beginning." It is this knowledge that I greatly desire for my dear friends, as for myself; and I believe, that those who have been happily favoured to make the greatest advancement in this spiritual work, still find their safety dependent upon watchfulness and prayer: nothing else can sustain the life of faith. The soul cannot be nourished to-day with manna gathered yesterday; the brightest gleam of hope soon loses its lustre, unless renewed again; and no past experience can support the drooping mind, when fresh trials are permitted to assail us. It is the Lord alone who can renew and increase our faith, and preserve that alive in us, which is "born of Him."

I feel a desire which words cannot fully express, that my dear young friends may be entreated to engage in this work of such great and individual importance. A sacrifice in the morning of life is made with much less difficulty, than if deferred till the day is more advanced, and the mind encumbered with the things of this transitory world. There are many things which although harmless and lawful in themselves, indispose the mind for the simplicity of the gospel, keep alive the evil propensities of fallen nature, and if suffered to occupy that time and those talents afforded in tender mercy for the most noble purpose, will have to be remembered at a future day, with "vexation of spirit." Be willing then, my beloved young friends, to retire more frequently than the returning morning, from the perishing things of time and sense, to the precious "gift of God" in the heart; and although you may have to descend again and again into the humiliating depths of painful reflection, there be willing to abide. It is in the deep, that



"the mighty works of the Lord" and his wonders are beheld. It is here that the mind can clearly discern those things which serve God, and those which serve him not; and here, under the weight of trouble and affliction for the past, and anxiety for the future, the acceptable cry is raised unto Him, who delivereth out of every distress. The Lord alone is exalted in that day, and the creature brought low and reduced to that humble childlike state, wherein only, the knowledge of "Him that is from the beginning" is revealed. Without this saving knowledge, the ever blessed name of Christ can only be mentioned from hearsay or report; but with it, you will be enabled to say from heartfelt experience, that "Jesus is Lord," even your Lord, and that "by the Holy Ghost." "This is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent;" "who is the beginning and the end, the first and the last." I remain your affectionate friend and brother, D. W.

To R. C.

Plains of Shoosarry, near Petersburg,  
Tenth month 14th, 1828.

Thy welcome letter forwarded from the autumn quarterly meeting, reached me last evening in safety; and although the perusal of it is not without administering cause for mourning and lamentation, yet many parts, at the same time, convey comfortable and consoling information, and call for thankfulness.

I do not remember hearing, at any previous time, of so many of our dear friends moving to and fro with certificates. There ought to be fruit appearing in many places, for truly much seed has been sown; and I long that nothing may be permitted to stop its growth, or prevent its flourishing to the praise and glory of the great and good Husbandman; who hath not been wanting in adorable condescension and mercy, to prepare and qualify, and send forth to labour in his vineyard, both at home and abroad, many faithful servants, whose reward will be sure and everlastingly joyful:—for "he that reapeth receiveth wages, and gathereth fruit unto life eternal; that both he that soweth, and he that reapeth may rejoice together." I think I may say, "would God, that all the Lord's people were prophets;" then, whether they are ever called upon to prophesy or not, the feet of all would be "shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace;" which, it is my belief, all ought to be, and is the case with all who faithfully maintain the Christian warfare, and obtain the blessed victory.

Our present residence would be thought by most a lonely one, as it is several miles from

any other house in the midst of a wild country, and on the margin of a huge bog. We have no water fit for use, but what is supplied from rain or snow; and I have several times remembered the many draughts of pure water that I have enjoyed when at Doncaster, a glass of which would now be a treat indeed. We have bored to a great depth in vain; and from the nature of the sub-soil and other local circumstances, it is not probable, that any spring will be found in our neighbourhood. A very bad and almost unfrequented road leads to our habitation, so that we seldom see the face of a visitor of any kind. When it was fixed for us to remove hither, I had the offer of some soldiers to guard the premises, but declined it; as I consider that watchmen selected from our workmen are quite sufficient. It is necessary to keep a good look out, as the whole of the premises are built of wood, and are consequently very inflammable; and as the property belongs to government, proper precaution is needed both against fire and robbery: but I trust that my confidence in the all-sufficiency of the divine arm (which hath so often and so eminently preserved and supported us,) will never be at so low an ebb, as to induce me to place dependence upon the arm of flesh for protection. Notwithstanding the dreariness of our abode, I should be deficient in gratitude, if I were to omit saying, that to myself it is a peaceful retreat. We have been here about four months, and I do not recollect having been permitted to enjoy so much solid peace and comfort, since my lot has been cast in this land, as hath been at seasons graciously vouchsafed within the wooden walls of our solitary mansion; and I believe my wife has partaken equally with myself in this comforting and precious privilege. So that our greatest difficulties, which might appear to others like mountains, are happily nothing but mole-hills, and not worth recording for a moment in our remembrance; except as they serve to keep us in an humble and dependent state of mind, and produce the grateful tribute of thanksgiving and praise to an omnipotent, omniscient, and omnipresent Lord God, for all the blessings, comforts and benefits, which are permitted to descend upon the heads of such poor unworthy creatures.

I often feel a longing desire that a path would clearly open, which would lead to a peaceful departure from this our exile; but, I trust, that such a desire is never cherished, or dwelt upon, without being accompanied by a willingness to submit, in humble resignation, to the divine disposal of Him, who knows best what is best for us; who knows our frame, that we are but dust, and who pities our weak-

ness. If I know my own heart, no earthly motive, no plans for the future, induce a desire to be released from this country; but I do most earnestly desire that the remainder of my days, whether many or few, may be devoted to the glory of God, and the exaltation of my dear Redeemer's kingdom in the hearts of mankind,—I need not add—and to the eternal welfare of my fellow-creatures, because the last must be the result of the first. Ease and indulgence, I think, I despise; although I sensibly feel the decay of this frail tabernacle. My sight has failed considerably since I was last in England, my limbs are stiffened by the damp to which I am daily exposed, and are subject to pains on every approaching change in the weather: and I find my strength is unequal to the fatigue, which but a few years back, I could bear with cheerfulness, if not with pleasure. But in the midst of all, my soul ventureth to hope in the goodness and mercy of God, and that, through the merits of a crucified Saviour, my sins,—even mine—will be blotted out.

To S. S.

Twelfth month 15th, 1828.

Although no great length of time has elapsed since some of my family wrote to thee, yet I feel inclined to renew an assurance of unabated love and regard; which, though not often expressed, never ceases to dwell in our hearts towards thee. I desire to record with humble thankfulness to the All-merciful dispenser, the inestimable blessing of health, which is at this time our portion; and I trust that thou art permitted to partake in the same enjoyment.

Thou art probably aware, that we have changed our residence to a greater distance from the city, than where we lived for the last eight years. This has had the unavoidable effect of dividing our family, and depriving us of the constant society of each other, which is a privilege we have greatly enjoyed. From the extent of our work, it was necessary, in order to keep all the branches in proper motion, to station some one in a central position, and William being in all respects the most capable, remains at that post. Although thus circumstanced, and living in a most dreary situation, we are favoured with resignation and contentment of mind; which sweeten the cup of solitude, and make the frozen desert a peaceful abode. The longest span of life is short; and to such as like myself cannot look forward to the addition of many years, it is of little moment where we are scattered: and if we bring into view the humiliating situation of the Lord of life and glory, who "had not

where to lay his head," a quiet dwelling place in any part of the habitable earth is more than a poor sinful mortal is entitled to, and much more than he deserves.

I am now more than a month entered into my 58th year; and I think that thou, my dear friend, art as far, or perhaps further advanced towards the end of the race. I often look round at my contemporaries, particularly those whom I have long known and loved; but am placed beyond the practicability of any thing like comparing notes with them, on a subject in which we are all so deeply interested, and on which nothing less is depending than the prize immortal. If a sensibility of weakness, and a consciousness of utter unworthiness, under a feeling of increasing bodily infirmity, can entitle any one to boast, then I think it is allowable for me; for truly I am a very poor creature every way. But when I contemplate the glorious gospel dispensation, and reflect that a thoughtless being like myself, nurtured in the very school of vice and folly, should ever have been brought, in any degree, under its benign and saving influence,—it is marvellous in my view, and none other than "the Lord's doing." It is easy for me to say, what can I render to Him? But the question is, what have I rendered to Him? Here is an appalling query indeed,—the consideration of which, makes me shrink into nothingness, and into fear of having fallen short of making an adequate return, not only of humble adoration, gratitude and praise for such amazing mercy, but lest dedication and obedience have not kept pace with the knowledge that has been from time to time bestowed upon me. At times, a ray of comfort is permitted to glimmer on my drooping mind for a short duration; but soon it is again veiled by self-abasing clouds of suspense, which darken the whole atmosphere of hope.

But although I have thus to go mourning on my way, yet a testimony lives in my heart to the all-sufficiency of that divine grace, by which "I am what I am,"—though nothing but a worm; and with my latest breath, I would commend all mankind to seek after this pearl of endless treasure. It appears to me, that there are many in the present day, whose minds are constantly kept afloat by the great variety of publications almost daily issuing from the press. Many of these that I have seen, although replete with moral sentiment and learned remarks, which are not without Scripture foundation,—although very wide of the true intent and meaning of the text,—are strongly calculated to keep their readers in search of the lifeless shadow, and to divert their attention from the living and eternal substance. There are other persons again, who



have actually commenced a reform in great sincerity, and have been drawn into solid and serious reflection; but these unhappily, frequently fall into the way of a class of people, whose writings and conversation lead them to expect, that when they embrace the religion of Jesus, they will immediately witness some delightful sensations of heavenly joy. But, alas! they calculate on the reward before the warfare is begun. If such, for a short season persist in communing with their own hearts, and are, through condescending love and mercy, favoured to draw near to the Saviour of men, their expectation is disappointed; and they find that "He is without form or comeliness," and hath no "beauty" to make him desirable. There is nothing to feed and support those airy and fantastic notions, which their minds have previously and so perniciously imbibed. Thus the inestimable pearl is overlooked, or set at nought;—the language of the prophet is verified, and the blessed Master is, I fear, at this day, by too many, in this way "despised and rejected of men."

I am apprehensive, that the enemy of mankind was never more effectually served than at the present time, and in a way admirably adapted to the refinement of the age in which we live. The facilities for holding up the letter of the gospel, were perhaps never before equalled at any period; [and yet] great eagerness is evinced to peruse and swallow those fascinating baits, which serve to amuse and allure, (particularly when garnished with declarations from the undefiled lip of Truth,) and by their deadening effect upon the mind, prevent its coming under the influence of that pure and "quickening Spirit," which only giveth life.\* By this stratagem, an easy and broad way is opened for the poor deluded traveller, so well accommodated to flesh and blood, that there might seem to be no necessity for any to "strive to enter in at the strait gate;" and yet the exaltation of the Saviour's kingdom, is professedly the object of many of these authors, without pointing out where it is to be found, and the terms on which only it is to be obtained. Regenerating grace is hinted at; but self-denial, and the daily cross, are seldom heard of. I am often bowed down

under the consideration of these things, and of what will be the end thereof; and am sometimes ready to conclude, that a day of calamity will come, when these chaffy imaginations and beguiling inventions will be dispersed like withered leaves before an autumn blast; when the minds of men will be brought low, and humbled under the necessity of turning to Him, who hath been so long smitten and afflicted, and be made willing to sit under His holy teaching. That so all men may be brought to know Him in all His heavenly offices, not only as a reprover and convicer of sin, but as a Comforter, and a gracious Redeemer indeed: and may the Lord hasten the dawning of that glorious day, when He, who "was despised and rejected of men," shall become the chiefest of ten thousand and altogether lovely, saith my soul.

I should much like to know how thou farest amid the storms of time; thy day, I am aware, hath not passed over without its trials; but few persons have moved on more quietly and uncomplainingly than thyself, and I trust the evening is peaceful and serene.

From the long continuance of severe cold, which we have witnessed, I think it must have been felt in every part of Europe. There has not been so intense a frost for so long a time together, since we have been in Russia. It was really impossible to make the house sufficiently warm; so that we have had a suffering time, but have been mercifully supported through it, and have renewed cause to be humble and thankful.

I don't know whether thou wilt be able to make out this scrawl; but I cannot see to mend pens as formerly, and in other respects the earthly tabernacle is failing; which must be looked for as the awful moment draws nigh, which I desire daily to keep in view. No prospect of liberation\* yet appears; perhaps it is too much longed for; and the will of the creature must be slain, that the will of the Lord may be done, and His name glorified.

Farewell, my dear friend; may heavenly goodness encircle, and comfort, and strengthen thy heart.

#### TO A FRIEND.

Shoosarry, Third month 15th, 1829.

Our mutual friend —, who went last spring to the south of France and Switzerland, for the benefit of his health, has lately returned to this neighbourhood, quite recruited. He says, that in several parts where he has been, there are many people seriously disposed, and hungering after substantial food; but it appears from his description, that they are nearly all

\* It will be perceived by what follows, that D. W. is alluding to those superficial writings, the tendency of which is, to settle people at ease in a profession of religion and the observance of external duties and ceremonies, without experiencing that change of heart, which is only effected through the power of the Holy Spirit, wherein the old man with his deeds is put off, and the soul is enabled to put on the new man, which is created of God in righteousness and true holiness.—*American Editors.*

\* From his engagement in Russia.

looking outward for that which can only be found within. Many or most of them are expecting the millenium shortly to come; and I believe none are so difficult to persuade as these, where this peaceful reign is to take place; for their expectation is altogether outward, and they consider the idea of looking into their own hearts, to find it there, is quite presumptuous. Nothing short of a great out-pouring of the Holy Spirit, it is said, will do for them; but it is my belief, that nothing but a day of calamity will bring these and many others to their senses.

I find, by a letter lately received from England, that an eventful period is thought to be at hand for Christendom; and perhaps the bringing forward again of the Catholic question, in the House of Commons, may add a little to this apprehension. The signs and seasons most certainly indicate great events; but whilst pride, hardness of heart, excess and luxury, so generally prevail, to which may be added the almost universal disbelief that the kingdom is within, what can be expected but desolation? Our blessed Saviour foretold, that many should come in his name and deceive many, with, "Lo, here is Christ, or lo, he is there." I cannot help thinking, that the signs of the present times bear a striking resemblance to what was thus foretold: for truly, there is great profession of religion in the present day; and amongst the various professors, scarcely any but who recognise the name of our blessed Lord; but how few the number of those that are his followers upon the terms He prescribed,—in a life of self-denial, and the daily cross; or that can believe in that faith, which works by love, to the purifying of the heart. We often hear of declensions in the church, which are said to have occurred in the long dark night of apostacy; as if that night had passed away, and the true gospel light now shone, and that day had dawned, which hath restored all things to their primitive beauty. But, alas! I cannot help fearing, that the apostacy still continues; only the shade of darkness is a little varied from what it was, and things rendered more plausible by this variation. I verily believe, that the light of the glorious gospel would shine forth abundantly in the present day, if man would but look where it is to be seen; but instead of this, how many, by not keeping their spiritual eye turned towards it, behold nothing but the shadow, and yet think they are in possession of the substance. For true it is, as regards the sun or moon in the outward firmament, so long as we look directly towards them, we see no shadow; but if we turn a little on one side, immediately the shadow begins to appear, and if we turn our back

on them altogether, it is all shadow, and the substance is lost to our view. I remember a simile of this kind, drawn by an eminent servant of the Lord in his day, who has long since been numbered with the just of all generations, very descriptive, and very applicable and beautiful.

There is no part of our dear Redeemer's doctrine, in my estimation, more plain, simple, and easy to be understood, and less wrapt up in metaphor or parable, than that the kingdom is within. When he was demanded of the Pharisees, when the kingdom of God should come, he answered them and said, "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation, neither shall they say, Lo here! or lo there! for behold the kingdom of God is within you:" again, "and I will pray the Father, and He shall give you another Comforter; that he may abide with you for ever: even the Spirit of Truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him; but ye know him, for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you. I will not leave you comfortless, I will come to you." Can there be any thing more clear and decisive than these assertions? And yet if we read over the modern writings of men in high esteem for learning and piety, we can scarcely find any allusion to them. Much is said about fundamental doctrine and faith; but in many instances, true faith seems altogether lost sight of, and what they call the doctrines of the gospel, I had nearly said, are substituted in lieu of faith.

Every sect of Christians seems to have its own peculiar faith or belief; but the apostle tells us only of "one Lord, one faith, one baptism;" and all who profess any other faith than that of the apostle's, must certainly be in a state of apostacy from the true, living, gospel faith. Now until mankind are brought to an acknowledgment of the one true and holy faith, it is no wonder that things remain in their present state; and whilst they are thus permitted to continue, in my apprehension "the abomination of desolation" is still set up, and stands where it ought not,—even in the holy place, or in the place where true and vital religion ought to stand, instead thereof. It is no marvel then that the earth is so destitute of the presence of the Lord, in whose presence only there is life.

I have no doubt that many are acting in great simplicity of heart and sincerity of intention, but certainly without proper reflection and due consideration, on a subject of eternal consequence. If people were but willing to "cease from man, whose breath is in his nostrils," and turn inward to the unflattering witness for God—the precious gift, which



as "a light in a dark place," shineth more or less in every heart, they would certainly be favoured in due time to discover where they are, and in what they are trusting. But poor finite man, in his natural strength and wisdom, can never effect this: nothing short of an Almighty power can open the blind eyes, and change the stony heart to a heart of flesh, capable of receiving the impressions of the everlasting and unchangeable Truth.

To J. H.

Fourth month 2nd, 1829.

The signs and seasons with us are very appalling, and strongly indicate an eventful period. Some think that there will be a great outpouring of the Spirit; others are looking for the millenium; but in the present state of affairs, a day of calamity, to bring the unstable world to their senses, in my apprehension is likely to take place, to check the torrent of vice and dissipation, to silence the "Lo! here," and "Lo! there;"—and banish from the earth those desolating scourges, which make it so destitute of the presence of the Lord.

To D. M.

Shoosharry, Tenth month 11th, 1829.

The removal of my beloved sister, Barbara Hoyland, has been very affecting, and the more so, because our situation precluded our hearing of the awful event, until several weeks after it took place. M. H. has kindly transcribed and forwarded to me the expressions, which dropped from her lips at different times during her last days, many of which are deeply instructive. Her trials and afflictions have been many; but there is strong consolation in believing, that they have worked for her "a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory;" and that through the mercy of God in Christ Jesus, her tribulated spirit now resteth in the joy of its Lord. What poor short-sighted creatures we are! I little thought, when parting with my dear sister in Liverpool, on my return from Ireland, that it was a last farewell: but I desire to bow in humble resignation to His Divine will, which is ever excellent; and reverently and thankfully to bless His holy name, who by the powerful operation of His all-sufficient grace, made her what she was.

What a variety of changes we have both witnessed, since children together under the parental roof, from which we were severed at an early age, by the loss of both father and mother, and left in an orphan state to struggle in a wide and wicked world. Many years have now passed away, since we found a

shelter in the bosom of our highly favoured Society; but still changes have been our portion, though of different kinds, yet all permitted in wondrous mercy, and ought to be sufficient abundantly to show, that here there is "no continuing city." My beloved sister is now beyond the reach of conflict, where pain and sorrow cannot come; and as she drew near the boundary of time, she was mercifully supported by the everlasting arm of strength, that sure foundation and eternal rock, Christ Jesus, in whom she had believed. She is gone! but I am left a little longer, a living monument of the same matchless mercy: and although encompassed by human frailty, and conscious of manifold deficiencies, yet I am enabled to testify for the encouragement of others, that beyond the shadow of a doubt it is no "cunningly devised fable" which we have followed, but a glorious reality; of which I feel more and more anxious that all should come to the saving knowledge, and partake of the blessed and peaceful enjoyment thereof.

Since taking up my pen to address thee, I have felt particularly interested on behalf of the dear young people of thy family, with whom my heart seems interwoven, with an affectionate solicitude, which words fall short either to express or convey to its full extent; that they may unceasingly labour to know and experience for themselves individually, the secret working of that power in their hearts, which is divine; and may be willing to dwell under its purifying influence, until all things are subdued and brought into subjection to His holy will, whose exclusive right it is to rule and reign in the hearts of the children of men: "of the increase of His government and peace there shall be no end;" for the kingdom of Christ Jesus is an everlasting kingdom, and the covenant made with the house of Jacob an everlasting covenant, universal and ever new, in and through its blessed and holy Mediator. There can be no stronger proof of sincerity in those who desire to fear, love, and serve a good and gracious God, than their perseveringly endeavouring to wait upon Him, in a watchful humble state of mind; not only at set times and on particular occasions, but making it at all times the chief business of their lives. His unslumbering eye is ever open to regard the most feeble effort of the weakest child: every gracious promise will be fulfilled for His great name's sake;—"They shall renew their strength,"—"they shall not be ashamed;" their cry will be heard on high, by Him "that speaketh in righteousness, and is mighty to save," and "able to deliver." He will deliver from the horrible pit of sin, and from the things of time, which cling like the adhesive miry clay:—yea, He will set their feet upon

an everlasting rock, against which the combined powers of darkness in vain may beat: He will establish their goings, and put the new song of praise in the mouth of all who diligently and patiently wait for Him. The heart is the field in which the hidden treasure lies; and such is its inestimable value, that nothing short of all that a man hath can purchase it. All must be surrendered to obtain the heavenly pearl: the whole is required without reserve. And what is all that we possess, when compared with the stupendous act of suffering love, that purchased our redemption? it lies in a small compass, yet it is capable of frustrating the Divine intention, and therefore is of vast importance; and I believe the unsubjugated will of the creature comprehends the whole. Not a word or an action, which fills the catalogue of the deeds of the body, can be conceived and performed without the assent and will of the creature,—all have their origin in thought; and therefore the ever-blessed Master at once pointed out a remedy against every temptation to which we are liable, in the general injunction,—“What I say unto you, I say unto all, watch.” Here then is the Christian’s only tower of safety, and the path that leads to prayer. Oh! that I could induce all to this engagement of mind: the tendency of every thought would be discovered by the light which shineth in darkness; whatsoever is earthly and sensual, and even the tendency of the heart in the natural state, would be exposed;—“the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life,” would be clearly distinguished to be “not of the Father, but of the world,”—which “passeth away, and the lust thereof: but he that doeth the will of God, abideth for ever.” Those who steadily and carefully maintain the watch, will be strengthened to suppress every intrusive thought, and will be more and more placed in a capacity to wait; for there cannot be a true waiting, without a ceasing from our own imaginations, that God may be all in all: in whose presence only there is life, and love, and peace, and joy,—the blessed reward of all those, who fear, serve, and love Him, in his inward appearance.

I was not intending to say so much, when I began with this subject, but I think my pen could not be employed in a better cause, or for a better Master: at the same time believing, that it will be accepted in the same love, that prompted me to write it.

TO A FRIEND.

Shoosarry, Eleventh month 29th, 1829.

I enclose the yearly meeting’s Epistle, and trust the perusal of it will afford thee satisfac-

tion, as it appears that assembly was owned by the great Head of his church, to the consolation and comfort of the upright and faithful standard-bearers. But O! my dear friend, I am fearful lest thou shouldest suppose, that the number of those to whom is committed the weight of the law and of the testimony, is larger amongst us, than is really the case. It is a sorrowful fact, but not the less true, that there are but “two or three berries in the top of the uppermost bough, four or five in the outmost fruitful branches thereof,” in the present day of our once flourishing Society: it is indeed a truly mournful consideration, when we look back at what it was, in the day when it first came forth. If we look at the ancient writings of Friends, we shall find that originally the Society consisted of such as had joined by conviction, and were actually in possession of what they professed to be led and guided by. When these were gathered to their everlasting rest, their children became the burden-bearers; many of whom stood firm to the principles of their fathers, and the cause of Truth was precious in their eyes. As this generation passed away, others sprung up, who entered into the privileges, to procure which their worthy predecessors had laboured and suffered. Then persecution ceased in great measure, and worldly prosperity, accompanied with ease and indulgence followed: combining to induce a relaxation in their vigilance against the attacks of the great enemy of man’s happiness; who did not fail to avail himself of the opportunity, more widely and cunningly to spread his snares and baits against a people, who, perhaps, of all others, had the most contributed to undermine his kingdom; as it is always his aim to attack those, from whom he is the most in danger of being kept at a distance. There is no need for him to be jealous of such as are the “children of disobedience,” in whose hearts he already rules and reigns: they may go on their way quietly, as he has them safe enough. In this manner, things have been getting worse and worse, until it may be said, that, to a lamentable degree, the glory has departed from our Israel.

The picture which I have laid before thee is discouraging; but I was afraid of thy being dazzled by that which only glitters, and is not the pure gold that has been tried in the fire. Notwithstanding things are in this condition, “the foundation standeth sure,” the Rock of ages remains unimpaired, and cannot change; the precious seal is yet unbroken, “the Lord knoweth them that are his;” and there is a little remnant yet preserved alive in that which lives for ever, who are enabled to call Jesus their Lord, and that by the Holy Ghost.



——— An individual thoroughly convinced of our principles, and keeping close to that which has convinced him, will undoubtedly, as he continues faithful, be converted by it; and one such person is certainly of more value in the Society, than many who are mere nominal members. Such as these have bought the Truth, at the price of becoming fools before men for Christ's sake: they have believed in the sufficiency of His power revealed in the heart, to cleanse and purify them from all sin; and although they may have had to pass through many conflicts, occasionally for several years, without appearing to gain any ground, they have been strengthened to persevere, and still to wait for Him. The weight of former sins and transgressions has been long and painfully felt to rise in humiliating retrospect before the view of the mind, time after time, in terrible array; working for each, true sorrow and repentance never to be repented of. But although at seasons he is ready to faint, when faith and hope have been reduced to a low ebb, yet the invisible arm of strength is still underneath unseen and unfelt, supporting the tribulated traveller in the apparently unequal warfare: until every sin has passed before-hand to judgment; and at last the glorious day begins to dawn, when He, who has been "as a refiner's fire, and like fuller's soap," before whom nothing (of a transgressing nature) can stand "when he appeareth," or can "abide the day of his coming,"—is now discovered to be "the sun of righteousness" arisen "with healing in his wings," to the joy and comfort of the wounded soul. Then the love of God is truly known; and until this blessed day is felt in the great and heartfelt work of regeneration, none can experimentally and truly say, that "God is love:"—they are mere words to all who have not witnessed the inward workings of his power in their heart:—but now, they feel him to be a God of love and mercy too, and are renewedly made willing in the love of Him to wait for Him. In this waiting, watchful frame of mind, we come to the place where true prayer is wont to be made; which rises as sweet incense before the throne of grace, because not of our creating. Here is the Christian's watch-tower,—his only place of safety, which was pointed out by our ever blessed Lord to all,— "What I say unto you, I say unto all, watch:" again, "watch and pray, lest ye enter into temptation." The soul that faithfully watches, cannot be long without praying; although but in the language of a sigh. It is enjoined also by the great apostle, where he says,— "praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance." Here every thought is detect-

ed in the light of Christ, and brought to judgment, and into the obedience of Him, who casteth down every imagination, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God,—to the pulling down the strong holds of sin and Satan.

#### TO HIS SON JOSHUA.

Twelfth month 12th, 1829.

What an unaccountable thing it is, that when such pains are being taken to educate the lower orders of the people, and such an earnestness apparent in pursuing the plans of philanthropy and benevolence, as has never been equalled in any former age, and so many efforts made to spread the knowledge of the gospel; yet there should be so bold a front and an atrocity in crime, surpassing even barbarous and uncivilized nations! To me, it seems as if many people were sensible of the tottering situation we are in, and thought it necessary to be doing something that in their apprehensions will be productive of good.

As to the increased efforts to spread the knowledge of the gospel, but little fruit can be expected, so long as they continue to be so blended with the inventions and contrivance of man. I verily believe this is one great means of preventing the people from coming to a knowledge of the true gospel, which remains to be "the power of God unto salvation." If the minds of the people were turned to an inward and vital knowledge of this work, there would be some hope; provided the teachers themselves were really called to and qualified for the work; and not, as is to be feared too many of them are, strangers to the inward work themselves.

In my apprehension nothing short of a day of calamity will bring the people to their senses, and reduce them to a state of simplicity and humility; which in the end would prove an unspeakable blessing, if happily it were the means of turning their attention to the true Teacher in their own hearts, who giveth life to those that hear and obey him, and would cause them to "cease from man whose breath is in his nostrils," by whom they have been so long kept in darkness. That so those abominations which are set up, and standing in the place of the true Christian religion, and which make the earth so destitute of the presence of the Lord, may for ever be swept away from its surface.

Should such a day be permitted, it will certainly try the members of our highly professing Society, and show who are on the foundation that standeth sure; these will be preserved as in the hollow of the Lord's hand, from "the blast of the terrible ones;" but the

chaff,—such as have nothing but an empty profession to stand upon, will assuredly be scattered before the storm.

To hear of thy welfare in those things that are of eternal consequence, is the principal desire of my heart for thee; without this, worldly prosperity will avail nothing in the great day of account. But little is enough, when our desires are bounded by moderation; and I am fully persuaded that no good and necessary thing will be withheld from them that walk uprightly. As for myself, I can truly say, that when I began business, I had no artificial wants, and my real wants were very few. I never studied to keep up appearances, and be like other people; all around me knew that I had but small means, and I made no other pretensions. I endeavoured, I think, to the best of my ability to seek the Lord, and positively did not look beyond a sufficiency of food and raiment; and although an utter stranger to business in every shape, yet my way was made prosperous; though perhaps what I thought prosperity, would be despised by most in the present day, and probably by many in that day also.

#### TO ONE OF HIS CHILDREN.

Shoosharry, Twelfth month 18th, 1829.

My dear —,

Truly there is nothing in this fading world to be compared with an inheritance in another and a better, which is to come, and into which we none of us know how soon we may be summoned. But if we be happily found amongst the number of those who “fear God and work righteousness,” we shall most assuredly “be accepted of him;” and shall praise His great and ever excellent name through the never ending ages of a glorious eternity: which is my frequent and earnest prayer for us all.

The great apostle also enjoins “praying always, with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto.” What a privilege it is that we have this in our power at all times, out of meetings as well as in meetings, and on all occasions whatsoever; and as we know for our encouragement, that we are constantly day and night in the presence of Him, “in whom we live, and move, and have our being,” who “knoweth the thoughts and intents of the heart;” we shall in this inward exercise be preserved in His fear and in His love; for the Shepherd of Israel neither slumbers nor sleeps,—His watchful eye is never closed.

Thou, no doubt, art present regularly during the family readings of the Scriptures; but I would advise thee to read a portion in them

every night before retiring to rest, with an earnest desire, that it may be given thee to understand them: for they will be but as a dead letter without the assistance of the Holy Spirit which gave them forth; with it, they will afford thee great instruction and consolation, and thou wilt be taught the true meaning and application of them.

I have lately received a letter from thy uncle Charles, giving but a poor account of his health, and that of thy aunt: they, like myself, and thy dear mother, are feeling the infirmities attendant on advanced age; and I hope these will serve as warnings to stir us all up, to endeavour to be prepared for the change that will certainly overtake us; that we may be like the wise virgins, provided with “oil in our vessels with our lamps.”

#### TO R. C.

Shoosharry, Fourth month 30th, 1830, O. S.

Thy letter was, indeed, most heartily welcome to us all, and as the harbinger of another returning spring, afforded us much comfort and consolation, after the long winter that has just passed over our heads.

Our work upon the land was suspended by the frost six months and nine days; and if we reckon the rough weather previously to the setting in of the frost, with what we have lately had, the winter has been more than seven months in length.

At the time when I have usually written to Balby monthly meeting, I was not unmindful of my dear friends; but alas! we were all laid by with sickness just then. This, however, as to myself, was not of long duration; but I found my mind entirely closed up, not having a sentence of any kind to transmit to the meeting; and yet I never witnessed a greater weight of exercise than at that period, which remained with me for several weeks afterwards, and is yet at seasons my portion.

#### CHAPTER XI.

*Visits England with his wife in 1830—his affectionate Address to the members of the Church of England—religious visit in Devonshire, Cornwall, the Scilly Isles, &c.*

THIS year (1830) the health of our dear mother having again failed considerably, she was recommended to pass the ensuing winter in England; and my father having concluded to accompany her, they came over together in the autumn. The interval of leisure thus afforded, was not suffered to pass unimproved. Besides the attendance of the various meetings that fell in his way, he wrote and published,



during the winter, a pamphlet entitled, *An affectionate Address to the Members of the Church of England*; which it is believed was widely circulated at the time.

In the first month 1831, he applied for and obtained a certificate from his monthly meeting, to visit parts of Devon, Cornwall, and the Scilly Isles. On the conclusion of this service, he attended the Dublin yearly meeting, and afterwards that held in London, returning to Petersburg in the sixth month following.

The succeeding extracts are from letters written during this period.

To S. S.

York, First month 8th, 1831.

On second-day morning, the 3rd instant, I shaped a northerly course for Durham quarterly meeting, held at Darlington. We had a very solemn meeting for worship the next morning, in the course of which, the great cause was ably advocated by several present; and I had to throw in my poor mite amongst them, and in a particular manner to call their attention to myself, as one exhibiting, and that without boasting, the triumph of divine grace, over human nature in its most depraved state. It was indeed a memorable time;—the Truth rose into dominion over all, and many minds were sensibly humbled under the power thereof. I stayed over their week-day meeting on fifth-day last; and had again to declare of the goodness and mercy of our God. This meeting ended well, but was not quite so highly favoured as that preceding the quarterly meeting.

After meeting, I left Darlington for York; where I was favoured to find my wife better than when I left her. For this, and for all the blessings and favours I daily and hourly enjoy, what shall I render unto the great and bountiful Giver, but the acknowledgment of being utterly unworthy of the least of all His tender mercies. On the way from Darlington, during the half hour allowed for dining, I called on a person who has lately joined the Society by conviction: he has a daughter in a very delicate state of health. I was gratified with my visit; and have since felt such a draught of love towards this dear young woman, that I have had to address a letter to her father on her behalf, which, I trust, will be received in the same love in which it was written.

Yesterday I went to sit by the death-bed of a young man, who is not expected to be long on this side the grave. It was a season to be long and gratefully remembered; for the Son of peace had mercifully visited this habitation.

VOL. VII.—No. 2.

I had to bow in thankfulness for the precious quiet vouchsafed, and to petition the Father of mercies, on behalf of the humble patient sufferer. I believe that many have been instructed by this bed-side.

My little Address is now in the press, in York, as well as in London, so that I hope it will shortly appear at Sheffield.

TO HIS ABSENT FAMILY.

York, Third month 3rd, 1831.

My dear children

I find things, as I go on, much altered as regards our Society; but it is a great consolation that there are here and there a few, comparable to the odd berries on the uppermost bough and in the fruitful branch, who are preserved alive at the root, and I trust growing from grace to grace, and that they will continue to grow, until they attain to "the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." There are others again, whom the everlasting Father is graciously drawing by merciful visitations to that Saviour, who will in no wise cast them out. In Sheffield, Doncaster, York, and Darlington, there are of this description, as well as at many other places, where my lot has been cast. It is astonishing what a striking difference there is between some meetings and others; but the most barren sittings I have been at, were at ——. I found it my place to dwell low with the suffering seed, and was quite closed up in both the meetings there. "If any man serve me, let him follow me; and where I am, there shall also my servant be,"—was the declaration of the Saviour of men, when personally upon earth: and truly there is no alteration in the Christian course;—if we would reign with Christ, we must be willing to suffer with Him. We must indeed, according to our measure, drink of the cup which He drank of, and with the baptism that He was baptized withal, must we be baptized; or how can we know a fellowship with His sufferings, or witness the power of His resurrection? In some meetings I have had to deal very plainly, and to declare amongst them without reserve, that however they might disregard the precious gift in their own hearts, and keep aloof from its warnings and monitions, that the same would judge them at the last day, according to the words of our holy Redeemer, when he said,—"I judge no man," but "the word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him in the last day;"—or to this effect.

There is a new work, published by a minister of the Independent denomination of Sunderland, entitled *The Book of the Priesthood*, proving from Scripture, that under the gospel,

the whole institution is at an end. I have procured a copy; also one of a smaller work, *The Church in danger from itself*, and of another, *Hurn's reasons for Secession from the Church of England*. The author of *The Book of the Priesthood*, is now said to be employing his pen on the subject of tithes. In short, the nation seems at last to open its eyes, or rather to permit their being opened; and I believe that the day is fast approaching, when the hireling will flee, "because he is an hireling." I have met with a work lately on Christian perfection, which has pleased me not a little, because there are so few of the different professing Christians who will admit this doctrine. I believe the author is a Wesleyan Methodist; and although he retains things which we do not deem essential, he very ably maintains the possibility and necessity of Christian perfection.

I have mentioned these things to show you what is doing in the world this way. It is wonderful to behold the great shaking there is in the minds of men at this time; all I hope indicating, that the day has begun to dawn, when "the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea,"—even the knowledge of that "word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever;" and which in the days of the apostles so mightily grew and prevailed, to the utter exclusion of the earthly nature from every heart in which it is permitted to operate.

For some months past, I have been rather looking forward towards paying a visit to the Scilly Islands, and to the different meetings of Friends in Devonshire and Cornwall; and latterly, the track has been so defined, that there seemed no doubt in my mind respecting it. I was strengthened to cast the subject before the monthly meeting, held on the 21st ultimo, and was favoured to receive every encouragement that could be desired; and since taking this step, I have felt the reward of peace, for this small act of obedience to what I believe is required of me. I am now making preparations for leaving Yorkshire for a season. As I am very much a stranger to every one in those parts, the prospect at times feels rather heavy; but having been mercifully favoured to taste of that soul-sustaining food, upon which a man may travel forty days, I am encouraged to hope, that He, who has been graciously pleased to be with me in so many troubles, will not now forsake me.

I trust you will still continue to be cared for:—"as the mountains are round about Jerusalem, so is the Lord round about his people, from henceforth and for ever." Those who fear, love, honour, and obey Him, are His people: and "the Lord will bless His

people with peace;" and truly there is no peace like the peace of the righteous; no love like the love of God shed abroad in the heart; and no joy like unto the joy of God's salvation. Love was the distinguishing characteristic of the first and great commandment under the law: and it is the first fruit of the Spirit in the gospel dispensation; which is exhibited in love to God, and love to man. If we are favoured with this inestimable treasure, the whole train of Christian virtues will follow in beautiful succession,—joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance; against which there is no law. "Love is the fulfilling of the law;" and the end of the commandment. It is indeed the heavenly badge that designates the disciples of the one same compassionate Saviour; it outlives faith and hope; it casts out fear; and animates the Christian traveller to persevere in the tribulated path, which leads to life everlasting. Then let us individually wrestle for this unutterable blessing; for we are told that "God is love:" if we find it, we find Him. Let us press through the crowd of encumbering things, even things perhaps harmless in themselves, which serve to keep alive in us the evil and hindering propensities of fallen nature; that so we may happily come in heart to the Saviour, who only can enable us to banish the things of time and sense. Though they may compass us about like bees, in the name of the Lord we will destroy them; for through Him we can do all things, but without Him nothing, as it should be done.

Island, called St. Mary's, the largest of the Scilly group, 31st of Third month, 1831.

My dear children,

I think my last letter mentioned the probability of my visiting the counties of Devon and Cornwall, together with these islands. At the last Balby monthly meeting, a certificate was granted me for this purpose. On the 5th instant, I left York, by way of Leeds, to Bradford, and was at both their meetings the next day; in which I had to labour amongst them, to my own comfort. When at this meeting, a few weeks previously, there seemed no door of entrance to be found amongst them, and I was shut up in both meetings. The next day I came on to Sheffield, and on the 10th attended the monthly meeting, and received my certificate. The same day, accompanied by —, I went to Woodhouse, Hackenthorne, Burleigh, and two places at Handsworth, to pay a small debt due from me to some invalids at these places,—two or three of them far advanced in years, who were absent when I visited Woodhouse meeting some time before. The next day I went



in the mail to Birmingham, and proceeded the same evening towards Bristol; here we arrived early in the morning, and after some refreshment, went forward to Wellington; where I found — and —, (whom I think you know,) were intending to unite with me as far as our routes might continue together. I attended both their meetings on first-day, and had a little to do amongst them in the morning; but in the afternoon was silent. On the 14th, we proceeded to Kingsbridge, where a meeting was appointed for the next day. I slept at —'s, whose wife is an old acquaintance of mine. Our mutual satisfaction at this meeting, was very much damped by the poor state of her health. The meeting was a highly favoured time, and we all had to labour together in love, unity and harmony. Next day we proceeded to Modbury, to another meeting; this was rather more dull at first, but was favoured to end comfortably. We reached Plymouth the same evening. At this place, — and — — had a prospect of visiting families. It was I believe best that we separated; as when united, we seemed rather to depend on the strength of each other, and perhaps even felt a little too strong.

The next day, I proceeded alone to a newly settled meeting at Tavistock, consisting mostly of convinced Friends. I was a little disappointed to find this meeting flat and dull at the first; perhaps I expected too much; but towards the latter end Truth rose into dominion, to our mutual comfort and consolation. I returned to Plymouth the same night.

As way opened, I accompanied — and — in some of their family visits. On first-day the 20th, sat with two families, and attended both the regular meetings, in which I was enabled to obtain considerable relief: towards the close of my testimony in the afternoon, the way seemed clear for taking leave of Friends there, to some of whom I felt closely attached. In the evening, was at a public meeting, held in the Bethel at Devonport, at the request of — and —. It was well filled; and after the people were informed of the object of our meeting together, great solemnity prevailed over the assembly. — had to break the silence with the voice of prayer. I suppose almost the whole congregation consisted of persons connected with the sea-faring life, with their families. My heart was greatly enlarged towards them, as companions and shipmates in the voyage of life; having the Lord God, merciful and gracious, and abundant in goodness and Truth, for our commander; and an all-sufficient Saviour and holy Redeemer for a heavenly pilot; who would never leave His vessel, but would safely conduct us through all the dangers and dif-

iculties of time, and would remain with us through the never ending ages of eternity. Towards the close, I had to call the attention of the meeting to myself, as an example for their encouragement, that none need despair; for in me they might behold a living monument of the Lord's everlasting mercy, and the triumph of Divine grace over human nature in its most depraved state;—in one, who, like themselves, had been cradled on the ocean, whom the everlasting arm had oftentimes been stretched out to save, when the briny wave had nearly prevailed against him. — — concluded the meeting in supplication. The people seemed in no hurry to leave the place, many coming to shake hands in a very friendly way. By what I have said, you will have some idea what sort of a meeting it was; and I think you cannot refrain from joining with me in the grateful tribute of admiration, gratitude, and praise, to Him who "sitteth upon the flood," who "sitteth King for ever;"—who only can "give strength unto His people,—who will bless the provision of Zion, and satisfy her poor with bread,"—and fill with that peace, which the topaz of Ethiopia cannot equal in value.

Being clear of Plymouth, next morning I crossed the Tamar in a boat to the Cornish side of Hamoaze, passing close under the stern of the Malta man-of-war. We proceeded to Looe, where a meeting was appointed; few Friends live here; but one of the few is that faithful servant, S. T. We were favoured with a comfortable meeting, to mutual refreshment. After dinner, we proceeded to Tidesford, and next morning attended their meeting. This was a memorable time from beginning to end: I can scarcely calculate upon being again permitted to partake of such another heavenly banquet in the course of this journey, if ever: but my soul right well knoweth that there is a power, in whom I am happily taught to believe, and with whom all things are possible; who can at His pleasure "bind the sweet influences of Pleiades," loose the bands of Orion, "bring forth Mazzaroth in his season, and" "guide Arcturus with his sons;"—"He that openeth, and no man shutteth; and shutteth, and no man openeth" the heavenly treasury of peace, love, and joy, which are at times revealed through the riches and glory of His grace, to His praise.

We dined at Liskeard. This meeting was appointed at six in the evening, and was much hurt by the disorderly gathering of the town's people, attracted by the lights in the windows of the meeting house, perhaps a rare thing. However, at last, we were favoured, and light sprung up, which brought weight and solemnity over all; under a feeling of which we

separated. S. R., an elderly minister, appeared after I sat down, in a weighty and confirming testimony. The next meeting was at Austle, at three P. M. on the following day: it was small, but upon the whole comfortable; after which I went on to Truro, and attended their meeting held in course next day. This proved a refreshing season to many present, and to some a time of rejoicing. In the afternoon, W. T. kindly accompanied me to Camborne; and the next day I proceeded to Penzance: the ground here was covered with snow, and the morning very cold and boisterous. I had hastened to be in time for the packet for Scilly, but found she had been detained by stress of weather five days behind her time. The next day was very stormy, and there was rough work among the shipping. An East Indiaman, the *Andromache*, put into Mount's Bay for shelter, and landed her passengers here from Calcutta.

On first-day the 27th, I attended both meetings at Penzance, which were refreshing and comfortable seasons: Friends in these parts are not numerous. I was lodged at the house of J. S., who has kindly accompanied me to these islands. We sailed the next afternoon, and had a fine but tossing passage. It is not often otherwise at any time, as the set of the tide into the British and George's Channel, and the exposure to the Bay of Biscay and the mighty Atlantic, cannot fail to cause great agitation of the water, particularly when it has blown hard for several previous days together. The Wolf Rock lies in the run of the packet, and is only discovered by the breaking of the sea upon it. We bore up for it about ten, P. M., distant from four to five hundred yards:—I had just fallen asleep at the moment, and so missed seeing it, which I rather regretted, as I have formerly been several times near it, but have never seen it. In light winds it makes a roaring noise from being hollow, and the breaking of the sea into it may be heard at a considerable distance. At eleven P. M., we were in full sight of the fine revolving light on the island of (St.) Agnes; and in a couple of hours afterwards were anchored safely in the roads of (St.) Mary's.

We landed immediately, and were glad to get to an inn, where the people kindly made us a fire, as the night was cold. The next day, a meeting was appointed on the Isle of Tresco; the people were long in gathering, but behaved solidly; and I was favoured with encouragement to persevere with my engagement. Next day we had a meeting on Sampson's Island in the afternoon, and another on Bryer's Isle in the evening; both were satisfactory and comforting seasons, tending to

administer an increase of strength, and begetting humble thankfulness of heart.

Fourth month 1st.—Last evening we had a meeting on Martin's Isle, which ended in a very solemn season. A class of Methodists call Bryanites abound here; their minister, and many that were present, made a continual groaning; one poor woman in particular, who seemed much struck with the solemnity of the occasion. I was upon my feet at the time, but was favoured with calmness. I could plainly hear the words, 'praises,' 'praises,' from the lips of the minister and others.

Fourth month 2nd.—Yesterday, we crossed to the island called St. Agnes, and found the landing rather difficult on account of the surf: in consequence of the great ebb and flow of the tides, few of these islands have proper landing places. It being what is called Good Friday, the people were mostly at home; and their Bryanite minister, knowing we were amongst the islands, had appointed a meeting for us at six in the evening, saying, that if we did not come, he would preach himself: so that all was made ready to our hands. There is a good new school-house on this island belonging to the Protestant establishment; but the clergyman will not allow it to be used for any other purpose than as a school. He seldom comes near these people himself, although there is a regular church-house for his use; and yet he does all he can to make it inconvenient for Dissenters to come among them. Our meeting was necessarily held in a dwelling-house, in two lower rooms, which were excessively crowded; and after all, many had to stand outside the open doors and windows. You know that I can bear a tolerable portion of heat, but this was almost too much for me. There was much groaning around us; but no particularly wild extravagances were exhibited, and on the whole it was a highly favoured meeting. We drank tea at the same house with their minister; but carrying our materials with us, we made a distinct table. It was striking to see the homely fare he partook of; in his absence I inquired of our hostess how he was supported; she said, they could not afford to pay him much, so had agreed amongst themselves, that they should take it by turns to board him one day each, in the same manner as they lived themselves; so that he is at a fresh house every day: but that one person had agreed to find him a lodging at her sole expense; and that the society of which he was a member allowed him £8 per annum. He is a kind, sincere-hearted, and unpretending young man, and I felt a regard for him.

I am very thankful that I am favoured to



have finished visiting all the straggling distant islands; and it is due from me to acknowledge the great support and strength that have been afforded me. It has blown strong ever since I have been here, so that getting about has been difficult, particularly embarking in the dark in strange places, amongst rocks slippery with oozy sea-weed; we could not avoid getting our clothes wet every day, and sometimes twice a-day. My companion is a plain, honest, worthy Friend, to whom I feel under many and great obligations for his kindness and attention.

After the two meetings in prospect on the island called St. Mary's, I know of nothing more to detain me here; but do not like exactly fixing my return to Yorkshire. I hope to be rightly directed, though but an unprofitable servant; but to be admitted a servant of such a Master on any terms, ought to be sufficient for any of us unworthy creatures.

I have lately received an extract from your last letter, and am sorry to find there is so much sickness near you, and that a fear prevails of the cholera approaching your borders. But we have "a strong city;" and I humbly hope, we shall be mercifully prepared for an entrance therein, through the strait gate; that we may indeed be amongst the number of the few, out of the many called, who are happily chosen;—this gate of the Lord through which the righteous enter into the city of their God; all the inhabitants of which are "redeemed with judgment," and converted with righteousness, even the righteousness of Him who died for the sins of all mankind.

Fourth month 6th, Penzance.—On first-day, we had two meetings on (St.) Mary's Isle: the first, at Holyvale, was a little disturbed by some rude people; I reproved them for it; and I believe many thought it a solemn time. The meeting in the Garrison town, was larger than any preceding it; and was a highly favoured time throughout.

To S. S.

Barnstable, North Devon, Fourth month 18th, 1831.

Presuming that my dear wife has before this time taken her departure from thy hospitable dwelling, I am at a loss how to direct to her, and shall therefore be greatly obliged, if thou wilt forward the enclosed letter, as thou art doubtless in possession of the secret.

Since arriving at Penzance from the Scilly Isles, I have been searching out the infirm and invalids at Marazion, who did not get to the meetings when I was at Penzance, previously to embarkation. On the sixth-day following, went eighteen miles to sit with some Friends

at Portreath, a small port near the entrance of the North Channel; and afterwards to Redruth, where a meeting was appointed for the next day. This was a comfortable time I trust to many present, and a relieving one to myself; which I desire to remember with gratitude of heart to the great Giver.

On fourth-day the 13th, the quarterly meeting was held: this was a favoured time; though in all these meetings I had some heavy work to do, but was strengthened to perform it faithfully. There seemed no getting out of Falmouth without holding a public meeting with the inhabitants, to which the sailors were specially invited. The house was well filled, and it proved a solemn opportunity; which I hope will be lastingly and profitably remembered by some present. I had to tell them, that like themselves, I had been cradled on the boisterous ocean; that the mercy of the Lord was unbounded as His love; that none need despair, for that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief, &c.

The time of liberation was now come, and I set out the next day for Plymouth, and finally for this place. Yesterday, I was at a meeting at Newton Tracey in the morning; none who attend it are members,—it was a refreshing season, and a thankful time for me. In the evening sat with Friends of this place; many strangers came in, and we were refreshed together.

I have lately been anticipating the pleasure of returning to my dear wife and all my friends at Carr Wood, intending to stop next first-day at Birmingham; but what poor short-sighted creatures we are! I was on the morning watch yesterday soon after four o'clock, when the love of God filled my heart; and a public meeting with the inhabitants of this town presented to my mind. A willingness was wrought immediately on the opening: the yearly meeting in Dublin followed; and I bowed in humble resignation to what I believe to be the divine will. In obedience to this, I have informed the Friends here; and the Wesleyan meeting house is procured for seven o'clock this evening. I feel that I am left single handed amongst strangers; but happily I know that there is a Power, which can yet enable me to "run through a troop, or leap over a wall;" in whose blessed will I rest, and in whose mercy I trust.

After the quarterly meeting at Exeter, I must press forward with all speed to Bristol, as there will be barely time for me to get to Dublin, if I find a steam-boat starting the same day. It is very clear that this is not the place of rest for me, but I humbly hope it is a road that leads to it.

## TO HIS WIFE.

Dublin, Fourth month 25th, 1831.

My dearest Jane,

I have now the pleasure of informing thee, that I arrived in this city, early yesterday morning. I wrote to thee last from Barnstaple, then looking forward to a meeting at that place the same evening, which proved in the end a truly comforting season: such an one as I have seldom witnessed. It was held in the Wesleyan meeting house, which was much crowded. The people were very quiet and attentive, and I had full opportunity to relieve myself among them, and have since been favoured to finish my visits to the remaining meetings in Devon, and to leave the country in peace; although humbled under a sense of my unworthiness to partake in the least of the Lord's mercies, and thus preserved by sea and land, and enabled to give the glory and the praise to Him to whom all belongs.

I left for Exeter the next day, and attended the select meeting the same evening, which to me was a heavy time. Here I again met with — and — —. Next morning the quarterly meeting began with a meeting for worship, which was for some time very flat; but gradually improved, and in the end a relieving time was obtained, but not without plain dealing. The next appointed meeting was at Spiceland, about twenty miles distant, on the following evening. We had to experience the truth of the apostolic declaration, of the sympathy in the members of the mystical body: "if one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it;" but our lot was to suffer together:—"whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it."

We reached Wellington the same night, and I had the pleasure of seeing my beloved companions restored to the bosom of their family, to the great delight of all around them. We were favoured to separate under feelings not soon to be forgotten, in that love which absence and distance only serve to strengthen. I pursued my course to Bristol, lodging at the hospitable mansion of B. T., and embarked the next day in the Killarney steamer, for Dublin; a very fine vessel, crowded with passengers, but all strangers to me. Our progress was impeded by contrary wind, and a sea swell; so that although the vessel possessed the power by steam of 220 horses, we were several hours beyond the usual time of arrival. The two first inns were full of guests, but the third took in the stranger, but could only give him a bed in a double bedded room. Thou knowest I often say—"any port in a storm;" but I believe there was a secret hand in all this. The other bed was occupied by a

stranger, with whom I had some satisfactory conversation before we got to sleep. It was renewed at an early hour next morning, and I never remember to have seen any person so completely overcome by the force of Truth. My feelings were such as led me to conclude, that if I had no other service in Ireland, this was enough, and my reward was ample for coming.

The meeting, so far, has been a solemn time: I have not had to open my mouth in any of the sittings. The disturbed state of this country is certainly appalling.

Liverpool, Fifth month 3rd, 1831.

My dear children,

Although I have had but rough doings on board the Etna steam-packet all night, yet I do not like the thoughts of letting this letter be sent off, without an assurance of dear love on my own behalf; at the same time not doubting that your dear mother has said all that is needful, in her letter.

We have had a very solemn yearly meeting, which continued nearly the whole of last week. The dreadful situation of the people in Ireland seems to have created very general apprehension in the minds of Friends, and I think very justly: in some counties open rebellion is the order of the day, and some barefaced murders have been committed in broad daylight. These things, and the altogether appalling signs of the times, have combined to bring the minds of many into great humility and abasement of self. In addition to these outward circumstances, the general call from the ministry has been in effect, 'how long will ye see the standard, and hear the sound of the trumpet? How long will you hear, and see, and disregard the loving-kindness of the Lord?' It was rather remarkable, that the strangers present were all from places distant from each other; and yet all uniformly had to raise a similar language, and to warn the revolting, backsliding sons and daughters in our Society, of a day that is fast hastening upon them, that would shake every building not upon the true foundation—the eternal Rock of ages, Christ Jesus our Lord. I trust the call will sink deep into the minds of many, and bring into thoughtfulness, about their own soul's peace, such characters as the great Apostle describes, when he says,—“of whom I told you often, and now tell you even weeping, that they are the enemies of the cross of Christ.”

I understand that poor — was last week seized with illness, and died the next day: it was quite my intention to have paid him a visit, when I reached his neighbourhood; but I shall now be too late. I believe he has been



much softened, since an illness which he had a few weeks previous to this last attack; and has been heard to lament the manner in which his family have been educated. We have but one instance recorded in Scripture of any being accepted at the last hour, that none may presume; but there is one, that none should despair.

Hoping shortly to speak to you all face to face, and to recount the mercies, the blessings, and the loving-kindness of the Lord to his poor finite creatures; I remain with full assurance of love, your affectionate father,  
D. W.

## CHAPTER XII.

*Return to Russia, 1831—Cholera at Petersburg, &c.—Epistle to Friends of York quarterly meeting, 1832—&c.*

To S. S.

Sixth month 28th, 1831, Ship Army in the Cattegat.

I THINK I never witnessed greater variety and changes in the weather, than have befallen us since embarking on the 22nd. Each revolving day has been fraught with changes, again and again reminding us of the uncertainty of all things here below: each day has produced a calm, and each calm has been followed by boisterous winds. My dear wife has suffered greatly from sea sickness; I think I never before saw her so much reduced from this cause.

It has often been my lot, and it seems as if the measure was not yet filled up, to witness and to share many painful scenes; I sometimes think that a greater portion of suffering is necessary for me than for others, to hold in check and humble a disposition, which is naturally so prone to rebel. It is, at any rate, no more than I deserve, after the days without number that have been passed in folly and forgetfulness of that gracious Being, who hath in unutterable condescension and mercy followed me from my youth up, even to the present day; and who, I humbly trust, will never forsake His poor unworthy creature: but by renewed trials and baptisms, will keep alive the vital spark, until He is graciously pleased to say, 'it is enough.' If I know myself, I think that I do not desire a life of ease; but I would gladly devote the few remaining days which may be my portion here, to declaring "the mighty acts of the Lord" to my benighted fellow creatures, though unequal and unworthy to show forth half His praise.

with great virulence at Petersburg; the two following letters give some description of this awful visitation.]

To S. B.

Plains of Shoosarry, near Petersburg,  
Eighth month 31st, O. S., 1831.

Let me acknowledge with reverent thankfulness and gratitude, that we are all in the enjoyment of the inestimable blessing of health, which nothing earthly can bestow; a high privilege at all times, but how much enhanced, when the earth has been opening around us, and swallowing up the people to a fearful extent from cholera, in some cases at the short notice of from two to three hours. Old and young, strong and weak, rich and poor, have fallen; but such as were in the constant habit of drinking spirituous liquors were amongst the first victims. Although we have had to stand as with our lives in our hands, yet we have been favoured beyond precedent; as out of our establishment, employing this year more than five hundred persons, not a single man has been taken off by this disease: when it is a well authenticated fact, that in one house in the city, (a large one of course, containing several families,) forty persons have died. What, indeed, can we render to the Most High, for such unmerited mercies showered down upon such poor unworthy creatures; whilst so many thousands have been hastily summoned hence by the undeniable herald of the grave! "Who can utter the mighty acts of the Lord? Who can show forth all His praise?" Truly in vain is the attempt, my soul right well knows, for any of us to exalt and magnify His ever great and adorable name, without his strengthening aid; though glowing with renewed desires to proclaim to all mankind, if it were possible, his matchless and unutterable love.

From a variety of circumstances which occurred both before reaching the Sound, and after leaving it, our suspicions were awakened as to the state of things, in regard to the fatal disease at the place to which we were bending our course; but the weather threw us out of the track of the homeward-bound ships, and prevented our getting the least information till we entered the Gulf of Finland. From all the accounts we received from the vessels then spoken with, there seemed no doubt, but that the cholera was raging both at Cronstadt and Petersburg; and the nearer we approached to these places, the more alarming the reports became. One night, when off that part of the coast nearest to the seat of war, we were quite annoyed with the unpleasant state of the air; although we were not in sight of the land, I

[About this period the cholera prevailed

believe, but the wind blew from that direction: it pervaded the whole ship, so that my wife, though in bed, discovered it, and thought it arose from something on board: the atmosphere seemed filled with tainted air. From this time our captain fumigated the ship daily, making free use of the chloride of lime, of which he had a plentiful supply.

The long continuance of contrary winds had hitherto tried our stock of patience rather severely; but now the time was at hand for a trial of faith, and of our resignation to that holy will, which is ever excellent, though it is beyond the reach of poor finite man to develope its ever merciful and all gracious designs. The captain had been told shortly after we sailed, that I had regularly arrived in Russia on one particular day; and he now began to talk of this in rather a sneering manner, saying, that my calculation had failed, for the ship was a long way off her port, and the wind still contrary. I told him we should be there soon enough in all probability, merely alluding to the sickness. When we had been twenty-two days from Hull, the wind changed, and once again blew a fine, fresh gale from the westward, which, in ordinary cases, would have brightened every countenance on board; but such was the gloomy prospect before us, that even this, so often hoped for, had no power to charm. The breeze continued through the night, and the rising sun increased its strength; and our noble vessel seemed to rush onward with more speed than we desired, except as the recollection arose of the three dear children, whom we dared now only to look forward with a very trembling hope to behold again in mutability. As the day advanced, the wind became stronger and stronger, so that by noon we were favoured to anchor safely off the entrance to the Mole of Cronstadt, amidst a crowd of shipping. Is it not worthy of something more than ordinary remark, that we should arrive on the very same day, on which I had three times before been permitted to do so—the 15th of seventh month, N. S.? To me, this had a promising and strengthening effect; it was a pleasing coincidence, bringing to remembrance many great mercies and favours in times that are past, but now signally to be commemorated with admiration, gratitude, and praise to Him, who “commandeth the morning, and causeth the day-spring to know its place.” It was indeed a day of humiliation, self-abasement, and bowing down amongst all around us, producing from the hardy captain the appropriate exclamation, ‘there is nothing but the Almighty for it, at any rate:’ and I believe he never spoke more strictly in adherence to truth in his life; for

what could the possession of the whole world have done for us in this day of distress? The “secret tabernacle of the Most High” was the only hiding-place, the only pavillion of safety and refuge. I would gladly impart to my dear friends, a share of the marvellous loving-kindness and tender mercy, which were so graciously displayed for our relief and consolation on this memorable day; but language is utterly incapable of conveying it,—words cannot set it forth. I think that nothing short of being placed in an exactly similar situation, could make it be felt and understood to its full extent. However much it may be thought an uncharitable desire, I cannot help craving, that all my beloved friends were brought by any means, under a similar state of feeling;—not a mole-hill to rest upon, humbled in the dust. How softened every heart!—how tearful every eye!—the Lord alone exalted! This is what I want all to witness for themselves; that they may indeed witness the power of everlasting love, to comfort and strengthen their hearts; and enable them to assert, in similar language with the great Apostle of the Gentiles, and from the same heart-felt knowledge, “we glory in tribulation.”

I have made a long digression from the subject of our arriving at Cronstadt, but my heart warms with the remembrance of the sustaining evidence, with which our minds were favoured in the midst of the scene of terror that awaited us. My poor wife was greatly supported, and only in one instance expressed any thing like discouragement, and that was at the thought of my having to expose myself amongst the people on shore. But it was not a time for any one to flinch, particularly when mercifully favoured, as was my happy portion, to banish all fear, and not experience a single desire to arise, to be any where but where my lot was cast.

On landing, some difficulties arose from a new law respecting passengers’ luggage: the captain proposed applying to the British Consul for advice. I felt averse to this; but nothing else suggesting, it was attempted. It was soon ascertained that no person was admitted into his office; and that letters, &c., were received with a pair of tongs, for fear of infection. It seemed as if nothing was to be achieved by any contrivance of our own; but the very barrier which at first appeared insurmountable, proved to be the channel through which relief and comfort were to flow. This new law occasioned my having to go to a particular department of the Custom house, when I was accosted by a stranger with a letter in his hand, who asked if it was for me. The measure was now filled; the tide which had flowed in such an appalling current, was



now at its height, and beginning to turn. The letter was in dear William's hand writing; and I had the joy of finding, that my children had wholly escaped the ravages of this awful disease; which was considered to be at its height, just about the time of our arrival.

I hastened on board again with my letter, and will leave thee to judge of what followed, and to partake of the joy which once more we were permitted to share together,—I hope with humble gratitude. I was on shore again until late; but every thing moved tardily, and no wonder, when the judgments of the Almighty were at the very doors of most, in so striking a manner. In this small town one hundred and fifteen died that day.

After another day unavoidably spent at Cronstadt, we got into the steam-boat on the 17th of seventh month, and reached the city about noon. It being first-day, it was expected that a considerable number of persons would be waiting the arrival of the steam-boat, as in former similar instances, it has sometimes been difficult to get through the crowd. But the contrast was so remarkable, that I did not suppose we had reached our proper destination, as there were only three or four people belonging to the wharf to be seen, and not a single carriage standing for hire: scarcely any body was to be seen in the streets, and in some the grass was growing. We were at length favoured to reach our abode, and to find all well, to our mutual rejoicing,—such was the abundant and unmerited mercy bestowed upon us. William had anticipated our arrival, and thoughtfully got the letter conveyed only the day before, which afforded us so much relief. If it had not been for the new regulation, it is probable the letter would not have found me, as I should not have had occasion to go to the Custom-house. How admirably things are brought about, and a way made, when to finite comprehension none could be expected.

— I hope thou art at seasons favoured sensibly to feel the presence of the ever blessed Master: do not suffer thyself to be discouraged, though He may seem to tarry long; but remember that “in due season we shall reap, if we faint not.” The path of suffering is that which leads to blessedness and glory; and it is only those who are willing to suffer with Christ Jesus, who can expect to reign with Him: therefore be not weary in well-doing. Let us humbly endeavour to dwell low, and abide with Him; being “buried with Him in baptism;” that so we may be among the happy number that shall rise with Him to life everlasting. I am more and more confirmed in believing, that nothing can separate us from His love; neither nakedness, nor pe-

ril, nor sword. Though we may indeed be as “killed all the day long,” and “accounted as sheep for the slaughter;” yet as we abide in His fear, “watching unto prayer,” “praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit,”—the incense will be continually burning: and “in all things we are more than conquerors, through Him that loved us;” to whom be the praise and the glory for ever.

To R. C.

Shoosharry establishment, Ninth month 22nd, 1831, O. S.

— In my last letter, I could give few particulars as to the number of persons that have fallen victims to this disorder, nor will the total number ever be known or made public. I have heard through a channel that cannot be doubted, that on the day we landed, eight hundred died in Petersburg. The published accounts state the total loss throughout the empire, at fifty-two thousand; and, we may be sure, that this is a very moderate calculation indeed. Through mercy, this calamity seems nearly overpast; and how should I rejoice if it was in my power to say, that the inhabitants have learned righteousness, whilst the “judgments of the Lord” have been so signally manifested in the earth.

It is really astonishing what a degree of ignorance prevails, or what cause can have operated to deceive the people, many of whom at this day do not believe that such a complaint has ever existed; but suppose the mortality has been occasioned by poison administered by persons in the employ of the Poles. This delusion has itself caused a waste of human life. It would of course help to exasperate the public mind against the Poles; but this was not all, for it caused the lower orders to rise, and in their blind zeal, it is said, people were actually destroyed on suspicion of being paid agents: the doctors were implicated in this suspicion; and I believe at least one was killed by the rabble. The fact is, the doctors were altogether at a loss how to treat the disease: all their skill was baffled completely; and as almost every case was fatal to which they were called, when this awful visitation first commenced, it was considered sufficient proof that they were the authors of the mischief. When we arrived, not above five out of every hundred cases recovered. Some of these objects of suspicion were seized and searched, and compelled to swallow any article found upon them, supposed to be poison, in order to ascertain their guilt. We heard of one on whom a smelling bottle containing strong French salts was found; the test in this case, it is said, proved fatal. In another instance, the owner of a set of castors

was compelled to swallow the contents; but by taking an emetic, he escaped material suffering. The rabble broke into some of the hospitals, and speedily liberated the patients: in one instance, they threw the doctor out of the window; he escaped being much hurt, and was actually carried up stairs and thrown out a second time, and fell a sacrifice to their fury. The confusion was at one time so great, that some people are said to have died of fear, and many fled from the neighbourhood. Others shut themselves up to escape this terrible malady, but in repeated instances, those who took the greatest precautions, were the first carried off.

We cannot wonder at every effort being used on the part of the government, to endeavour to check the progress of the disease; but these efforts were not always well devised or executed. The police very improperly took up every man, whom they suspected of having the complaint, and carried him off to an hospital; where, in spite of all he could say, he was immediately treated as a patient, and many such, perhaps from afterwards taking the complaint, never came out again alive. This treatment exasperated the people to such a degree, that they broke through all bounds, as they thought, in self-defence. One of our men was taken up, charged with having the disease; in vain he declared that he was in perfect health,—nothing would serve but his going to the hospital, where he was forthwith treated as a patient; but was released from his perilous situation by the multitude getting possession of the hospital, when he availed himself of the opportunity of escape, and returned to his work. With a view to prevent the contagion from spreading, the dead were hastily put into coffins, and it is very possible, that some were confined before they were actually deceased,—of course unintentionally. However, some coffins were detected with living bodies in them; so that altogether the scene of confusion scarcely ever had its parallel.

Shortly after we arrived at Cronstadt, my attention was directed to a large open lighter, full of men and horses, crowded in all positions. These people were in the act of flying from the infection, hoping to reach the other side of the Gulf, and get off to the villages up the country. I think I never before saw such a closely stowed cargo of men and beasts, in all the course of my pilgrimage.

At one of the military colonies a dreadful affray took place, arising from a similar cause, in which the soldiers suspected their own officers: it is impossible to say how many, but it is reported, that a considerable number of officers were killed, and some of them with

unheard-of cruelty. It really seemed as if the most trifling cause was enough to "turn every man's hand against his fellow." I mentioned in a former letter, that no part of our establishment had lost a single man; but we afterwards lost a poor woman, who had been in the city, and fell ill the next day. Every thing in our power was done for her, but all was in vain. Two women were employed to attend on her; but it was quite needful to look well after them: as an instance, the poor creature had had a warm bath, and in getting her out, her nurses perceived that her countenance was distorted, which so alarmed them, that they let her fall upon the floor, and ran away from her; so that it was absolutely necessary to compel them to return, and stay with her. Now, what must have been the neglected situation of thousands of these poor people, when it was with great difficulty that we could procure tolerable assistance for even one.

The past has been a memorable year indeed; I seemed to partake pretty largely of changes, whilst hovering about my native land; and yet how much was to be passed through to complete a year, from the date of our leaving this country to its next anniversary.

— I have brought back with me impressions, to which my mind continually reverts, when looking at the past; impressions strongly engraven on my heart by the love, unity, and, may I not say, godly sincerity, and kindness, of many of my friends in England and Ireland. Although deprived of all these as to the outward, the remembrance of them remains sweet and precious, and I trust will lastingly endure with freshness and fragrance, and brighten the days, that I may yet have to sojourn in Mesech, and dwell in the tents of Kedar.

#### TO FRIENDS OF YORK QUARTERLY MEETING.

Near Petersburg, First month 25th, 1832.

Under a renewed sense of the Lord's manifold and tender mercies, which, to His praise and to His glory be it spoken, have compassed us about "as with a shield," since we last saw each other; my soul feels bound thus to recognize the good hand that has led us, and to salute my dear brethren and sisters, in a feeling of that love which cannot change: earnestly desiring that "grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, may be multiplied to them;" causing the hearts of the faithful to rejoice,—and joy, gladness, and thanksgiving to abound amongst them.



Although far separated from each other as to the outward, yet such is the glorious privilege of the least living member of the true church universal, that nothing can separate, or prevent us from standing fast in the one Holy Spirit, striving together in one mind, for the faith of the gospel;—"till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." For assuredly, my beloved friends, a day of trial is approaching, yea, hastening upon the nations, when nothing short of an individual heartfelt knowledge of Him, in whom we profess to believe, will stand unshaken by the storm.

Great is the solicitude I feel on behalf of our highly favoured religious Society, that it may be preserved immovable upon this its ancient and sure foundation, Jesus Christ—"Christ in you the hope of glory;" which never did, and never will, fail those, who in simplicity believe, and faithfully build thereon, nothing doubting. By diligently maintaining the watch in that holy light, bestowed in redeeming love on every individual of the human race, the snares of the insidious adversary, although laid in the most insinuating manner, will be detected and broken; the specious guise of a false religion itself will be penetrated. This has assuredly slain its thousands, who dazzled and distracted by creaturely activity and excitement, have thus been corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ. "Watch ye therefore, and pray always; that ye may be accounted worthy to escape all these things that shall come to pass, and to stand before the Son of man." Blessed and holy injunction,—never out of season,—never more needed!

We may feel lamentably conscious of unworthiness, weakness, and incapacity from our manifold backslidings, to come up "to the help of the Lord against the mighty," or to unveil the subtle workings of the mystery of iniquity to the sight of others. These feelings are painful; and how great is the need of circumspection under them, lest, in the impatience of our spirits, heightened as this too often is, by the ill-advised example and counsel of those about us, we should attempt to stay the ark with unsanctified and unauthorized hands; or lest we should countenance to our own condemnation willings and runnings, on the part of those with whom we may stand connected, which, however specious in themselves, nevertheless contribute most essentially and insidiously to promote the kingdom of anti-christ, already alas! extensive in the earth.

Frequently am I brought under appalling apprehensions for us, as a people, sought out

and chosen of the Lord: for had we followed the footsteps of our honourable predecessors in religious profession, who bore the burden and heat of a day of deep suffering, in the faithful support, in their original brightness, of those principles which they transmitted to us, the spiritual beauty of the gospel church might have shone forth even through us, with a splendour which the different professors of the Christian name, could neither have gainsayed nor resisted. And it is awfully impressed upon my mind, I might almost say, it is given me awfully to believe, that if the "world, and the things of the world," which "are not of the Father," had not stolen away our hearts from His love, the glad tidings of that gospel, which is indeed "the power of God unto salvation," would, long ere this, have been proclaimed in remote, in heathen portions of the habitable globe, by instruments raised up from amongst us, duly prepared and clothed with the true, baptizing authority of the Lord Jesus; whose "inheritance is the heathen, and the uttermost parts of the earth his possession." He alone can endue His messengers with "power from on high," in His name to open the eyes of the spiritually blind, to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God. Mark, then, the awful consequences of our short-comings as a people; and let us tremble, lest God should visit our iniquity upon us; and the awful language should be sounded in our ears:—"The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a nation or people bringing forth the fruits thereof." "Watch ye, therefore," and remember, "and pray always;" for "the time is come that judgment must begin at the house of God;" what then "shall the end be of them that obey not the gospel of God?"

"Fear, and the pit, and the snare are upon thee, O! inhabitant of the earth!" from which nothing but a Saviour's all-powerful arm, can extricate and deliver. All are involved in the momentous consequences; yet it is an individual work, and admits of no delay. Then, dear friends of every age and of every class, let us hasten to it in earnest: let us "humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God," even to the state of little children; and turn inward to his pure unflattering witness, which cannot deceive, or be deceived. Let us accomplish a diligent search, and patiently examine how far those indispensable conditions are submitted to on our part, without which none can follow the blessed Jesus. Where is that self-denial and the daily cross He enjoins? Are we denying ourselves those gratifications of time and sense, which nourish sin, and keep alive in us the evil propensities of fallen nature? Have we taken up that daily cross, and

offered all to Him, "who died for us and rose again?" It is not giving up this or that particular thing that will suffice: a full surrender of the will must be made to Him, "whose right it is to reign." Let none plead for disobedience in what they may think little things, on the ground of their being so. If such they really are, they are the more easily parted with; and our tenacity in wishing to reserve them, assuredly indicates that they are of more importance in our practical estimation than we may be disposed to allow. Let no man deceive himself;—unqualified obedience is the necessary condition of discipleship. Without it we cannot be consistent followers of our Lord; and if not followers of Him, we cannot serve Him, be where He is, nor learn of Him that meekness and lowliness of heart, which draw down heavenly blessings and regard, and which he alone can bestow.

As the sorrowful declension which has so marred the beauty of our religious Society, may be traced to departing from that heavenly indwelling principle of light, life, and love; so our restoration to primitive purity can only be effected by returning unto the Lord with full purpose of heart, in the depths of humility and self-abasement:—yea, my friends, nothing less than this will do. We must deny ourselves, take up our daily cross, and follow Him, who is "holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens;"—ever mighty to save, and to deliver; and who will deliver out of every distress the soul that in sincerity seeketh Him.

Come brother—come sister—come all my dear friends; let no earthly consideration whatever be suffered to hinder this important work: for "the night is far spent, the day is at hand; let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light;" that we may no longer bring forth fruit, whereof we are ashamed,—for the end of those things is death; but that we may "be strong in the Lord, and in the power of His might, to stand against the wiles of the devil." "For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places." Let us "pray always, with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, watching thereunto, with all perseverance;" striving together in one mind for the faith of the gospel, even for that faith which worketh by love, purifieth the heart, and giveth victory over the world. Thus shall we indeed be found with "our loins girded about, and our lights burning, and we ourselves like unto men who wait for their lord, when he will return from the wedding, that when he cometh and knock-

eth, they may open unto him immediately;" even unto Him who said—"Behold I stand at the door and knock, if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me." Then "lift up your heads, O ye gates! even lift them up ye everlasting doors! and the King of glory shall come in. Who is this King of glory?—The Lord of hosts, He is the King of glory."

In the love of the gospel, I remain your affectionate friend and brother, D. W.

To J. H.

Second month 3rd, 1832.

— I sincerely hope that fruit will result from the labours of the Committees [of the yearly meeting] in different parts of the country: it is high time for the Society to be roused, and awakened to a sense of its deplorable state, which appears to me, in too many instances, to be quite affecting and mournful.

I have lately written a letter and forwarded it to Sheffield, for the examination of the Friends of Balby monthly meeting, addressed to Friends of York quarterly meeting. I began it with the expectation of writing to Balby monthly meeting; but I found it must have a more general circulation than the monthly meeting could give it. If it should be approved and accepted, it cannot be too widely spread; and with its present address it may probably be sent to the different monthly meetings, and from thence to the preparative meetings, which would be a great relief to me. But whichever way it may terminate, I must rejoice; for if accepted, a great weight will be removed from my shoulders; and if thought objectionable, I shall still rejoice in having endeavoured to discharge my duty; which will enable me to bear the disappointment with patience and submission.

To E. B.

Third month 29th, 1832.

— Although a very poor creature myself, and often bowed down under a weight of exercise, yet I am at times comforted to feel great love in my heart for my dear friends in England; greatly desiring that the present awful aspect of things may be an effectual means of driving every individual of us home to the precious principle of Truth, so mercifully implanted in every heart. The importance of this, as regards our own highly favoured Society as well as mankind in general, is more and more stamped upon my mind; believing that a great weight of responsibility will rest upon us, if instead of letting our light so shine, that others



may see and glorify our heavenly Father, we should unhappily be found darkening by our conduct and conversation the path which leads to the kingdom; and thereby causing others to stumble and turn aside. Independently of this consideration, how great is the loss we are sustaining, in contenting ourselves with merely hearing of the inestimable treasure, instead of possessing the thing itself; which at seasons would fill our hearts with love, and peace, and joy unspeakable.

— Now this is what I want all my beloved friends to enjoy, and to give up all to purchase; ..... and I verily believe, that this must be the heartfelt experience of us all, before we can witness the fellowship of His [Christ's] sufferings, and know Him, and the power of His resurrection, being made conformable to his death. It is those only, who are buried with Him in baptism, that will rise with Him: it is only those, who are willing to suffer in this life with Him, who will reign with Him in life everlasting. There are none who can enter into this truly interesting employment, of engaging in the blessed and heavenly warfare, with the same advantages as those in early life; because the minds of such are undoubtedly much less charged and encumbered with the surfeiting cares and perplexities of this transitory and perishing world. To these, therefore, I would particularly address myself, with an earnest recommendation in tender solicitude, that they would look at the great and holy Pattern; who, though the Son of the Highest, "made himself of no reputation, and took upon Him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men: and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name; that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow." And greatly do I desire, that we may all be amongst the number of those that believe in his power; that so our hearts may be softened into the same child-like obedience, even to the death of every thing in us, that stands opposed to the divine will. Then, indeed, with the heart shall we believe unto righteousness, and with the tongue confession will be made unto salvation, even "that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."

— I hope that all your fears and anxieties are hushed at present, and changed into gratitude and thankfulness to Him, who hath thus far conducted the steps of your brother in safety, and borne up his head upon the mighty ocean; enabling him to put full trust and confidence, in the Almighty and compas-

sionate arm of never-failing strength, as an infant slumbereth on the bosom of its mother. He is often present in my thoughts, and my heart often follows him in love and sympathy across the trackless deep; but thus far no feeling of discouragement as to his safety has dared to show itself. I do greatly desire that the work in which he is engaged may abundantly prosper, to the promotion of the divine glory, the welfare of our fellow-men, and his own peace and comfort,—the blessed and sure rewards which crown the faithful labourer. For "he that reapeth receiveth wages, and gathereth fruit unto life eternal; that he that soweth and he that reapeth, may rejoice together." May that Almighty power, in whose presence is life, continue to surround him by night and by day, and strengthen him to proclaim the day of the Lord, even amongst those who are strangers to His ever great and excellent name; that glory to the righteous Lord may resound from far, and the voice of thanksgiving and praise be heard on high.

### CHAPTER XIII.

*Prospect of distant religious service—resigns his appointment in Russia—leaves his family, and sails for England, 1832—his prospect of visiting in Gospel love the inhabitants of some of the South Sea islands, etc., laid before his friends.*

[ABOUT this time, under a prospect of distant religious service, our dear father believed it right to resign his appointment under the Russian government, and to repair to his native country. The commencement and progress of this movement, are alluded to in the following extracts from his letters.]

To J. H.

Seventh month 5th, 1832, O. S.

— I hinted to thee some time back, the probability of a change being about to take place, as to our prospects in this country; which is now so far developed, as to enable me to inform thee, with some little certainty, how things are going on.

For many months past, it has clearly appeared to be my duty to relinquish my engagements in this land; and as way has from time to time opened, I have gradually moved forward under this apprehension; and have been mercifully, peacefully, and abundantly confirmed in this step, by the difficulties, which at first appeared too mountainous to be overcome, having shrunk into insignificant mole-hills, as the time approached to encounter them. Now every obstacle seems

to be removed: I have, I think, proceeded throughout, as things were opened before me, consulting with my beloved family, as each succeeding step has been taken; and in every instance, what has been proposed to them, has found a place in their minds, and been assented to. To break up all at once an establishment so extensive as that in which I have been engaged, would be attended with serious loss and inconvenience; and when the unbounded confidence which has been reposed in us is taken into view, extra care and caution seem the more needful, that there should be no unhandsome conduct to complain of; and I trust that I have always been anxious to avoid every thing, in the smallest degree calculated to cast a shade upon our religious Society, the principles of which, I have good reason for believing, are held in considerable estimation at this day by many high in office, as well as by others who have had more frequent intercourse with us. After stating undisguisedly my true motive for wishing to retire, it was proposed that my eldest son should succeed me as head of this concern; and that in all respects, every thing else should remain on its original footing.

Although this outline seems to occupy but a small space on paper, it has, from first to last, taken about seven months to bring all the particulars to bear; but the Ukaze [or imperial edict] is now actually signed.

— I have already had a parting and affecting interview with Prince Galitzin: he particularly stipulated that I should write to him, saying, ‘What is good for your soul, is good for mine.’ I feel thankful in being able to say, that there is no perceptible alteration in him, after an acquaintance of fifteen years. He has ordered a certificate to be prepared for me in English, for the satisfaction of my friends, which he will sign on behalf of the Emperor.

But although things seem to have been so far set in order, as to enable me to leave this country in a comfortable manner; yet the trial of faith, and patience, and of every affectionate feeling has still to be passed through, as regards my dear wife and family here: for though the way is clearly seen and opened for my going to England, yet I have not the slightest prospect of any settled residence there; but from the impressions which have been sealed upon my mind, by day and night for many months past, very different scenes are open before me. As I have from the first, made my wife acquainted with the uncertainty to which I am looking forward, she feels best satisfied to remain, for the present at least, in this country.

I have sometimes thought, as so great a

willingness has been wrought in my mind to part with every earthly thing, that perhaps, when all was settled as to outward affairs, it might be only as a preparation for quitting this scene of conflict altogether: but I have been enabled to look forward to this result, with the same calmness and resignation, should it be the will of Him who hath done so great things for me, and shown me the path of life; whose excellency is over Israel, and who giveth strength and power to His people, to praise and “glorify” Him, even “in the fires.”

[Soon after the date of the foregoing, he took leave of his family, and set sail for England:—the following letter is written when on the point of quitting the port of Cronstadt.]

#### TO HIS WIFE.

Cronstadt Mole, Seventh month 20th, 1832, O. S.

My dearest Jane,

As the captain talks of getting out of the Mole in a short time, I think it is advisable to scribble a few lines before the scuffle begins, lest I should then be prevented.

I cannot, of course, have much to communicate as to fresh events, the time is so short since thou and the rest of my dear family have been removed from my sight: I have, however, abundant cause to magnify that never-failing arm of power, which has so marvelously supported us through a dispensation, not of an every day sort; and which still continues to preserve in that lowly quiet of mind, which subjects the will of the creature to that of the Almighty Creator,—even to the binding of the sacrifice as to the horns of the altar, without reserving any thing which might, like the “bleating of the sheep, and the lowing of the oxen,” tend to self-condemnation, or open a door for reproach and accusation, wherein the enemy could exult or rejoice.

I hope we shall have rather more settlement when we get to sea, as the captain is now much harassed in concluding his arrangements with the Custom-house, &c. Last evening, both he and the mate stayed with us, whilst I read a psalm or two; but it seemed as if they could scarcely be still during the reading, and it was almost an impossibility afterwards. This morning we have had it to ourselves in a comfortable manner, as both captain and mate have been closely engaged. I find my fellow passenger a very agreeable companion.

I regretted to find thou hadst been writing so late the night I left home; although it was very consoling to me to receive thy note, which I did not read till this morning, as I



was not aware the packet contained any thing for me. It has been indeed a trying circumstance for a long time past to me, whenever I have looked forward to taking my departure from thee, although I have endeavoured to keep it wholly to myself; but I am comforted in a belief that has been graciously begotten for some time past in my heart, that no less reward will await thee and our dear children, in thus fully resigning me up in meek submission to the divine will, than will be my portion, who have to leave you all, if found faithful to the farther unfoldings of it. A fresh evidence of this has been sealed upon my mind this morning, in an encouraging manner; and I do greatly desire that we may all, by keeping close to our heavenly Teacher in humble watchfulness, be favoured to witness that peace, which "the God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep," alone can bestow. I am thine, very affectionately,

D. W.

TO THE SAME.

Seventh month 29th, in sight of Gothland.

My dearest Jane,

— We have now been out of Cronstadt nine days, and with the exception of one day, it has been so far, I think, the finest passage I ever experienced, either of late or in former years. Almost every day there has been a fair wind, but gentle; and when against us, so light as scarcely to raise a desire for it to be otherwise. I have spent much of my time on deck, both by day and by night, and am thankful in being able to say, that I can look back with renewed satisfaction and comfort, at having thus far proceeded in an apprehended line of duty: although at times I feel as the lonely sparrow on the house top, or as the rambling swallow without a home, and still only preparing to take flight for distant climes, whilst pressing onward farther and farther, from all that I hold dear in this transitory world.

We have been thus far enabled to keep up our readings twice a-day in the cabin, although at times a little unsettled; the captain and mate mostly remain with us. On first-day, I furnished each sailor with a tract; either *Thoughts by the sea side*, or *The Lighthouse*, with which they all seemed pleased; and the captain requested to have one of each for himself.

Two or three days after leaving Cronstadt, I began to suspect, from some remarks which I had made about the ship, that she was not quite so tight as had been represented. She had been pumped that morning in a superfi-

cial manner; but after a few hours I took an opportunity of sounding the well myself, when no one was near, and found there were twenty-two inches of water in it. I then told the captain, when she had been pumped, and what water was in her,—to his great surprise and mortification. This circumstance made no small stir, and every possible exertion was made to discover the cause, as it was no light matter. The ship's company, who sleep under the forecabin, declared that when she plunged into the sea, they could hear the water rush into her: this led to further investigation, and the carpenter cut his way down into the cargo so low, that no doubt remained but this was the case. Yesterday being fine, with little wind and a smooth sea, the carpenter went overboard on a stage, and actually found the leak under the surface of the water; but not deeper than he could get at, by sitting up to the waist in the water, except when she plunged him now and then up to the shoulders. It is a great favour this was discovered before a large quantity of water had collected in her, and the cargo damaged, if nothing worse. I intend, if permitted, to keep a sharp look out upon it still.

To S. S.

Ninth month 3rd, 1832.

Through that loving-kindness which is better than life, I am once more permitted to announce myself upon British ground, favoured with the rich blessing of health.

It is six weeks this night, since I left my beloved wife at Shoosharry, and, accompanied by my children, went down to Cronstadt to embark for Hull. My dear wife was as well as usual; but remained at home, as her going to Cronstadt would have been beyond her strength, particularly at a moment when every feeling was stretched as far as human nature could well bear; it would have been adding anguish to the cup of affliction and distress about to be handed. "Hath God forgotten to be gracious?" nay verily, my dear friend; His mercies, unbounded as his love, enabled us to drink it with all its dregs, bitter indeed to flesh and blood: but if He hath blessed it, it will—it shall be blessed. I am very thankful in being able to tell thee, that my beloved wife was supported throughout the whole conflict in a marvellous manner; and evinced to her dear family a calmness, resignation, and fortitude, not often equalled in like painful circumstances, and but seldom surpassed; giving me up without a murmur, though without a glimpse of when we shall meet again. Surely the incense is still burning, and I humbly trust the sacrifice will be accepted by Him,

who more than thirty-two years ago brought us together; and who now in the excellency of His will, is pleased to separate us again from each other; and who alone can sanctify to us and our dear children, this and every other trial yet in store for us, to His own praise and glory.

I purpose returning to Doncaster in a day or two, where I think I shall be more secluded than at Sheffield, and out of the reach of numberless kindly intended inquiries, which are at present likely to remain unsatisfied; besides, my present situation renders me only fit company for owls and pelicans, and other inhabitants of the wilderness, to which the desert place is most congenial,—feeling as one born out of due time, and as an alien even in my father's house.

D. W.

P. S.—What a favour it is, that my dear wife and family are strengthened, not only to rise above every disposition to repine, but rather to rejoice in that we are accounted worthy to suffer for the great name's sake,—in the promotion of the cause of truth and righteousness in the earth, according to the measure allotted us.

TO HIS WIFE.

Sheffield, Ninth month 5th, 1832.

My dearest Jane,

—The meetings in this town on first-day were both heavy laborious seasons; but a public meeting held the following evening, was an open favoured time. Being again permitted to sit in the meeting house at Sheffield with many of our old friends, was a circumstance which had never formed a part of my finite calculations, when I left this neighbourhood last year; and more particularly in so short a time as has elapsed: it seemed for a season something like a dream. I had no share in the labour of the public meeting (appointed by E. R.,) but the will of the creature was I think prostrated before its Almighty Creator: and being emptied of self, I was mercifully enabled to prefer a feeble petition on behalf of thee and the dear children, under a sensible evidence of near access being vouchsafed to the throne of grace, in silent breathings for your preservation and welfare.

Ninth month 22nd, 1832.

I informed the select meeting held at Doncaster on the 12th (nineteen persons being present,) of the object which has brought me to England. I had also to bear a short testimony to the worth of dear W. S., who it appeared had been appointed a representative for the last quarterly meeting; but was prevented attending it by the sickness which pre-

ceded his death. His loss has been greatly lamented by people of various denominations, and I think it may be safely said, he was one in whom there was no guile. His end was truly consoling: although scarcely able to move hand or foot from extreme debility, his mouth was filled with praises to the Lord; so that the physician who was present, was quite struck with the scene. He was interred, I think, about six hours afterwards,—almost immediate burial being insisted on in cases of cholera.

Next day, the monthly meeting was held; at the close of which, members were requested to keep their seats. A. F. returned a certificate which had been granted her to visit the meetings in and about London. When this was finished, I was strengthened to spread before Friends, the prospect which had been presented to the view of my mind, of visiting in the love of the gospel the inhabitants of some of the islands of the Pacific Ocean, New South Wales, and Van Diemen's Land. I stood up with the words, "the cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it;" and eventually laid the whole affair fully before the meeting. A very solid and solemn interval succeeded. I warned the meeting not to let affectionate sympathy bias their minds, and recommended that all should endeavour to sink down to the precious gift in every heart, that so a right judgment might be come to; seeing it was a subject in which much was implicated, not only as regarded myself and the Society at large, but the Truth itself. At length, a general expression of concurrence and near sympathy broke forth, from the head to the uttermost skirts of the garment, as the ointment poured forth, which draws down the heavenly blessing. Many vocal petitions ascended on the occasion, as well I believe as universal mental ones. It was, indeed, a memorable day, and one in which I most earnestly desire you may all be permitted to share, though far distant, through the influence of that Almighty power, which is omnipotent and omnipresent. A committee was appointed to prepare a certificate for me.

I do not know how I may fare in our quarterly meeting, but I feel resigned as to the result. I have enjoyed feelings, which are quite undeclarable, since my concern has been brought forward; and greatly do I desire, that all my dear family may come to the same blessed experience,—which will most assuredly be their happy portion, if they are but willing to resign all into the hands of the dear Redeemer, and not be ashamed of acknowledging Him before men, although they may be accounted fools by the worldly wise. But I am thoroughly persuaded, that nothing short



of the whole heart, without the smallest reservation, must be offered, however great the cross to the natural will; for it is in little things that the enemy keeps the soul in bondage, which answer his purpose as well as greater matters, which would be too glaring to be submitted to. For the Lord of life and glory will not dwell in the same temple with idols, however insignificant such may be in our estimation; the day of the Lord "will not come, except there come a falling away first" from these little things, or a turning from them; "and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition:" for "he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way; and then shall that wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of His coming." The heart thus cleansed, will become the secret place, or the holy place of the tabernacle of the Most High; through which the crystal river flows, and in which nothing but unmix'd sacrifice is accepted: the least impurity in our affections will be beheld in its transparent stream.

I am obliged by the kind messages from — and —; and feel greatly desirous that they may all be favoured to see beyond the shadows of things, to the living and eternal substance, which is durable as the days of heaven; that they may indeed be able to say, from living and heartfelt experience, "We know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding, that we may know Him that is true; and we are in Him that is true, even in His Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God, and eternal life." "He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself:"—yea, "he that hath the Son hath life; and he that hath not the Son of God hath not life."

York, Ninth month 28th, 1832.

My dear children,

— On fourth-day, the 26th, the quarterly meeting was held. After a solemn meeting for worship, it was proposed that the women Friends should keep their seats. After the clerk had opened the meeting with the usual minute, and called over the names of the representatives from each monthly meeting, this large assembly again dropped into silence, which remained uninterrupted, until broken by myself nearly in the following words:—"No wonder if a trembling mortal feels appalled at approaching conflict, when the dear Son of God himself exclaimed, "Father save me from this hour:"—for although we may at times feel a willingness to go with our Lord and Master, as unto prison and unto death; yet such is the frailty and weakness

of human nature, that when the trying hour cometh, we are ready to deny Him. But we have a great and glorious High Priest, whose most precious attribute is mercy; who will not break the bruised reed, nor suffer it to be broken; who is touched with a feeling—a compassionate sense of our infirmities,—is mighty to save and to deliver, and who will deliver out of every distress, all those that put their trust and confidence in Him." And thus, eventually, was laid the whole weight of the concern upon the shoulders of the quarterly meeting. As I thought you would like to have minute particulars, I have endeavoured to remember what passed, and I think the above is almost verbatim.

The meeting now began to feel the weight of the responsibility cast upon it, and again settled down in great solemnity. A considerable number of Friends expressed their unity and concurrence; and my dear wife and family had a full share in the prayers and sympathy of their friends, to my great rejoicing and thankfulness. After a full hour occupied in this manner, it was concluded that a committee should be appointed to express the sense of the meeting, in an endorsement of my certificate.

[The same letter contains the following account of a remarkable communication made in the yearly meeting of 1832.]

— Thinking the substance of a testimony borne in the yearly meeting this year, will interest you, I shall transcribe it, as follows:

In a striking and awful manner — — — adverted to the permitted visitation of the pestilence in this country; and afterwards she had a very close and powerful testimony to the meeting, on the present state of our religious Society, by way of solemn warning of the approaching judgments of the Lord upon us for the neglect of those things, which in a peculiar manner, were given us to bear in the early times of our Society, when Friends were called out from the world to be a separate people. Her concern was, that we should return to first principles; but her more especial warning was, that if there were not a coming down from the heights to which many have climbed, there were those amongst us who might be compared to the golden vessels of the temple, such as had really stood the fire, and had not only been rightly filled, but employed of the Lord to communicate to the people, who would be permitted to be carried away captives to Babylon. That there was and is amongst us, a Babel now building, whose top is intended to reach unto heaven,

which must and will come down; that there is, (though not clearly seen by ourselves,) a peeling and scattering amongst us, which is clearly shown in the vision and light of the Lord;—and that if we did not repent and return, we should be left very few in number. But that the Lord would not leave himself without a people, &c. She spoke farther in reference to some, who had been rightly gifted to speak the word of the Lord as from the mouth of the Lord; but who for want of dwelling low and deep enough, had had their brightness dimmed,—adding, “when Ephraim spake trembling, he exalted himself in Israel, but when he offended in Baal, he died.”

It does seem as if what has hitherto been dispensed, had made but little impression on the minds of the people in this land; and I fear this is the case in many other places. What could have been done, that hath not been done, to bring mankind to the knowledge of Him, who is the author of eternal salvation to all them that obey him? but if they will not hearken, how shall they obey? How ready and willing most are, to hearken to the teaching of poor finite man; but how reluctantly they will submit to hearken to the voice of God! Like the Israelites of old, they would rather hear the voice of Moses than of Him; and if we consider the hundreds who are busily engaged in turning the attention of the people to the letter, to the traditions and ordinances of man, “after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ,” what must be the end thereof?

Sheffield, Tenth month 8th.

— I was at both meetings at Sheffield yesterday; that in the forenoon was large and satisfactory. I had to set forth the beauty, purity, and loveliness of the gospel church, and to put the people upon considering whether they were members of this glorious church, that is without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; because if not attained to happily whilst here, it cannot be done hereafter; for as the tree falls, so it will lie, whether it be to the south or to the north:—that such a state is evidently attainable in this life, from the language of the apostle Paul to the Hebrews,—“For we are not come to the mount that might be touched, and that burned with fire, nor unto blackness, and darkness, and tempest, and the sound of a trumpet, and the voice of words;” “but ye are come unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and church of the first-born, which are written in heaven; and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect; and to Jesus the

Mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than that of Abel.” The blood of Abel cried from the ground for vengeance upon the offender; but, “Father forgive them, they know not what they do,” was the cry of Him, whose precious blood was shed for the sins of all mankind. I had to query of them, what they knew of “this blood of sprinkling,” which “cleanseth from all sin;”—pressing the necessity of living faith, which could only be obtained by coming to Jesus, who would beget in them “the faith of the gospel,” and would be found not only the author, but the finisher thereof. Without this, the highest profession of the Christian religion is but a dream, a shadow, and a doubt; but with it, a glorious reality,—the life of the just, who “live by the faith of the Son of God,”—the very “substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen,”—even the salvation of the soul.

On the 27th of tenth month, I returned to Tottenham, and attended both meetings there next day, as to myself in silence; but several others were engaged to advocate the great cause. The next morning the committee of friends appointed by the yearly meeting to revise the Book of Extracts sat down, consisting of some members from almost all the quarterly meetings in England, who with the members of the Meeting for Sufferings, formed a numerous body. My concern could not be brought forward till the regular time for the morning meeting to assemble, which was that day fortnight; so that I had to struggle on under its weight as well as I could. I have however great cause to be thankful for the privilege of attending so memorable a conference; particularly as it appeared that only one other individual besides myself had been at the last revision of that book thirty years ago. It is remarkable, that one so circumstanced as I have been, should have been permitted to share twice in so solemn and exercising an occasion.

After attending twenty-two sittings of the conference, also a monthly meeting, and six meetings for worship, the day arrived which brought the seal of confirmation to what had already been sanctioned by my own quarterly and monthly meetings. But before entering on this description, I must tell thee, that the conference, although at seasons truly painful on account of the visible and alarming stature of the uncircumcised in heart, was at times highly instructive and eminently favoured of the life-giving presence of Him, who abideth of old, who did not fail to give power to the faint, and to increase the strength of those that have no power of their own; according



to the prediction of the evangelical prophet, He was indeed, for a crown of glory, and for a diadem of beauty unto the residue of his people, and for a spirit of judgment to those that sat in judgment, and for strength to them that truly turned the battle to the gate; and to His own praise and glory did He marvelously enable them that fear Him, to display the banner which He had given them, "because of the Truth." The conflict of mind which I had to pass through, early in the day that I had to stand before the morning meeting, is utterly undeclarable by the tongue of any mortal; and I could not at the time account for it: but I was afterwards favoured to see that this dispensation was highly needful for me. I stood up with the words,—"I have a baptism to be baptized with, and how am I straitened until it be accomplished," adding,—but the God of Israel is He that giveth strength and power to His people,—blessed be God." I then proceeded to state, that my mind had been long preparing, in order to loosen me from every earthly occupation, and to wean me from every social tie, of which I had been blessed with more than an ordinary share; and that shortly after my return from this country last year, to a land of desolation and sorrow, my heart was at times filled with the love of God in a remarkable manner;—that in one of those delightful seasons, a prospect was opened before me, the magnitude of which made human nature shrink. But He who had redeemed my life from destruction, and crowned me with loving-kindness and tender mercies, was graciously pleased to beget in me a willingness to go wheresoever He was pleased to lead. My engagements were at the time such, as seemed to preclude the possibility of my being extricated from them for this work; but the pathway was clearly defined, in which as I moved step by step, the mountains became mere mole-hills, and I was at length enabled to lay my concern before my own monthly and quarterly meetings, &c. &c.: and that although some relief had been obtained by casting a share of the weight upon the shoulders of my friends, yet the burden still remained with me day by day, and at intervals in the night season; desiring that a right judgment might be come to, whether this thing was of the Lord or not.

After a long pause, it was thought that the morning meeting could not set me at liberty, without knowing what I expected to do in those distant parts. To this I replied, that no specific line of duty was pointed out to me, in this early stage of the business; but that what had passed in my mind led to a belief, that I should have to turn the people "from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto

God,"—and to teach them that they lived, and moved, and had their being in that God, whom they worshipped, it was probable, as at a distance:—that as to the missionaries I might meet with, I could embrace them with open arms, as fellow-men, countrymen, and labourers in the same great work, although, perhaps in a different stage of it.

The certificate will show how the matter issued. The meeting ended in a truly solemn manner. Our dear aged friend W. R., was constrained to declare, that 'the Truth reigned over all.' Many prayers were put up for you all, as well as for myself and others, who may be engaged to the same work.

#### CHAPTER XIV.

*Correspondence—attends Norwich quarterly meeting—receives intelligence of the decease of his wife and of the severe illness of others in his family—letters to his absent children.*

To S. S.

Tottenham, Eleventh month 24th, 1832.

I HAVE been told by a respectable ship-owner this morning, that I should not be later than the second month in leaving this country, or it will be too late to reach Cape Horn, before the winter sets in, when sailing becomes hazardous in those latitudes. He can speak feelingly on this head, having just lost, on her homeward passage, that fine ship the Science, which carried out our friend J. B. and his companion. I should much regret, if this account should reach my beloved wife and family, lest it cause painful forebodings on my behalf; for believe me when I say, that the most painful feelings I have to encounter are on their account. I can look forward with composure to hardships and privations, as regards myself; but for them and over them I yearn, and reverently crave in humble prostration and brokenness of spirit the blessing of preservation and support, and that my ever-gracious Lord will condescend, in the multitude of his everlasting mercies, through the all-sufficient power of his grace, to be a husband and a father to them; and in the mysterious workings of His wondrous Providence, abundantly to supply all their wants, shedding abroad in their hearts a portion of that heavenly love, which banisheth fear from the innocent habitation, and at seasons causeth even the widow and the fatherless to sing, in praise of the majesty of the Lord and the glories of his kingdom.

Although surrounded with many dear friends, both brethren and sisters, yet I feel amongst

them as one born out of due time, and wading in secret silence under a burden, known only to Him who beholds the inmost recesses of the heart, and who with an invisible hand sustains under its heaviest pressure; whilst according to His loving-kindness, which is better than life, my tribulated soul is humbled into nothingness, and therein brought nearer and nearer to my meek and lowly Saviour, and taught from sensible feeling to magnify His all-redeeming power, and to bless his holy name in the depths of self-abasement. Thus my dear Lord and Master is leading me along, and I trust preparing me to do his righteous will, which can in no other way be accomplished, than by the total surrender of our all to Him, without reservation.

#### TO HIS WIFE.

Carwood, Twelfth month 11th, 1832.

My dearest Jane,

At the close of the last letter, I mentioned having been invited to attend the remains of our late valued friend, M. S. to their long home. I reached Doncaster the next day, and found a large number of friends collected for the same object. Her long residence at Doncaster, and extensive acquaintance in the Society, to many of whom she had long been very dear, caused a large assembling; about sixty persons came from other parts, besides the Friends of her own meeting. According to instructions she had left, the coffin was taken into the meeting house, agreeably with the ancient practice of the Society. It was truly a memorable and solemn opportunity, I believe both to her friends and to many strangers present. M. T. and another minister were engaged in the fore-part of the meeting, but the weight of the service pretty much devolved upon myself:—"Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves and for your children," were the expressions opened to my mind; after which I had to declare a belief that if the voice of our dear departed sister, which had so often proclaimed within those walls the wonders of redeeming love and mercy, could then be heard, the language of her purified spirit would be "weep not for me, but weep for yourselves and for your children;"—and as she could not return to us, but we must follow her, that we should endeavour so to follow her, as she had endeavoured to follow Christ, in the path of self-denial and the daily cross, without which there would be no crown. I had afterwards to declare at the grave side to a crowd of fresh faces from the street, the day of the Lord, which would assuredly try the

foundation of all their works. The remainder of the day was I trust profitably spent.

I set off the next morning for Hull, in company with J. H. and I. C., who had also been invited to the interment: we were favoured to reach Hull in safety that afternoon. I attended their meeting next day to my comfort, and started for York the day following.

Tottenham, twelfth month 17th, seventh-day.—I have again taken up the pen to resume my delightful employment of conversing in this way with thee, not I think without a degree of thankfulness, that such an alternative is permitted, however short it may seem of the reality so much desired, I believe by each of us.

I reached Nottingham on fourth-day evening as intended. We had a very comfortable meeting there next day: at this as at other places, the hand of time has swept away many, with whom I was well acquainted. It was a solemn meeting:—"He that abideth of old," was graciously pleased to crown the little company with His presence. Being the week-day meeting, it may be presumed that few were present, that had not made more or less sacrifice to attend it; and I believe all these were rewarded.

A Friend largely concerned in the South Sea fishery, has suggested a plan altogether unthought of by any of us; and that is, purchasing a vessel in all respects adapted not only to the voyage out, but also to conveying us from island to island. He particularly recommends her being quite a small cutter, both for safety and expedition, and because capable from her small draught of water of running into shallow harbours and creeks, which a large vessel could not enter. He thinks a crew could be procured, who would be willing to substitute cocoa, tea, &c., for spirits, except for medicinal purposes; and that when no longer required, she would be readily sold in New South Wales. I quite approve of the plan, believing it would have many advantages; but particularly as on a moderate calculation, it would save a year in the time of absence, which is to me of too great importance, to allow the idea to be dropped without further scrutiny. It may yet be proved that much expense would be saved by it; and that the object in view would be more completely embraced in all its points.

Do not fail to write, that I may hear of you whilst I remain in the way of doing so. In dearest love, believe me, however circumstanced, or wherever placed, daily found in prayer to Almighty God for the preservation and welfare of you all. In truest affection,

D. W.



## TO HIS CHILDREN IN RUSSIA.

Norwich, Twelfth month 29th, 1832.

My dear children,

——— Last third-day, the 25th, I attended the quarterly meeting for London and Middlesex, held in Devonshire House meeting house, which was crowded to excess; many could not be accommodated with seats, although every avenue was furnished with temporary forms, and I understood that a considerable number could not gain admittance in any way. It fell to my lot to revive amongst them some expressions, which occurred at the memorable interview between the Saviour of the world and Martha, soon after the death of Lazarus; opening the subject with—"Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died: but I know that even now, whatsoever thou wilt ask of God, God will give it thee." "Thy brother shall rise again," our Lord replied. "I know," said Martha, "that he shall rise again, in the resurrection at the last day." "I am the resurrection and the life; he that believeth in me," declared the Saviour of men, "though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in me, shall never die. Believest thou this?" The explanation of these words was opened in this manner: he that believeth in Christ, though he were dead in trespasses and sins, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth, after having been thus quickened from spiritual death unto life, in the hope of His everlasting mercy, and in the belief of His inward and spiritual appearance, and in obedience to His will therein made manifest, shall never die. "Believest thou this?"—They shall have part in the first resurrection; and the second death will have no power over them. They must share in the common lot of mortality,—the separation of the soul from the body; but they will never be separated from their God. For "neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor heights, nor depths, nor any other creature will be able to separate them from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." After this, I had to branch out into the necessity not only of performing the divine will, but also of endeavouring to prove what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of God: that knowledge however will verily profit us little, without obedience keeps pace with it, as it is not the hearers of the law, but the doers that are justified.

I went down by mail the same night to Norwich; and attended the quarterly meeting for Norfolk and Norwich on the 27th. After ——— had appeared in supplication, I had to declare of the mercy and goodness of the Lord

to those that fear him; and to point out the inhabitants of that heavenly city, Mount Zion, which he hath chosen and founded, and which the poor of his people shall trust in,—all of whom are redeemed with judgment, and her converts with righteousness: the judgments of the Lord having been suffered to pass over the transgressing nature in their hearts, in order to redeem therefrom, and they having believed in the righteousness of Christ Jesus, and being converted by the sanctifying power of his grace. ——— spoke for a considerable time after I sat down with instructive clearness.

At the request of ———, a meeting was held the next day, and was well attended. I found it my place first to break through its solemnity, and to supplicate that the great Name might be exalted, and the kingdom of Christ Jesus established in the hearts of the people. ——— had full opportunity to relieve himself, and stood nearly an hour and a half, to the satisfaction of the meeting; and I trust to the peace of his own mind. He had in true gospel authority, like the well taught scribe, to bring forth from the treasury of wisdom and knowledge things new and old.

[The above was written at the house of ———, where during some weeks of indisposition, he was attended and cared for with a tenderness of which he ever retained a grateful recollection. It was during this period, that intelligence arrived of the decease of our beloved mother, and the alarming illness of three other members of the family.

Perhaps it may be desirable, in order to elucidate some passages in the succeeding letters, to enter into a short explanation of the series of domestic afflictions, with which that part of the family left at Shoosharry was visited at this time; and the difficulty of making public the details of private sorrow, seems greatly diminished by the fact, that the parties to whom they relate are no longer our fellow-probationers; but were all called to precede our beloved parent to that better world, where we reverently believe their spirits are now eternally blessed.

About the 20th of eleventh month, our brother Charles was attacked with an inflammation of the lungs, which for a time threatened his life: the complaint had at length yielded to the means employed, when our dear mother and sister Jane were at the same time stretched on a bed of sickness. Our mother's disorder proved to be fever, and though apparently of the mildest kind, it terminated fatally within nine days.

At this time dear Jane was lying in a very alarming state from inflammation of the brain.

For several days the issue appeared doubtful; but through mercy her life was spared, and space allowed her for the all important work of repentance and reconciliation.

At the time of our dear mother's death, our eldest brother William was suffering from an affection of the chest, which shortly afterwards reduced him to a state of great exhaustion. Whilst both he and Jane continued unwell, and the former in a very precarious state, Charles was seized with the fever, which had already deprived us of our mother, and of two other members of the household. For three weeks his disorder raged violently, and when it had in some measure abated, whilst he was still extremely weak, all hope was again destroyed by the re-appearance of inflammation of the lungs. Once more he was permitted to rally; and after being forty-eight days entirely confined to his bed, he was gradually restored to a comfortable state of health. To him also, through the visitations of infinite love, the season of sickness was made one of deep instruction; and during the remainder of his brief career of life, he was strengthened steadily to pursue a heavenward course. It was after receiving the account of Charles being attacked with fever, that his father resolved on returning for a season to Russia. On his arrival there on the 12th of fourth month, 1833, he was favoured to find the invalids of his family gradually recruiting.

But to proceed with the correspondence. The announcement of the decease of our beloved mother is thus described by himself.]

First month 11th, 1833. Some days ago, when dear ——— came to my bed-side (a sweet spirited Friend,) I told her, that I quite enjoyed the rest I was permitted to partake of; that I had been looking towards home, and had been favoured with a peaceful feeling respecting you all; that I did believe all was right, and in the ordering of the Master, or something to that effect. When she replied, 'it is a rest of preparation.' I do not recollect that she added more at that time. On the 9th instant, several letters were brought into my room, when I said,—"No letter from Petersburg?" to which I got no answer. In the evening, as I lay on a couch, ———— adverted to the health of my family, hinting that later accounts than my own had been received. I heard it without much suspicion, little expecting what was in store, and that a cup filled with the wine of astonishment, was about to be handed to me. By degrees something more was unfolded; until I requested to know the whole that awaited me. But who can picture my distress and anguish of soul, when the awful reality was discovered? But

the everlasting arms of mine Almighty helper were underneath to bear me up, that the waves of affliction should not overwhelm beyond the decreed limits, nor infringe upon the margin of mercy and compassion. After a time I was enabled to say, 'it is a bitter cup: but I accept it at the hand of the Lord; for I am sure there is a blessing at the bottom of it.' The whole letter was then read; and to my unspeakable comfort, I was enabled to perceive, that my peaceful feelings about you all, were abundantly confirmed by a consoling evidence, that everlasting love and mercy had conspicuously covered the judgment seat, even to a hair's breadth:—that the beloved and precious partner in all my joys and sorrows for more than thirty-two years had passed, not from life to death, but from death unto life eternal;—and that my darling Charles and Jenny are yet spared, I humbly trust and pray, (whether their time here may be longer or shorter,) so to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, as to be saved with an everlasting salvation.—And may we all be enabled to say in the language of the apostle, "I am crucified with Christ; nevertheless I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me; and the life that I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God; who loved me and gave himself for me;" that in the winding up of time, we may all be permitted to meet again, with the purified spirit now fled—of her we dearly loved, with palms and harps in our hands,—those emblems of victory and praise;—joining a numberless multitude in the never-ceasing anthem of "Hallelujah unto the Lord God and the Lamb, who liveth and reigneth for ever;" who giveth the victory, and to whom belong the praise and the glory!

I shall anxiously expect another letter.—I have been mercifully strengthened to say,— "the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord." Not a wish dares to intrude upon the peaceful resignation of my mind. I only regret that I had not a personal share in the general distress and conflict of the occasion.

First month 19th, 1833.

My dearest Charles and Jane.

—When I quitted Shoosharry, I thought I had given up much; and when fairly away from Cronstadt, I seemed to have parted with every thing in this world: but I have since sorrowfully found, that there remained ties which bound the soul to earth, which were yet to be dissolved before the sacrifice was complete. The visitation was so unexpected and sudden, that for a time every effort to bear up against the overwhelming reality, seemed altogether unavailing. It is indeed a



cup exceeding in bitterness all that had previously been handed,—filling my heart with anguish, indescribable and irresistible. Yet, blessed be the name of the Lord God of heaven and earth for ever, He, who had commanded the storm, was, in gracious condescension and compassionate mercy, pleased to rebuke its raging billows, and to bear up my helpless head above them all; enabling me to glorify His holy name “in the fires” of this baptism of suffering, to His own praise. And although the dispensation is altogether incomprehensible at present, yet I firmly believe, the merciful design of the divine will, as it is patiently abode under, will be more and more developed to our understandings, and will not fail to raise in us a grateful tribute of thanksgiving. “What I do, thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter:”—and O! that we may all be found worthy to be entrusted with the heavenly secret, whether it be to be laid up in our own hearts, or to be declared to many.

When I have been led to contemplate the suspense and anxiety, which my long silence must have unavoidably occasioned to your dear mother, when more distantly separated by mighty oceans, together with the expectation of my being amongst barbarous nations, and exposed to various hardships,—how often have I desired that opportunities might occur for me to send at frequent intervals, some even short account of my safety and preservation; that she might be comforted from time to time, and not be permitted to droop with hope again and again deferred;—feeling a willingness to suffer myself, and to trust her and my precious family to the tender care of our heavenly Father, though months and months might pass away without a probability of hearing of or from them,—if only they might be cheered and animated now and then with but a gleam. But whilst human nature deeply feels, and every chord of tenderness and affectionate remembrance vibrates at the recollection of what we have all lost; yet my soul doth secretly rejoice and magnify my good and gracious God, in humble thankfulness, that her lamb-like spirit is now spared this painful dispensation; and that the suffering will be only mine; and, mingled with many other tribulations which may yet await me, serve to fill up the allotted measure; in which I humbly trust I shall be permitted to glory, from the certain knowledge that tribulation worketh patience and experience, and that hope “which maketh not ashamed,” nor afraid, “because the love of God is shed abroad in the heart.” I think the finger of the Divine Artist may already be traced in the present afflictive dispensation, as regards us all;

but more particularly in the effects which have already resulted, both to thee and to dear Jenny, giving you to see in a remarkable manner and in wondrous mercy, that every thing in this world is but vanity, and will most certainly end in vexation of spirit, if we have not an interest in the Saviour, and if destitute of that knowledge which alone can save. It is therefore my most humble prayer, that you may both endeavour to the utmost, to keep near to that Power which hath so graciously opened your understandings to perceive his tender mercy and loving-kindness, which is better than life, in thus gathering your beloved mother into everlasting rest and peace, removing her from the troubles of time to the enduring riches of eternity, in holy quietness, because death had lost its sting, and the grave its victory. I am very sure that you must both have had convincing proof of the necessity of seeking after an acquaintance with the precious gift of God, which is so mercifully vouchsafed in measure by Christ Jesus in every heart; and which is sufficient, if attended to, to restore every son and daughter of Adam from a state of nature to a state of grace, into the heavenly image from which man by transgression fell.

I think you must both have seen how insignificant this world and all that belongs to it appear, when the pale herald of the grave hovers around us. Nothing short of that divine power, which thus showeth us these things, can prepare and purify us for an “inheritance undefiled, and that fadeth not away:” and be assured of this, that however homely this unflattering Witness may appear, though it seem but “as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground,” and when perceived there is no beauty to render Him desirable to the unregenerate mind; yet this, my dear children, is nothing less than a manifestation of the Spirit “of the Lord of life and glory, which is given to every man to profit withal;” and well will it be for us, if we are profiting thereby, and faithfully occupying therewith. This Holy Spirit hath long been oppressed and afflicted in all our hearts, whilst we have been employed in perishing pursuits, and altogether regardless of Him or his secret touches and reproofs, until perhaps cast upon a sick bed, or brought into a situation where His voice will be heard. It is to this power that we must be willing to turn, and it is by this power only that we can be saved, seeing it is the Spirit of Him, our dear Redeemer, whom “God hath highly exalted, and given him a name which is above every name; that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue

should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father," either in mercy or in judgment. And O! saith my soul, that our confession may be to His wondrous love and mercy, and not in the acknowledgment of His just judgments for our hard-heartedness and unbelief in the day of his visitation, wherein he would have gathered us, "as a hen doth gather her brood under her wings," and we would not. For true it is, that if we are willing to attend to this in-speaking, heart-searching voice, to turn at its reproofs, we shall find that they are full of instruction, and the way to life everlasting. It will not fail to show us the deceitfulness of sin, the sinfulness of sin, and the wages of sin, which is death. As we patiently abide under the turnings and overturnings of the Lord's hand thus upon us, however humbling and painful to the unsubdued mind, we shall indeed know the Saviour of the world in all his offices; not only as a convincer and reprover of sin through His Spirit, but as a purifier and cleanser from it: and as the great work of regeneration gradually advances, our spiritual eye will at last be opened to perceive and to look on Him whom we have so long pierced, and to mourn in godly sorrow unto unfeigned repentance not to be repented of. Then indeed shall we bow to His name, which is His power, on the bended knees of contrition and self-abasement; and be enabled from living and actual experience to say, "I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear, but now mine eye seeth thee; wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes." Here then is "repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ," whereby we forsake sin, and believe in the efficacy of that power which alone can save from it. Then, indeed, shall we become willing to confess Him before men, not being ashamed to acknowledge His power and His might, nor afraid of being thought His followers, by the votaries of a world which "lieth in wickedness;" but boldly take up the cross—a daily cross to our own corrupt wills and inclinations, and follow Him whithersoever He may be pleased to lead; remembering for our comfort and encouragement his gracious declaration, "whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall the Son of Man also confess before the angels of God: but he that denieth me before men, shall be denied before the angels of God." This indeed will be confessing to His name in the belief of His power, and in the hope of His mercy; and a bowing in earnest in obedience to His holy will. But if unhappily unwilling to bow the knee of our minds, we should stubbornly resist the offers of unutterable love and mercy, refusing to confess with the tongue

"that Jesus Christ is Lord," by the acknowledgment of His power in our hearts to save, and by submissive obedience to it, in the way of the cross,—we shall one day find to our indescribable distress, when it is too late, that the language is uttered, "he that is filthy, let him be filthy still."

But although it is with me thus to write, yet my prayers are incessant on your behalf for better things, even things that accompany life and salvation; that mercy and truth may meet together, that righteousness and peace may kiss each other, in our heart-felt experience; which most assuredly will be the case, if the fault be not our own. We shall find that watchfulness, prayer, and fasting, are the Christian's strength, his safe retreat, and never-failing weapons of defence; even a constant watch over all our thoughts, tracing from whence they spring; for thoughts are the origin of all our words and actions. As we thus maintain the watch we shall soon begin to groan, being burdened with the frailty and helplessness of human nature; which unavoidably and happily for us, cannot fail to incite to prayer, though perhaps but in sighs and groanings which cannot be uttered; but which are accepted and recorded by Him, who is a God ever hearing prayer, and who will in tender mercy strengthen us, if on our parts we are but willing, to pray always, "with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, watching thereunto with all perseverance." This will almost imperceptibly lead us habitually to fast from the gratifying things of time and sense, which do but serve, however insignificant they may appear in the world's estimation, to prevent the sacrifice of the whole heart; and as nothing short of this will be accepted, in the divine sight, the enemy's purpose is still effected.

I have craved in the tenderest manner for you, that you may henceforth be preserved and strengthened in faithfulness to resist those things, whatever they be, that were burdensome to you when on a bed of sickness, the fruit of which is bitter indeed, and productive only of shame, remorse, and anguish of spirit. Let the time past suffice, and the future be employed not in living to ourselves, "but unto Him who died for us and rose again."

First month 30th.—I am thankful in being able to say that I am nicely recovered. I have met with such unfeigned love and kindness from the family here, as can never be repaid, either by me or mine. On first-day afternoon, I found that the time was fully come for me to take leave of the Friends of this place; when they were commended in apostolic language "to God and the word of his grace," in which all their beloved families



as well as my own were included. The meeting concluded with earnest prayer, and we separated under feelings of thankfulness and praise.

I must now bring this letter to a conclusion, earnestly desiring that nothing may be permitted to prevent your unremitting pursuit after that kingdom, which our Lord declared to be within; and that "no man may spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the rudiments of the world, after the tradition of men, and not after Christ," is my earnest and constant prayer for you.

P. S.—Second month 4th, Stamford Hill.—On arriving at this place, I found dear William's letter, containing the painful intelligence of dear Charles being seized with the prevailing fever. My situation is very trying, seeing I have not the power of rendering the smallest assistance to the wreck of my family. I can only put up a feeble petition for him and for you all; and with you wait and lean on the bosom of the beloved and only availing Comforter, in humble prostration of soul; trusting that I shall be favoured to stand resigned to whatever may be the divine will.

#### TO ONE OF HIS CHILDREN.

Stamford Hill, Second month 20th, 1833.

My dear S.

—All the part that I have seemed capable of performing during the turnings and overturnings of the Lord's holy hand upon us, has been, as it were, to turn my face to the wall, and labour after humble resignation and patient submission of soul, and therein wait until he should be graciously pleased to say, "It is enough."

The interest that has been awakened amongst our friends in this country, has burst forth on all sides in letters of condolence and sympathy in our great bereavement, and in the accumulated affliction which has continued to press upon the wreck of my family: I believe that more heartfelt solicitude was never felt on an occasion of a parallel nature, when only individuals in humble life have been concerned; and I have no doubt that the prayers of many have been put up on our account, to the God of all comfort, for his Almighty help and deliverance: I humbly trust they have been permitted to ascend as sweet incense before the Lord Most High, whose ears are ever open to the prayers of His people; more especially of such as dwell continually in His temple, and behold His beauty in the holy place. And be assured that my feeble, though frequent petitions and aspirations have been mingled amongst others for your preservation, and for the restoration

of the dear invalids, in this day of visitation and sore conflict. From an accurate knowledge of circumstances as well as place, I believe I have been enabled to travail with and for you, and to wade in the depths of distress in degree, through the same conflict,—not only as to the bodily sufferings of dear Charles and Jenny, having myself had to pass through sickness and distress, under circumstances of hardship which I am totally unable to describe, and when recovery was equally doubtful; but I have also had to pass through the same agonizing conflict of mind, heightened to a much more dreadful degree, because charged with sins of deeper dye, than I fully believe have laid at their door. And though I can say with the great Apostle,—“this is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptance, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief;” yet to the praise of the riches of His grace, I can also say,—“behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world,”—He that speaketh “in righteousness, mighty to save.” And I do most earnestly desire, that my dear Charles and Jane may not suffer themselves to lose sight of the wondrous mercy that has been so plainly and marvellously extended, nor let the remembrance of it depart from their minds; but that they may faithfully wrestle to maintain the watch, and may become of quick understanding in the fear of the Lord,—that fear which keepeth the heart clean, and endureth for ever. I do exceedingly crave, that if comfortable health is permitted to return, they will endeavour to keep low in their spirits, and dwell near the root of life, with Him who declared himself to be, “meek and lowly in heart.” And O! that they may not suffer doubtings to arise, as regards that power which has thus in matchless love and mercy said unto them “live;” or be disposed to question, or to say, is this “He that should come, or look we for another,”—like the disciples of John formerly. For surely their blind eyes have received sight, their lame ideas, notions, and comprehensions are changed; and the feet of their minds strengthened, and prepared to walk in a new and living path. Have they not witnessed the leprosy of sin to be searched into, and brought into view, in order to be cleansed by that which alone “searcheth all things?” Have not their deaf ears been unstopped, so that even the still small voice could be heard in the soul, and is found to be powerful, a mighty and irresistible voice, causing a guilty conscience to tremble; as described by the kingly prophet, when he said, “the lightnings lightened the world, the earth trembled and shook,”—when that “light which lighteth every man that cometh into the

world," so shines in our hearts, as to discover the earthly nature, and make it tremble,—bringing all our sins in order before us, in terrible and, to our awakened understandings, fearful array. When personally on earth, after He had said to John's disciples, "the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and to the poor the gospel is preached;"—He added, "and blessed is he whosoever shall not be offended in me." So that I feel more than I can embody in words, that with those on whom such miracles have been wrought, who have been raised up as from the dead in sins and trespasses, as well as rescued from the grave, and who when brought low, humbled, broken, contrited, and made poor in spirit, have had the gospel preached to them, demonstrating in a manner incontrovertible, that it is "the power of God unto salvation,"—that nothing may be permitted to turn them aside from the blessing promised to those, who are not offended at this heavenly visitant. For this I pray; and that they may be strengthened, saith my soul, to give up all to follow Him in the regeneration faithfully: for it is only those that endure unto the end that shall be saved, and it is only those that give up all, who can endure all things for his sake. Whatever interferes with His Holy Spirit, whose right it is to rule and reign in our hearts, must be given up, be it what it may. "He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me." Whatever is suffered to occupy our attention, tending in any degree to draw aside from watchfulness, prayer, and waiting upon Him, beyond what is allowable and needful in our passing through this pilgrim state, either in thought, word, or deed,—robs us of a sense of His inestimable presence, and of a share of the soul-enriching peace which flows from Him, and lessens our love towards Him, to whom the whole heart belongs; who "will not give His glory to another," nor His praise to graven or any other images, which we may suffer to be set up in our minds, however innocent and insignificant we may think such to be.

And though it may please Him in inscrutable wisdom for his own great purposes, to withdraw at times the sensible evidence of his life-giving Spirit, so that we may have to deplore with Mary, that "they have taken away my Lord;" yet as we remain stedfastly endeavouring to wait, and watch, and pray towards His temple, He will in his own time, most assuredly return to us, as the morning breaking through and dispersing the heaviest clouds that may have gathered, to the strength-

ening of our faith in Him, and the increasing of our love: proving himself the ever-blessed and ever-living Comforter, the Spirit of truth, and leading out of all error into all truth; whom the world cannot receive because it knoweth Him not.

I am not surprised to hear, that my dear William has been dipped again and again, into a state of feeling something like that of baptism, on account of the sufferings of others; for unless this was the case, how should we be capable of entering into their joys and sorrows? And now that the whole weight of responsibility and care of the family devolves upon his shoulders, it is no marvel with me, that this increased burden should be felt. I think this has a very instructive and significant meaning; and although in degree inferior, is notwithstanding the same in kind, as that felt and witnessed by the several members of the gospel church, where all suffer, rejoice and sympathize with and for each other. I believe that the head of a family or tribe, when endeavouring to act under the guidance of Him, who was touched with a feeling and compassionate sense of our manifold weakness and infirmities, may be favoured to administer, according to the ability given, to the wants and necessities of those about him, entering into their feelings, and sharing in whatever conflicts may be allotted to them.

I wish to make a grateful return to all those kind friends in Petersburg, who have lent their aid in any shape in the day of your distress. I am indeed one of those who owe much unto their Lord, both in these respects, and in things more nearly connected with eternal consequences; and having nothing to pay with, I do humbly trust, that as he that administereth a cup of cold water only to a disciple, in the name of a disciple, shall in no wise lose his reward; so also that all who have administered to the necessities of these little ones that believe on Him, will witness the divine blessing to rest upon them; inasmuch as they, however unconsciously, "have done it unto me," was the declaration of our Lord himself.

As to myself, I have truly little to communicate, for since it has pleased our heavenly Father to magnify his power in the midst of our long unbroken and highly favoured circle, but little has transpired with me. I told the committee under whose care I move along, at their last meeting, that in consideration of the state of my family, I should be best satisfied to lie upon my oars at present, until these calamities are overpast; of which I think approval was expressed. I have attended the meetings in and about this metropolis, in all of which, I have had to proclaim the spirituality of the dear Redeemer's kingdom, and to



direct the people to the Holy Spirit in their own hearts, of a crucified, risen, and glorified Lord. It is indeed a day of lamentation, mourning, and woe,—for the expectation of the people is almost altogether outward, from man, although vital Christianity was never more talked of.

#### CHAPTER XV.

*Journey to Russia in 1833—his return, and preparations for his long voyage—sails from the Thames the 13th of Eleventh month, 1833—detention off the Isle of Wight from adverse gales—letters, and extracts from his Journal.*

[SEVERAL circumstances having combined to delay the projected voyage to the South Seas till the succeeding autumn; our beloved father felt himself at liberty to employ a part of the interval thus occasioned, in visiting his family at Shoosharry.

The following letter describes some of the hardships of travelling between Holland and Russia in that day: since that time, however, macadamized roads and good post-houses have been constructed along the whole line from Hamburgh to Petersburg.]

TO ONE OF HIS SONS.

Memel, Fourth month 1st, 1833.

My dear Joshua,

— I was favoured to reach Hamburgh in safety, after a cold rough passage. There was only a small number of passengers; but amongst these was a German family, consisting of a mother and two little girls, and her brother, on their way to Memel, where they reside. We soon formed an acquaintance, and it afterwards appeared, that we had almost from the first kept an eye on each other, as likely to continue companions in travel; this has now been fully and agreeably realized, confirming a belief which had fastened on my mind previously to setting out, that I should be provided for on my long and weary way. Though Germans, they speak English so well, that I have had no difficulty as to language, as we have passed along. We purchased a carriage in Hamburgh for about £20 sterling, which when divided was easy; and our expenses have amounted to little more than they would have done by diligence, of which there are none running at this time of the year between Hamburgh and Berlin. It is a britchka with a good head, and a leather covering from the head, fastened to iron stanchions in front. The mother and children were of course placed under the head, as the most comfortable and secure place, whilst J. J. F. and my-

self occupied the front seat the whole way:—on it, however, the man must be weary indeed who could get much sleep. The roads through the Mecklenburgh district cannot easily be described; but I can tell thee, that many articles of clothing were actually chafed into holes. I ought however with thankfulness to add, that we were not once overturned, though we frequently expected it. We reached Berlin after thirty-nine hours travelling, and were accommodated at the King of Portugal hotel. The falls of sleet now seemed over; but the cold was still very piercing. We started the next day, and, with the exception of two intervals of four hours each, travelled on for five days and four nights. Two stations on this side of Friedeburgh we seemed again to overtake the winter, and have kept possession of it ever since. Even to this day, those parts of Prussia which anciently belonged to Poland are distinguishable: the people still look different from their neighbours, and their houses and modes of living are quite peculiar. At one place they gave us the flesh of the wild boar; but hunger reconciled us to it pretty well, though otherwise it would have gone slowly down.

At Custrin, we passed the Oder, which was free from ice, but some huge blocks were lying about the shores of the Vistula; and we were informed, that the bridge had only been passable one day, so that had we reached it earlier, we must have been detained. We crossed the Nogatt at Marienburgh, and the Vistula at Dirschau, where in 1825, I crossed it with dear Thomas Shillitoe; and the mercies of the Lord so compassionately bestowed upon us at that time, were renewedly brought to my remembrance. From the advanced stage of the season, and the state of the roads, it seemed dangerous to attempt going round by Tilsit, as the river (Niemen) generally overflows the surrounding flat country, to the prevention of travelling in the spring. The only alternative was, to travel along the Courish Nerung, a strip of land separated from the main land of East Prussia by the Haafe, a navigable bay or arm of the Baltic.

On returning to England in 1825, I promised thy dear mother, that I would not go over this sand on that journey, and the recollection of this was trying to me; but the advantages in the present case were so great, that at length I agreed to venture. No sooner had we left the regular post road, than the roads became heavy, and were at last so bad, as to make it doubtful whether we should be able to proceed by this route. As night came on, our situation became more critical, and the carriage seemed every few minutes in danger of being dashed to pieces against tree-

roots, stones, or frozen masses of mud and snow. On reaching the next station, a fifth horse was yoked, unasked for by us, and uncharged by the keeper, but a fearful omen of the road to come. Having now additional strength of horses, the carriage seemed the more certain to be destroyed, having to pass through a forest amongst many obstructions; frequently we were thrown almost from our seats, and the shock so violent as to produce pain in the head. Sometimes we hove down on one side, then on the other; and again for short intervals, rumbling with great rapidity over a frozen level surface, which generally concluded with a violent concussion against some hard substance. As we had only one driver to our five horses, his principal business seemed to consist in cracking his long whip, which, performed with great dexterity, made the forest echo and re-echo with the sound. Late in the night we reached a lonely dwelling, and, to our surprise, without any damage done to the carriage. Here we waited till day dawned, and after a comfortless repast of coffee and black bread, again proceeded. From the nature of the quicksand of this part of the Nerung, we could only travel close to the margin of the sea, where it is the most solid. On our right hand were masses of ice, thrown into piles higher than the top of the carriage, by the force of the sea during the late gales. At first the sea was pretty smooth; but the wind soon shifted dead upon the shore, and as the gale increased, the surf broke violently on the beach, occasionally forcing itself many yards higher up the shore than our carriage, so that we seemed at times to be travelling actually in the sea, until it again recoiled and showed the naked strand. In this manner several hours passed, until at length we began to edge away from the cutting blast, amidst a heavy fall of snow, until we finally reached the Niemen or Memel river. We were favoured to land in perfect safety on the quay at Memel,—though such was the fury of the gale, that the carriage, after it had been lashed in its chucks, had to be lowered to the bottom of the boat, for fear of being upset in crossing.

Thus have loving-kindness and tender mercy still followed me; and I actually feel better in health than when I left London, though my legs and hands are somewhat swelled, probably with the cold.

[He returned to this country in the sixth month following, where he was shortly afterwards joined by our brother Charles, who had believed it his duty to offer himself as a companion to his father, and was finally accepted in that capacity by the Meeting for Sufferings.

In a letter written on this subject, dated the 2nd of sixth month, 1833, Charles Wheeler says,

‘Though by no means unconscious of my incapacity to act in a concern of such importance, and however inexpedient to the eye of mere reason such a step may be in a temporal point of view; yet I cannot omit offering my assistance in any way which shall be deemed best to promote the object, allowing that it shall ultimately be deemed proper. Nature, as might be expected, shrinks from a step which involves such important consequences, and which in itself simply considered, is by no means such as I should have chosen; yet my only wish in the case is, I trust, to act faithfully the part designed for me by that gracious Being, who has an undoubted right to dispose of his creatures according to the good pleasure of His will; and keeping my obligation to do so in view, I do not see how I can do other than make the offer which this is intended to convey.’

After the concern of our dear father had received the sanction of the Morning meeting of ministers and elders in the eleventh month of 1832, as it appeared a question of some intricacy, how such an undertaking, requiring many voyages from island to island, could best be accomplished, a committee of the Meeting for Sufferings was appointed to take the subject into consideration, and to make such arrangements as might appear requisite for the object in view. Having devoted much time and attention to the investigation, after consulting several persons likely to give accurate information, and after very mature deliberation, the committee came at length to the conclusion, as recommended by those whose local knowledge enabled them to form a correct judgment, to purchase a small vessel for the purpose, not only as the most suitable, but probably in the end, the least expensive mode of conveyance.

During the following summer, an opportunity occurred of purchasing, on reasonable terms, the *Henry Freeling*, lately a post-office packet, of 101 tons register. A number of Friends generously came forward, not only to pay for the vessel, but at a considerable expense to prepare her for the voyage. This offer the committee gratefully accepted.

The necessary arrangements having been completed, they sailed from the river Thames on the 13th of eleventh month, 1833, and were proceeding down the English Channel, when on the 21st they were overtaken by a heavy storm, which induced them to seek for shelter near the Isle of Wight. The following extracts are from his journal and letters written at this time.]



## TO A FRIEND.

Mother-bank, Eleventh month 21st, six o'clock P. M.

——— Some ships that sailed with us have already reached the Mother-bank; but it is thought that many will have to return to the Downs, as the weather is now becoming very stormy, and the wind directly opposed to our course down the channel. It is indeed a great favour to be enabled to find a place of safety, and demands our humble gratitude and thankfulness to Him who presides over every storm, whether of outwardly contending elements or of spiritual conflicts; and though the present dispensation may impede our progress towards Cape Horn: yet it is my belief, and I am comforted in it, that all will be well at last, because ordered by Him in whose will I desire to rest, and in whose tender mercy I trust.

## To M. B.

Henry Freeling, Spithead, near Portsmouth,  
Eleventh month 22nd, 1833.

——— Thou wouldest perhaps hear from some kind friend, how much I had been engaged previously to taking a final departure from London; so that I could not write to any one, my time was so fully occupied day by day, in rendering what assistance I could in the outfit of our little vessel. In addition to the bodily fatigue which pressed upon me, thou wilt, I am sure, be at once aware and capable of entering into the state of mind of one about to leave almost every thing near and dear on earth, and that one already stripped of the crown, far beyond the "price of rubies;" but who can know it, like him that has to bear the loss of a virtuous woman: truly her children have abundant cause to "rise up and call her blessed, her husband also, and he praiseth her." But however I may desire to be preserved, and to strive against a disposition to murmur at the dispensations of an ever-gracious and most merciful Lord God, yet I cannot cease to feel as one born out of due time, and as standing alone in many things amongst my brethren and sisters, and even as an alien in my Father's house.

And now being far advanced in years, and on the point of quitting these shores for remote climes, can it be wondered at, if nature shrinks at the prospect before me; and were it not for a knowledge in some degree of that Almighty power, whose arm of strength is made perfect in weakness, often to our humble admiration, and whose saving grace is at all times sufficient for us, what would be my situation at this day? But blessed be the Lord God of heaven and earth for ever, He hath sustained me in a marvellous manner, and

borne up my head at seasons, when the waves and the billows have swelled and threatened to overwhelm my soul. And now in mercy He enables me to look forward with calmness and resignation to His holy will; shedding abroad in my heart the constraining influence of that love which maketh not afraid, but which, in the true dignity of its character, casteth out fear, and enableth the Christian traveller to persevere in the path that leads to blessedness. Having been strengthened thus far to come up in the obedience of faith, that justifying heavenly principle, I think I may say without a disposition to boast, (for truly all boasting is excluded, and the creature laid low as in the dust,) in the words of the great Apostle,—“we have peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ; by whom also we have access by faith into this grace wherein we stand, and rejoice in hope of the glory of God. And we glory in tribulation also, knowing that tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience, and experience hope, which maketh not ashamed;” a hope full of immortality, through the mercy of God in Christ Jesus: which has been hid from ages and generations, and is still hid from the great bulk of mankind because of unbelief.

Our little Henry Freeling being nearly equipped and ready for sea, I took leave of the committee of the Meeting for Sufferings, about a fortnight ago. It was a solemn interview, in which all were encouraged in the belief, that Friends had adopted the best mode that could be devised for accomplishing the service which I have in view, which was very satisfactory to many minds. From one circumstance or other, I was detained in the neighbourhood of London until the Morning meeting held in course on the 11th instant; when I found that I was not clear without bearing a testimony to the alarming state of things amongst us, in a very close manner, and with a warning voice. But although my exercise was great, great was my consolation and peace after this was accomplished; my way then seemed to open with clearness to depart.

On the 13th, accompanied by several friends, we took passage in a steamer to Gravesend, whither the vessel had preceded us; and on account of the unsettled state of the crew, it was judged proper that we should repair on board that night. Before separating, we were favoured with a parting opportunity truly precious, and like an earnest of Divine regard; in which our minds were united and solemnized together by the overshadowing of everlasting love. It was as if the blessed Master was graciously pleased himself to preside, and to

sanctify the offering which he had called for ; and under the consoling, contriting influence of this merciful visitation, we bade adieu. A coach was ready to take our friends back to London, as soon as they had seen us down to the beach, where dear Charles and I embarked ; and after a long row in the dark, we found the Henry Freeling lying at the Lower Hope. The next morning we sailed for the Downs ; but the wind being contrary, we did not reach our anchorage till the 17th instant. The next day, we sailed with light airs of wind in our favour ; but after having served us a little further than Dover, they forsook us, and from that time we had to beat down the channel. On the 20th, the weather assumed a threatening aspect ; and yesterday, it became so boisterous, with such strong and never-failing indications of tempestuous westerly gales, that it was deemed most expedient to bear up for the nearest port. A signal being made, we were favoured to obtain a pilot, as we stretched in upon the Isle of Wight ; soon after this it blew violently, and we were happily permitted to find shelter here, about an hour after night-fall. It has blown a tempest all the night, which still continues, so that at present all communication is cut off between us and the shore ; but last night I despatched a few lines for the information of the Meeting for Sufferings.

[On the 31st of twelfth month, he writes ;] in two days more we shall have been six weeks hereabouts, and I am sometimes ready to think our dear friends will be weary of hearing again and again, that we are still buffeted by adverse gales at the Mother-bank ; but the will of the Lord must be done : and I endeavour to wait patiently to see what He will be pleased to do for His great name's sake ; for He knows my downsitting and my uprising, and understandeth my thoughts afar off ; and that the sole cause of my being here, is no other, than that I may be found coming up in the path of obedience to what I believed to be required of me. The consciousness of not being here in my own creaturely will and activity, reconciles me to all the turnings and overturnings of His holy hand ; and that He will continue to bear me up, is my humble prayer, until He shall be pleased to say, 'it is enough.'

To H. B.

Henry Freeling, 22nd of First month, 1834.

—— Still at the Mother-bank. I look round at others, but feel myself a close prisoner ; and forlorn indeed would be my condition, were it not for a most merciful and heavenly Keeper, whose unslumbering eye be-

holds the most solitary dwelling of his poorest creatures, and regarding all their wants, He openeth his bounteous hand and "satisfieth the desire of every living thing." I have written very few letters of late, for my mind has been otherwise engaged, and often not a little depressed : but as regards our delay here, although trying to the will of the creature, I am comforted by a consoling evidence of having done all that I could to forward the work, to which I believe myself called ; and therefore I can rest peacefully amidst the restless waters, which incessantly burst and foam within a few inches of my pillow.

It is now thirty-eight years since I was witness to a season similar to this for south-westerly and westerly gales ; but with this difference, that the greater part of the winter was then spent at sea, instead of at Spithead, and much more disastrously ; for after having been at one time seven weeks out of sight of land in a leaky ship, we were driven back to Spithead at last, with the loss of twenty-seven of our people. Should the present season be permitted to resemble that I allude to throughout, we have now been only half the time that we have to be detained.

My dear Charles is as well as can be expected, but looks thin, and although he says little, it is evident he feels the time long ; but he bears up with a good degree of Christian patience. My heart often yearns over him, having some knowledge of the bitterness he feels, and gladly would I share in his conflict to spare him ; but I am sometimes reminded of those expressions,—'Heaven tempers the wind to the shorn lamb ;' and it may be added,—'Shorn indeed, and to the quick.'

On fifth-days, we regularly sit down together in my cabin, to wait upon the Lord ; and though frequently feeling something like what is described as the solitary "sparrow on the house-top,"—yet we know that even these poor outcasts are cared for ; and are sensible that strength is renewed, though perhaps, but in small degree.

[During the detention of the vessel, it appeared that advantage would arise from a change being made in the person who had the charge of her ; and whilst the committee were looking out for a more suitable one to supply his place, Daniel Wheeler thus writes, under date of 15th of second month, 1834.]

In treating with a person to take the command of our vessel, there are many stipulations which ought to be made and insisted upon, besides nautical skill and other qualifications. In the first place, it should be understood by the person in treaty for the station,



that we are a Temperance vessel ;—secondly, that the crew are regularly assembled in the cabin twice on every first-day, for devotional purposes; and also that the Scriptures are read every morning and evening in the cabin on other days, when both the captain and mate are expected to (and now do) attend; thirdly, that as much as practicable, all unnecessary work is dispensed with, as regards the sailors, on the first-day of the week, to afford them a portion of time for themselves. These things ought, I think, to be thoroughly understood in the outset, so that nothing unpleasant may afterwards occur, when perhaps it would be too late to make them obligatory and bring about their establishment. My motive for mentioning these particulars, is not to make the way more difficult for my dear friends; but in order to save both time and trouble, and perhaps prevent much disappointment and uneasiness in future.

[Owing to a succession of contrary winds and boisterous weather, very unusual for such a length of time, their vessel, with many others, was detained until the 15th of the third month, 1834, when they set sail. On the 14th, Daniel Wheeler writes,]

It is more than three months since I had my foot on the shore; but if I had not persisted in remaining on board, I should not have been in possession of the true character of our seamen, nor of every minutia of the state and condition of our vessel. We have put her in the best trim which we are capable of doing, and must rely on One who is Almighty to help; and if He is but with us, we shall have nothing to fear. Good indeed, [he adds,] has it been for me to be here; and true it is also, that sufferings and tribulations have only been permitted in boundless mercy to draw me nearer and nearer to the bosom of my Lord, the only but never-failing source of consolation in every time of trial and distress: however dark the hour of conflict, the entrance of His word is light and life. [He further observes,] the present great object of my life, the service before me, revives at seasons with increasing and encouraging brightness to my view.

[The same day, being that previous to their sailing, he addressed a farewell letter to the committee of the Meeting for Sufferings, as follows:]

Henry Freeling, Mother-bank,  
Third month 14th, 1834.

Upon reference, I find that it is now considerably more than three months since I

began a letter for the information of my dear friends, when anticipating that ere long we should be permitted to direct our course across the trackless ocean to the southern hemisphere; but I had not completed more than half a sheet of paper, when the progress of my pen was arrested, by circumstances which have prevented any further addition being made until this day, when the way seems to open for resuming the subject—our departure being at hand.

Among the many multiplied mercies and blessings which unceasingly flow from the bounteous and compassionate hand of Him, who “crowneth the year with his goodness,” and “satisfieth the desire of every living thing,”—I feel bound to acknowledge with humble thankfulness and admiration, our long detention on these shores. Notwithstanding there have been many gloomy days, and days of darkness, “as the morning spread upon the mountains,” and many long and dreary winter nights to pass through, when the raging storm has again and again whitened with foam the surface of the agitated deep around us; and not only the strife of elements to witness without, but a conflicting and spiritual strife within, “tossed with tempest and not comforted;” yet how unspeakably great the faithfulness of our good and gracious Lord God! “His compassions fail not,” but have been, and still continue to be, “new every morning,” as the returning day; for in moments of the greatest conflict and trial there has been something permitted, like the “bow in the cloud,” for the poor mind to look at, to animate, and cheer, and to strengthen with hardness to endure and to stand firm.

But although moon after moon hath waned, and faith and patience have been beset as on the right hand and on the left, and the afflictions of the gospel have at times been permitted to abound; yet to the glory, and honour, and praise of Him, whose name, ever excellent and adorable, shall be great among the nations, from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same,—the consolations of the gospel have also abounded, in a degree of the fulness of that heavenly blessing which makes truly rich, and whereunto no sorrow is added; when faith hath been mercifully strengthened, and patience renewed under the tribulations of the day. And notwithstanding an untrodden path has been my portion, yet after all, though weakness and fear are my constant companions by the way, safety and peace have been hitherto found. I would, therefore, encourage all my beloved friends to keep near to their heavenly Teacher and Leader; who, if faithfully followed, will not only conduct their steppings to a hair's breadth, but will preserve

and keep the mind in calmness and serenity, securely as in a pavilion, from the strife of tongues.

In addition to the marvellous loving-kindness I have thus endeavoured to portray, many other mercies and blessings have been showered upon our heads, during the apparently long and unaccountable detention of our little bark upon our own coasts; these I have often had to number with grateful sensations, when the light has shone brightly, and manifested clearly to my finite understanding how much we should have missed, if our progress had not thus been arrested. So that with myself, instead of this delay having been productive of regret, or the cause of letting in fear or doubt, to stagger or depress my tribulated mind,—I do, my dear friends, hail it with gratitude and thankfulness, as the gracious and compassionate dealing of my Lord and Master; not only as a time of Divine favour and condescension, but as an earnest of His love and mercy, for our encouragement, instruction, and future benefit, graciously vouchsafed,—a time of preparation for the important work before us, and of weaning from every dependence and guidance which is not of Him, to strengthen our confidence in His power to help and deliver out of every distress; who not only commands the storm, but at whose rebuke the mountain billows cease to undulate, and lo! “there is a great calm.”

Within the last two or three days, the prospect of liberation has begun to dawn with clearness; but I trust, that if even a further detention should be meted out to us, either here or in some other port, the same resignation to the Divine Will, will be vouchsafed: for although I have for more than two years past, felt anxious to move forward in a work, which has yet to begin when the decay of nature is visible, and the shadows of the evening proclaim, as they lengthen around me, the steady decline of life’s setting sun; yet I have been frequently comforted by a renewed evidence, that we have not yet been here one day too long.

It will, I feel assured, afford my dear friends much satisfaction to know, that the crew of the vessel, notwithstanding the frequent though unavoidable communication with the neighbouring shore for so great a length of time, have given no cause for uneasiness by improper conduct, and that they have at all times behaved, with scarcely an exception, in an orderly and agreeable manner: the captain now provided for us seems to be judiciously selected, and the man who, beyond all expectation, is admirably adapted to aid and assist, by example and experience, in the accomplish-

ment of the important object before us: so that I hope what has passed, and what may yet be in store for us, will be found and acknowledged to be among the “all things that work together for good.” I must not omit adding, that the solemn covering frequently witnessed in mercy to prevail and preside over us, when sitting together before the Lord, is worthy to be commemorated with humble gratitude, as the strongest and most indubitable evidence for our encouragement, that at seasons “He is with us of a truth.”

As it is now a period of the year when ships seldom sail to those parts to which we are destined,—whether we proceed by the Cape of Good Hope, which is most probable, or by Cape Horn, in either case a wintry season awaits us; but my trust is in the Lord, not doubting but that we shall have the privilege of the prayers of the faithful for our preservation: and though conscious of our own weakness and utter unworthiness, and often under a feeling of being less than the least of all my dear brethren and sisters that are alive in the unchangeable Truth; yet I think I can say that these things trouble me not, nor move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify of the gospel of that grace, “which bringeth salvation, and hath appeared unto all men,” teaching all; that so from the uttermost parts of the earth songs of praise may be heard, and the grateful tribute of “thanks be to God for his unspeakable gift,” may resound to his glory: for it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy; it is “not by might nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts.”

And now, whilst my heart is bearing towards the isles afar off, the same constraining love which wrought the willingness to leave all for my gracious Lord’s sake and His gospel’s, extends its binding influence to all my dear brethren and sisters, of every age and of every class, wherever situated, and however circumstanced; desiring in tender and affectionate solicitude, that they may be found stedfastly following the footsteps of those honourable and worthy predecessors in the same religious profession with ourselves, who have long since rested from their labours, and whose memorial is on high; who bore the burden and heat of a day of deep suffering, in the faithful discharge of their duty, for the support of those principles in their original purity and brightness, which have been transmitted to us. If any should feel sensible of having fallen short in this important work, let me in tenderest love encourage such to be willing to



humble themselves under the mighty hand of God, even to the state of little children; and to turn inward to the pure, unflattering witness, which cannot deceive nor be deceived; to be willing to enter into a diligent and heart-felt search, and patiently and impartially examine how far those indispensable conditions are submitted to on their part, without which none can be followers of the meek and lowly Jesus. Where is that self-denial and the daily cross He first enjoined? Are we denying ourselves those gratifications of time and sense, which cherish and keep alive in us the evil propensities of fallen nature, that separate man from his Maker, and like the little foxes which spoil the tender vines, designed in richest mercy to bud, blossom, and bring forth fruit, lastingly to remain to the praise and glory of the great Husbandman? Without faithfulness, there will be no fruitfulness. It is not giving up or forsaking this or that little thing, to part with which is little or no sacrifice or privation, that will suffice; a full surrender of the whole will in all things, must be made to Him, whose sovereign right it is to rule and reign in our hearts. Let none plead for disobedience in these little things, on the ground of their being such; for if such they really are, they are the more easily dispensed with, and not worth retaining; and a tenacity in wishing to preserve them, assuredly indicates, that they have more place in our affections than perhaps we are aware of: "he that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me."

And now, my dear brethren and sisters, "may the God of peace, who brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, keep all your hearts and minds;" and "make you perfect in every good work to do His will, working in you that which is well-pleasing in His sight, through Jesus Christ; to whom be glory for ever and ever."

In the love of the everlasting gospel, accept this expression of farewell, from your affectionate friend and brother, D. W.

15th of Third month, at sea and clear of the Needle Rocks—all well.

[During their long stay at the Mother-bank, Daniel Wheeler says in his journal.]—It has been our usual practice, except when prevented by particular and sufficient causes, to assemble the crew in the cabin twice on every first-day of the week with the captain and mate, to read to them a portion of the Holy

Scriptures, and to sit together before the Lord in solemn silence. The first time of our assembling in this manner, it was my lot to break in upon the silent solemnity, which prevailed in a remarkable manner over us, and to call their attention to the magnitude of the voyage in contemplation; feeling no hesitation in believing, that every individual present was desirous that it might be prosperous; and the desire of my heart was, that it might be so in reality, not only as regarded the safety of the ship and of ourselves, but that it might prove a voyage towards the kingdom of heaven, into which nothing that is unclean or impure, "nothing that worketh abomination, or that maketh a lie, can ever enter." In order that this might be the case, we must do every thing in the fear of the Lord; and the way to prove we feared Him, was to keep a diligent watch over our thoughts, words, and actions, &c.

Although this was a novel scene to all of them, they behaved with great solidity, and becoming attention; and the peaceful covering so evidently manifest to spread and remain over us, was truly precious and worthy of commemoration. Although the weather was extremely rough and boisterous at the time, and the sea occasionally bursting over the deck, all was quiet and undisturbed below. On inquiry when we broke up, it was found that several of the men were not provided with copies of the Scriptures. They were of course, in due time, all furnished.

## CHAPTER XVI.

*Departure from the British Channel, with a fair wind, 15th of Third month, 1834—voyage to Rio Janeiro.*

[THE succeeding extracts are from his journal and letters, commencing with the last date.]

After despatching our letters by the pilot on the 15th of third month, we made sail into the offing at half-past four, P. M., and stretching from under the shelter of the Isle of Wight, soon partook of a strong and favourable breeze: great progress was made during the night; next morning brought an increase of wind along with it. From the state of the weather and the harassed situation of the crew and other circumstances, although it was the first-day of the week, we were compelled to give up the idea of assembling together in the cabin, and to content ourselves with reading the Holy Scriptures twice in the course of the day with the captain and mate. At five

o'clock, P. M., we were abreast of the Lizard light-houses on the Cornish coast, from whence our final departure was taken: as the night approached, the land was lost sight of, and the wind being strong and fair, we launched rapidly away from the mouth of the British Channel. On second-day morning, the 17th, the wind veered more to the southward, and considerably increasing, soon raised a heavy sea, which occasioned one side of the vessel to be frequently buried under water. Until now she had scarcely leaked at all; but it soon became needful to pump freely every two hours, and occasionally every hour. This was a little discouraging to most of us; but I recollected having heard from a carpenter who had formerly sailed in her, that she used to let in a quantity of water in rough weather, whenever on that tack. On considering the matter, and knowing the great pains that had been taken, by our friend W. T., to make her sea-worthy, and having witnessed the caulking, felting, sheathing and coppers that had been bestowed upon her, I felt satisfied that this leak did not exist in any part which is constantly under water, but could only be in her upper works. This conclusion, I have good reason to believe will be found correct, for as the wind and sea have been more behind her, and that side not so deeply buried, less pumping has been required.

Third month 18th.—Our situation in the cabin was rendered more uncomfortable, as from the frequent bursting of the sea over our deck, it became necessary to secure the skylight to prevent accident. This reduced us into almost total darkness in the day-time, as no light could now penetrate, except through the thick glass bull's eyes in the deck, and these were covered with a body of water, which rushed continually from side to side as the vessel rolled; so that reading or writing, except by lamp-light, was laid aside altogether.

The 20th, being fifth-day, our usual meeting day when at home, my dear Charles and myself sat down together to wait upon the Lord: but although we were scarcely able to retain our seats from the motion of the ship, yet I humbly trust we were favoured, poor outcasts as we seemed to be, to look towards His temple,—to fear Him, and to think upon His name. Notwithstanding the weather became more and more tempestuous, yet the fair wind never once forsook us; but on the 22nd the sea ran so high, that it was dangerous for any one to be upon deck, and Captain Keen began to fear that we should be under the necessity of turning the head of the vessel towards the sea and wind; accordingly the storm canvass was prepared in readiness to use, when it should become no longer safe

to run before a sea, which now followed in mountainous succession, rising to an alarming height above the stern of our little flying bark, and threatening at times to overwhelm us altogether.

23rd.—From the boisterous state of the weather, although first-day had again revolved, we were prevented from collecting the crew for devotional purposes; and could only read some portions of Scripture as before. By this time our little vessel had been pretty roughly handled and tried, and had given full proof of her capability. The captain acknowledged that she had done wonders, and had greatly surpassed the idea he had formed of her, and the crew to a man expressed their satisfaction; and I saw myself no cause to alter the favourable opinion that I had constantly entertained from the first sight of her. We are all aware of the advantage which would have resulted, had she been large enough to have carried a greater supply of fresh water and coals, without being so deeply buried in the water, which continually exposes us to the drench of the sea, even in what may be termed favourable weather; and in rough, we are frequently debarred from all exercise upon deck in fresh air, to avoid the risk of being injured by the wash of the sea. I feel, however, grateful and thankful in my present allotment, and for the accommodation thus rendered by my dear friends; humbly trusting that we shall be sustained through all to declare the mighty acts of the Lord, and to show forth His praise in the presence of a people who have not heard His fame, nor seen His glory, neither conceived the majesty of His kingdom within, of "righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost;" which stands mercifully revealed in the hearts of those, who are concerned above all things to seek first this heavenly kingdom, and to believe therein, to the saving of the soul.

On the 24th there was an evident change in the temperature of the atmosphere; the sun shone brightly, and its warmth gladdened our hearts, as we sat on a small space near the stern of the vessel, which had been preserved pretty free from the spray of the sea: the wind, although still favourable, had lessened; the white-topped billows had considerably diminished, and our deck was this day more free from water rushing from side to side, than had been the case for more than a week past. Some turtle were seen floating near the ship, and things altogether around us began to wear a brightening aspect; but what tended most to enliven and make all things smile, was the marvellous condescension of my dear Lord and Master, who, in the greatness of his love, was graciously pleased, for the first time since



I had offered up my all to follow Him in this untrodden path of apprehended duty, to open my spiritual understanding, and permit me to behold, to a certain extent, the nature of the service upon which I should have to enter, in some places where my lot may be cast. I now plainly saw that before leaving England, I was not fit to be entrusted thus far with the secrets of my Master. I believe I could not have refrained from imparting them in degree to some of those whom I dearly love; but happily I am now beyond the reach of such a temptation. Perhaps I was not then sufficiently reduced into a state of preparation suitable for the reception of so much of the divine will being revealed, nor sufficiently humbled into a state of abasedness of self. Greatly do I desire for myself and all my dear friends, that we may be brought more and more into such a state, as to be fit and able to bear further portions of the many things which our great and heavenly Teacher, in his wondrous and never-erring counsel, has to say to such as fear, and love, and follow Him in the great work of regeneration:—"I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now:" and if we were but sufficiently willing to hearken to his voice, He would still, I am persuaded, not only have many things to say unto us as individuals, but unto the church also, by that "Holy Spirit which searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God." Then, may all our hearts be so cleansed and purified through the efficacy of his grace, as to be prepared to receive the promised and ever abiding Comforter, who "will take of the things of Christ, and show them unto us," yea, "He will show us things to come."

30th.—The weather beautiful, and wind favourable. Assembled the ship's company both morning and evening in the cabin. Whilst sitting together in silence in the forenoon, I felt an engagement of mind to magnify the loving kindness of our good and gracious helper, and to turn their attention as witnesses to the unmerited mercy and favour bestowed upon us, by the Lord's having so evidently and eminently prospered our way; desiring that gratitude and thankfulness might be felt by every individual; and declaring, unhesitatingly, that if we fear and love Him, He will bless and prosper us altogether. It was also with me to remind them, that although from circumstances of one kind or other, we might not be able to collect together in this way, yet nothing should prevent us from fearing and loving the Lord; that in the darkest night, our thoughts were not hidden from Him: quoting that expression of the Psalmist, when under a constraining sense of the omnipre-

sence of the Deity, "Whither shall I go from thy Spirit?" &c. May the Lord be pleased to lay his Fatherly hand upon them!

Fourth month 7th.—The sea being tolerably smooth, the cabin sky-light was opened a few inches, as our health began to suffer from want of air. The sun being almost vertical, has been very hot and scorching. The effect of being transported in about three weeks from the cold winds which blew at the Mother-bank, to the burning heat of the sun near the equator, can be estimated only by those who have witnessed such a change in so small a vessel as the *Henry Freeling*. The night air seems to come off the heated deserts of Africa, charged with dampness most unwholesome.

21st.—After having been nearly twelve whole days and nights within five degrees of the equator, we were favoured to get to the southward of it at an early hour this morning.

Fifth month 5th.—Although hitherto favoured with a passage, such as no person on board had ever before witnessed, for favourable winds and weather, yet it now became considerably lengthened out from the prevalence of calms and light airs of wind, not only whilst in the neighbourhood of the equinoctial line, but at a later period. This circumstance seemed to point out at once the necessity of our abandoning the intention of aiming at the Cape of Good Hope for a supply of water, &c., on account of the advanced state of the winter season, and the probability of not being able to reach that place before those heavy gales set in, which render its approach so difficult: it was also remembered, that if we once made the attempt, there was then no alternative left to us, but that we must continue to hover about until we did accomplish that object, let the weather be ever so tempestuous, as we must undoubtedly perish at sea for want of water before we could possibly reach Van Diemen's Land, a distance from the Cape of Good Hope of more than 6200 miles; and from our present situation to the Cape it is full 3500 miles. After deliberately weighing these considerations, it seemed expedient (however contrary to our wishes, to visit a place where superstition and slavery appear with open face,) to bear down towards the South American continent for Rio de Janeiro, and thence procure the needful supplies, if permitted to reach it in safety.

10th.—At sun-set a brig was seen upon our lee quarter, steering the same course as ourselves, perhaps three or four miles distant from us; she was soon covered up by the night, and no more thought of. Being upon the deck, (an usual practice with me the fore-part of the night,) between nine and ten o'clock, the car-

penter suddenly exclaimed, 'Why here's the brig!' Upon looking, I saw the vessel at a considerable distance from us; but soon perceived by the stars, that she was approaching with uncommon rapidity in a most suspicious direction, as if intending to cross our fore-foot, and cut us off. We watched her very narrowly, expecting every minute she would open a fire upon us. She continued to haul directly across our head at a very short distance from us; but we steadily kept our course, without the slightest variation, or manifesting any symptoms of hurry or fear, or noticing her in any way. I felt our situation to be at the moment very critical, knowing that these latitudes, and particularly this neighbourhood, are exceedingly infested with piratical vessels, which find shelter in the Brazilian harbours as traders, where they fit out occasionally for Africa with merchandize, and return with whole cargoes of oppressed Africans for sale, landing them on private parts of the Brazil coast; at other times, they act as pirates, when it suits their convenience or are in want of stores. This was indeed a trial of faith of no common kind; but my mind was staid upon the Lord, feeling a good degree of resignation to his Holy will, whatever might be permitted to befall us. After watching the vessel with anxiety for some time, she passed away, without making the least apparent stop. On considering the matter, we concluded, that when she saw us at sun-set, we were taken for a Dutch galiot, that might fall an easy prey to her; but when she came up to us in the dark, near enough to examine with telescopes the real shape of our vessel, we were found of such a suspicious build of a non-descript kind, not seen before in these seas, as led to the supposition that we were intended as a decoy; and though very tame looking without, yet perhaps fiery hot within, if meddled with. From the position she took, there is no doubt she expected to throw us into confusion by firing into us, and then, in the midst of it, to have boarded us on the weather side. There was not the least glimmer of light to be seen on board of her; whilst the *Henry Freeling* was well lighted up in both cabins and the binnacle, and the reflection from our sky-lights was well calculated to puzzle and intimidate the crew, as this circumstance would be sufficient at once to show that we were not a common merchant vessel. The captain, cook, steward, Charles, and myself, were all additional persons upon the deck, besides the regular watch, which would give an idea of strength, unusual in so small a vessel as the *Henry Freeling*. Every thing was conducted with great quietness, not the least hint given to any one on board to prepare for an attack; the watch be-

low was not even informed of what seemed to await us. The Lord only was our deliverer, for she was restrained from laying a hand upon our little bark; and to Him alone our preservation is with gratitude and thankfulness ascribed. The crews of these pirates consist in general of desperadoes of all nations, who frequently commit the most dreadful atrocities on board the ship they seize, putting to death all those who oppose their boarding them: they are mostly crowded with men amply sufficient in number to take and destroy some of our large armed traders. This vessel was doubtless a selected one for the work: we thought she actually sailed twice as fast as the *Henry Freeling*, which is far from being a slow vessel. We saw no more of her, and after midnight I partook of some refreshing sleep.

[It may be here observed, that during their stay at Rio, an American captain, who had seen them at a distance at sea, going on board, was asked] what he thought of the *Henry Freeling*, when he saw her and his own vessel becalmed, near the equator: his answer was, that he did not like the look of her, and was glad when he could get farther away from her. There is little doubt that we were taken for a pirate by all that saw us, which, perhaps might be of advantage, except that it deprived us entirely of sending letters by any homeward-bound ships, as none would have liked to come near, to ascertain what we really were.

11th, first-day.—The weather being beautifully fine, the crew were collected upon deck twice in the course of the day, for devotional purposes, &c.

12th.—Fine weather, with a fair wind all the day, and a prodigious swell of the sea from the south-east. The swell was so immensely large, that we concluded the summit of one wave was at least half a mile distant from that of another.

A little before five o'clock, P. M., land was proclaimed by the man at the mast-head; shortly after, we were able to behold from the deck the lofty cliff of Cape Frio on the coast of Brazil, about sixty miles east of Rio Janeiro, just in the position and about the distance it was calculated to be, from the true time of our chronometers, the lunar observations, and the dead reckoning; all combining to prove the accurate navigation of the vessel, and the nautical skill we possess on board of her. Although we seem to be destitute of all interest upon this coast, beyond that of the welfare of mankind the world over; yet, after being fifty-eight days from England, during fifty-seven of which, nothing was to be seen



but water and sky; without having spoken another vessel, or even seen more than six, the sight of Cape Frio was cheering and animating, and raised in my heart a tribute of thanksgiving and praise to our never-failing Helper, who hath in mercy sustained us in perfect safety, across such a prodigious expanse of mighty waters.

13th.—The wind continuing favourable, although not very brisk, the whole of the night, considerable progress was made to the westward; but when the day broke, it was discovered that a strong current had swept us farther off the land several miles than was the case the preceding evening. Every possible exertion was made throughout the day, and the different headlands and rocky islands upon the coast were so far recognized as to enable us to steer with confidence towards the mouth of the river, which we entered about three o'clock, P. M. We had intended to run up the harbour of Rio till nearly opposite the town; but soon after passing the fort of Santa Cruz, from which several questions were asked, we were compelled immediately to anchor, by an order from the guard-vessel. In a short time after this, a bill of health was demanded, and a certificate, signed by the Brazilian Consul in London, but as neither of these could be produced, the vessel was at once declared under quarantine; and as it was in vain to remonstrate, quiet submission was all that was left in our power, which was manifested by our immediately hoisting a yellow flag. Although somewhat prepared for this event, I was a little disappointed, having anticipated that we should be once more enabled to stretch our limbs upon the shore, an exercise from which we had been so long debarred. For my own part, I had not landed or been absent from the vessel for upwards of six months, except the short interval of enjoyment in the company of our dear friends of the committee from the Meeting for Sufferings at the town of Ryde, in the Isle of Wight; but I trust, whether we are permitted to land or not on these shores, that the same Almighty arm of strength will continue to uphold us, which has been hitherto so marvellously stretched out for our support. For although we have been fifty-nine days from the Mother-bank, yet out of that time twenty-one days have been expended in calms and light breezes, fifteen of which occurred, while near the equinoctial line, without intermission. But the most remarkable thing is, that we have never made one tack, from the time of leaving England to our anchoring here this day, notwithstanding we have passed over more than fifty degrees of north latitude, and twenty-three degrees of south, (at sixty miles to a degree,)

with upwards of forty-three degrees west longitude. Would it then be accounted presumption in any one to hope, that He, under whose constraining influence, in love unutterable, this voyage was prompted, will be graciously pleased to prosper it, from the beginning to the end, and cause it ultimately to tend to the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom, in the hearts of some of the benighted sons and daughters of the human family; although such blessed effects may never be permitted to come to our knowledge or to gladden our hearts.

[Here they performed a quarantine of five days.]

24th.—To-day several hours have been spent on shore by Charles and myself, for the purpose of expediting the shipment of the needful supplies; in the course of which we had much satisfaction in unexpectedly becoming acquainted with two serious persons, both natives of Scotland, at the house of James Thornton, a relation of our kind friend William Tindall, whose family is one of the solitary few in this place, who are desiring to do the thing that is right. Although we were amply provided with introductory letters, &c., to all the ports of importance throughout the whole voyage, viz.: the Cape of Good Hope, the Derwent or Hobart Town, New South Wales, Lima, Valparaiso, Coquimbo, and others; besides letters from the London Missionary Society's Secretary William Ellis, to that Society's correspondents upon many islands of the Pacific Ocean, where missionaries are established; yet at last we were in some measure compelled to enter a port for which, with all our contrivance, we do not possess a single document, and are even unfurnished with a bill of health. After considering the subject, I told my son Charles, that I thought our coming here would not be without answering some good end, though at the time there might be nothing in view, nor had any thing occurred to give rise to such a supposition; but on our meeting with the two serious persons above-mentioned, an opening for some service presented to my mind, and from the conversation which took place while we were together, it seemed pretty clear to me that we should see each other again. Before we parted, I was invited to attend a meeting, which is held by the well-disposed English of this town every first-day evening at seven o'clock, which by them is termed a prayer-meeting. I told them, after acknowledging their kindness, that I could not give an answer at the moment, that I must wait to see what to-morrow would bring forth; and

that if the way opened for me to accept the invitation, I would take care to be in time. Although it was very evident to me that it was no light thing for a member of our religious Society to attend such a meeting, and faithfully support the different peculiar testimonies given us as a people to bear, and which to some might appear like opposition to or slighting the forms and ceremonies which they have been trained, perhaps from early youth, to the daily practice of, yet it did not seem a time for me to shrink or hold back on that account: leaving the matter altogether unfixed, we returned to our vessel for the night.

25th.—Both forenoon and afternoon the crew were assembled in the usual manner: at both seasons a quiet feeling seemed to prevail. In the course of the day, the prospect of attending the meeting on shore, as a burden upon my shoulders, increased as the day wore away; and believing that I should not be clear without giving up to it, accompanied by Charles, I set forward, and reaching the shore just as it became dark, repaired immediately to the house of James Thornton, where the meeting was to be held. I thought there would be a propriety in speaking to some of the principal persons privately before the meeting commenced; so taking them aside, I told them, that although we might have the same great and important object in view, yet it was probable that we might not all see exactly alike, and therefore I should prefer their going on with their meeting as usual; and if, after it was over, we might be allowed to come in and sit down amongst them, it would perhaps be the most agreeable on both sides; at the same time, I candidly stated, that we could not engage to kneel when they did, neither was it our practice to sing: and that we were desirous to offend neither Jew, nor Gentile, nor the Church. After some further conversation, it was concluded that they should proceed as usual, and that we should sit by, and act as was most easy to ourselves. Accordingly, at the time appointed, the company repaired to another room prepared for the occasion, where some others were seated in readiness; and amongst these, were several young black people that understood English. It was previously arranged, that when the meeting was quite over, the certificate furnished me by my dear friends of the Morning meeting in London, should be read, in order to account to all present for the appearance of strangers, and to open the way for any communication on my part that might arise.

We retained our seats the whole time, and my mind being under considerable weight of exercise, it was a relief to be left, as it were,

in the quiet. The meeting being concluded, James Thornton read the Morning meeting's certificate; and after commenting awhile on its contents, we were favoured to drop into solemn silence, which continued until interrupted by my having to state, that it had never been contemplated before leaving England, that we should have to touch at a place where bigotry, superstition, and slavery stalk unmasked with open face, particularly as it had not come within the range of the prospect before us. I acknowledged having mentioned to my son some days ago, that I thought our coming here must be for some object unknown to us at that time; but since we had been sitting together, I found that the Lord had a seed, even in this place, that fear Him and think upon his name; and unto these in an especial manner, my heart was enlarged in the love of the everlasting gospel,—that love which would gather all mankind into the heavenly garner of rest and peace. I had not proceeded much farther in the expression of a desire that their "faith might not stand in the wisdom of man, but in the power of God," before I had to turn their attention to the solemnity so evidently spreading over us, as the crown and diadem of every rightly gathered religious assembly; a feeling not at our command, nor in the power of man to produce, and which could only be felt, when the Great Head of the Church fulfills his gracious promise,—“where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.” After this the way seemed fully opened, and a door of entrance also for the doctrines of the gospel in plainness and freedom. I had particularly to speak of the nature of true spiritual worship, and waiting upon the Lord,—the necessity of knowing for ourselves the great work of regeneration to be going on,—the true faith of the gospel as it is in Jesus the Author and Finisher thereof, which worketh by love, purifieth the heart, and giveth victory over death, hell, and the grave;—stating that I had nothing new to offer,—that “other foundation can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ;”—reviving the terms prescribed by Himself to those who would become his disciples and followers:—“the poor in spirit” were reminded, that to them the blessing appertains, and the kingdom belongs;—the woful sentence to the unprofitable servant, was contrasted with that of the faithful occupier of his Lord's talents; the beauty, purity, and spirituality of the true gospel church, and the necessity and practicability of becoming members thereof, while here on earth, were held up to view. Considerable brokenness appeared in some individuals; and I believe



it may be said, that Truth rose into dominion, and reigned over all. For my own part, I never recollect being more sensible of continued weakness and fear from the beginning to the end; the creature was laid low, and I trust was only desirous that all praise might be ascribed to Him to whom it belongs for ever. This was indeed a precious opportunity, and although not obtained without ploughing a furrow six or seven thousand miles in length, across the unstable surface of the ocean, yet the love, joy, and peace that remain, are a rich and ample reward. We reached our little bark in safety, with hearts full of comfort, pretty soon after ten o'clock at night, while a torrent of rain was falling; in the midst of which the water was so remarkably luminous, that every stroke of the oars seemed to dash the fire about us, and the track of the boat was like frosted silver. The boat was manned with natives of Africa, now held in cruel bondage in this place; they are, however, treated by us as fellow-men and brethren, and truly my heart abounds with love not easily to be described, towards these poor creatures.

27th.—We were invited to meet some of the individuals, with whom the meeting had been held the preceding first-day evening, at the house of one of them, to afford them an opportunity of asking some questions on particular points of Scripture doctrine. To this there was no difficulty on my part in complying, feeling more than usual freedom towards these people.

After having previously taken what exercise on foot the interval would afford, about the time fixed upon we repaired to the place appointed. One of those whom we thus met, is an individual of ardent and capacious mind, and of a most amiable and benevolent disposition, possessing at the same time all the advantages of a scholar, being acquainted with several languages, and well versed in the Sacred Writings; and yet with all his good qualities and talents, he is lamentably bewildered and carried away by enthusiastic ideas of the time being near when the Messiah will reign personally upon the earth. He brought forward several texts of Scripture to prove the correctness and solidity of the argument upon which this hope was established, which, according to the impressions upon my mind, simply relate to the great and important work of conversion and regeneration in the hearts of all true believers, and which all have to pass through according to their measure, who are washed, sanctified, and justified, "in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God." It was with me to show him the snare by which he was so thoroughly entang-

led, and the effect which it had of causing him to be altogether looking without for that kingdom, which can only be found, and must, as an indispensable duty first be sought for, "within."

It occurred to me as a suitable opportunity to bring forward the subject of the Scriptures being so frequently termed by professing Christians, 'The word of God;' that although many persons might not be in danger by this practice, of attaching more to the letter than belongs to it, yet it was much to be feared that its tendency was highly injurious, and opposed to the spirituality of the gospel dispensation. I found there was an openness to receive this remark, which was not confined to this person alone, but extended to another present; and that they had previously felt some doubts on this very important point. At last one of them, as if at once convinced in his understanding, exclaimed in the words of the apostle Peter, "And this is the word, which by the gospel is preached unto you." Several other questions were put to us, which I believe were answered satisfactorily to them. I trust that the time expended was to some edification, and that the noble cause did not suffer, though in the hands of such feeble advocates.

A copy of *Bates' Doctrines* and a pamphlet were thankfully received by an individual of the place, who, I am persuaded, will not be disposed to keep them to himself. I was in hopes whilst here, of having an opportunity of distributing part of our stock of Bibles in the Spanish language; but I could not find any person willing to undertake the risk of their being found in his possession. In the course of inquiry on the subject, it appeared that a considerable number of copies of the Scriptures in the Portuguese language were at one time brought into this country, and it is supposed were destroyed, under pretence of their being too imperfect a translation to be circulated.

29th.—Having informed Captain Keen last night, that we were ready for sea, at an early hour this morning, every preparation was made for our departuré, and a countersign obtained from the commandant of the uppermost fort in the harbour, to enable us to pass the outermost fort of Santa Cruz. At this place our shackles were all struck off, and the ocean set open before us. When we arrived within hail of the fort, some questions were asked, amongst others, 'where are you bound?' To Tahiti was the reply, which, agreeing with our entry outwards at the Custom house in London, was accepted. The countersign was then demanded, and which was immediately given by us. This was demanded and an-

swered a second time, when 'I wish you a good voyage,' closed the ceremony. Our captain having acknowledged the good wish, we took in our boat, again trimmed the sails to the breeze, and bidding farewell to the coast of Brazil, stretched into the southern ocean.

As rounding Capè Horn was my first intention, it has at times passed before me, that if on our leaving Rio de Janeiro, the wind should be strong and favourable for steering towards it, I should feel a little difficulty in deciding which route to aim at; but I believe I have felt desirous to be guided aright in this particular.

It being fifth-day, Charles and myself sat down together in the cabin as usual; and after deep wading, a degree of that spiritual strength was graciously vouchsafed, by which only the thoughts and imaginations of the heart can be cast down and subdued.

We were informed on respectable authority, that two-thirds of the population of the neighbourhood of 'St.' Sebastian, consisted of coloured people, and that nothing could keep them in such a state of cruel and abject slavery, but their having been taken from different tribes in Africa, amongst whom a most inveterate enmity has constantly existed; and care has industriously been taken to keep perpetually alive such a spirit of revenge against each other, as cannot be destroyed even by slavery itself. This is spoken of as a politic measure, lest they should unite and set themselves free: dreadful indeed would the day be to the majority of their white masters, should such a thing come to pass, unless controlled by a higher power. The slave trade, though nominally abolished, is still carried on to a dreadful extent, in an underhand manner. Many ships go away loaded from hence to Africa, and return with large cargoes of these unhappy victims, which they land on distant parts of the coast, and then come into the harbour, with perhaps a few elephants' teeth, as if from an unsuccessful voyage. This is well understood, and winked at. We were informed, that five hundred newly imported negroes, might be purchased in the neighbourhood at any time. Although our tarriance at Rio Janeiro was little more than a fortnight; yet many of the poor negroes who had been connected with us by employment or otherwise, had become much attached to us: and some hours after having left the coast, it was fully ascertained that only a very slight occurrence had prevented three of these people from being secreted on board our vessel.

The Roman Catholic religion appears to be rapidly declining in Brazil; but alas! the religion of Jesus is still afar off to the human eye. In two of the principal orders of friars,

we understood that no vacancy occasioned by death is permitted to be filled up, so that these must finally die away altogether in a few years; and they are now compelled to render an account of their finances, as the property of the monasteries (at one time immensely rich) is undergoing a regular transfer to the public treasury, in proportion as the original holders diminish.

## CHAPTER XVII.

*Departure from Rio Janeiro—proceed by the Cape of Good Hope for Van Diemen's Land—heavy seas and stormy weather—remarkable preservation—continuance of stormy weather—lightening the vessel—hurricane—frequent lying to—tremendous storms.*

Sixth month 2nd, 1834.—SINCE leaving the land, the winds have been so strongly opposed to our going round Cape Horn, as nearly to put that course out of sight: to-day we are so far off the coast of South America as to be exposed to the swell of the great South Sea, which is no longer kept from us by a point of land which forms the projecting Cape; this swell is prodigious, and plainly shows the turbulent state of the weather in that quarter; it seems like a final settlement and removal of any thing like a doubt in my mind, as to our being in the right track at present. After midnight the weather became very rough, and the wind inclining more and more southerly, rendered our position in sailing very critical. Before four o'clock, A. M., two heavy seas broke in upon us, one of which stove in a part of the bulwark on the starboard side: happily none of the watch on deck were washed overboard. From this time things got rapidly worse, and the only alternative now left was to bring the vessel to, with her head to the wind and sea, under suitable storm-cannass to maintain that position. In addition to the great risk attending at all times any circumstance connected with 'lying to,' it was a position in which we had not yet tried the Henry Freeling. It was not indeed an every-day occurrence for a small vessel, which we have had hitherto no opportunity of proving under more gentle circumstances, to be brought round against a sea, which had nothing to break the range of its sweeping influence between her and the south pole. Captain Keen manifested great coolness and ability on the occasion; and soon after day-break all things were ready to accomplish our intended purpose: to effect which, an interval was waited for, when the blast should lull a little; and whilst much depended upon a timely re-action of the sails, so as to prevent the vessel from



forcing herself with too great violence into the opposing waves, as her head came round towards them; at the same time it was indispensably needful to keep a sufficient quantity of canvass set, to guard against being overtaken and overwhelmed by the mountain waves, which in an awful manner were now threatening us behind. A few minutes relieved us from suspense and anxiety,—and although heavy laden with our newly recruited stock of water, some of which encumbered the deck, yet we had the comfort to see the vessel rise in a lively manner to the surface of the loftiest billows, before any material quantity of their contents had time to burst over her. As the wind blew directly from an immensity of ice, a change so sudden from the great heat we had so recently witnessed, to such a cold penetrating blast, was sensibly felt by all on board.

10th.—Towards evening it again became stormy with much rain; the sea breaking over us with great violence, scarcely any part, even below deck, could be preserved free from wet, and all our ingenuity was called forth to preserve our beds moderately dry. At times the weight of water seemed too much for our little bark to bear, from which she could scarcely extricate herself, before another deluge burst in upon her deck. A state of desertion was my lot throughout the day, and although at seasons I was ready to say, “Lord, carest thou not that we perish?” yet I was not permitted in the darkest moment to cast away my confidence; although for many hours it seemed needful for us to stand as with our lives in our hands, not knowing how soon they might be called for. At midnight the scene was truly awful, the wind blew in a furious manner, and the sea raged with increased violence, with heavy falls of rain. The mercury in the marine barometer, which had been falling all the day, became lower, and the little vessel seemed to twist and bend beneath her heavy burden. At this moment of extremity, behold a shift of wind to the south-west, which instead of taking aback suddenly the little canvass we were scudding under, (which might have produced consequences above all others the most to be dreaded) came regularly round; and the captain, availing himself of this moment, directed that the vessel should be ‘hove to.’ Captain Keen came to me shortly after this circumstance had taken place, to acknowledge how providentially this change had been ordered, being sensible of the favour thus graciously bestowed upon us.

13th.—This date has not failed to awaken feelings of painful reflection in reference to days which have long since passed away, it being thirty-three years since it pleased the God of all my mercies to bestow a crown

upon the head of a poor unworthy creature, even the rich blessing of a truly virtuous wife, at the close of a meeting at Doncaster. Full well at this remote period do I remember the solemn and delightful season with which we were favoured, from the beginning to the end of the meeting. Dear Thomas Colley appeared largely in testimony on the occasion, to the tendering of many present. It was indeed an earnest of the heavenly Master’s love; which never ceased to follow us through all the vicissitudes of time, during a life not a little chequered, for a term of more than thirty-two years and a-half, when He was pleased to deprive me of my greatest earthly treasure, and to take back that which He gave; but it was His own, I verily believe, even His, the same who enabled me to say, in the moment of my greatest distress, “blessed be the name of the Lord.” In looking over the different relatives and friends present on the above occasion, there is at this period scarcely one of those individuals, at that time about our own age, who now survives; and I find that many of them much younger than ourselves, have been summoned from works to rewards: thus, whilst many of my contemporaries have finished their earthly career, I am still spared a little longer, a living monument of the Lord’s everlasting mercy,—for the purpose, I humbly trust, of declaring unto others what He hath done for my soul, and to show forth the praises of Him, who hath translated me out of darkness into his marvellous light. And although the sacrifice I am making may appear great, and be rendered more formidable by the late hour in the evening at which it has to be offered; yet in my estimation it is small indeed, and light as the dust of the balance, when the love and mercy, long-suffering and compassion, of my good and gracious Lord God, are brought into remembrance; who hath redeemed my life from destruction, and crowned me with loving-kindness and tender mercies,—to myself incomprehensible, and I am persuaded only known in the same degree, to those whose sin is blotted out as a cloud, and their transgressions as a thick cloud, by repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ, who came into the world to save sinners, of whom each of us, in the depth of self-abasement, can say, “I am chief.”

17th.—A considerable press of sail was carried in the hope of making the island of Tristan d’Acunha, and two others lying at no great distance from it. Next morning, the 18th, the weather was rough and threatening, with fog and rain. The captain considered it the more needful to obtain a sight of the islands; and relinquishing the design of pass-

ing to the northward of them, we bore up after day-break, in a south-easterly direction, to avail ourselves of the strong but favourable wind. As the day advanced, the wind and sea increased, and the fog was so dense close down to the horizon, that there seemed but little prospect of discovering the land, at a sufficient distance to prevent our running directly upon it. As the afternoon wore away, the danger hourly increased: but at this juncture, the Everlasting Arm of strength, in wonted mercy and compassion, was signally displayed for our preservation, and in such a manner as wholly to exclude the slightest pretence of mortal man's having the least share in it. The mist cleared suddenly away; and though but for a short interval, yet it was sufficient to discover a lofty rocky island, about half a mile distant, standing nearly perpendicularly out of the sea, far above the mast-head of the *Henry Freeling*. We soon perceived that this was the island called *Inaccessible*, and appropriately so, as from its vast height and steep approach, no landing apparently on the side next to us, could possibly have been effected. This seemed at once to relieve our anxiety, and the captain now considered all danger as past, and that we should safely run between this island and another called *Nightingale Island*, although not able to see it on account of the fog, these islands being ten miles asunder. Thus cheered, we pursued our course with great velocity, as the wind had increased in violence soon after the high rocky island was first seen. But in another hour, our prospect was suddenly clouded by the appearance of more rugged rocky land on the same side of us. This circumstance, for a time, staggered all our hopes, as it could not be accounted for; and of course we knew not how soon some unknown lurking reef might wreck our fragile vessel, which was scourged on by a hurricane-blast with greater speed, it is probable, than at any previous time. In this situation, the night was gathering blackness and darkness in the midst of a heavy tempest. The captain, though evidently unprepared for this mysterious circumstance, conducted every thing with calmness and composure, and concluded to haul two or three points to the southward, lest a shift of wind in the night should drive us back upon these desolate islands. He afterwards drew a sketch of these islands, with their respective latitudes and longitudes, showing the drift of the *Henry Freeling*, and the manner in which she had approached them in the night, and after day break in the morning; plainly demonstrating the true cause which placed the islands in an apparently unknown position as we passed them, exactly showing

why we did not pass betwixt them, as he expected we should do, which merely arose from the course having been altered to a more southerly direction, unremembered in the moment of surprise. Although I have thus entered into the above details, yet it plainly appeared to me at the time, and is here recorded with humble gratitude to the great Preserver of men, that if the weather had continued so impenetrably thick and dark as totally to have hidden the islands from our sight, still we should have been guided past them in safety, as was evidently the case when first they were discovered, notwithstanding the alarming proximity of their lofty crags and precipices.

19th.—Before sunset we got sight of the island of *Tristan d'Acunha*. It is fifteen hundred miles from any other land, except the two small islands before mentioned, and is said to be upwards of eight thousand feet above the level of the sea; though we are now fifty-seven miles distant, it is still plainly discernible, even to my imperfect sight.

20th.—It was observed that the mercury in the barometer, was this morning again on the decline, and by four o'clock, P. M., had fallen to 29.53. The wind freshened throughout the day, and at night blew with such tremendous violence, accompanied with heavy rain and some lightning, as compelled us again to seek safety by 'lying to;' but, however trying to be thus disabled from making use of a fair wind when it blows, I believe we are truly thankful in having such a source of relief from the terrors of the storm afforded to us, poor solitary wanderers on the mighty deep. It is three weeks to-day since we left *Rio*, and up to this time we have not seen another ship.

21st.—Still 'lying to,' in heavy gales from the south-west, with frequent squalls still more heavy, with rain and forked lightning: to use the expression of the carpenter who had charge of the morning watch, 'the lightning had been flying about like ribbons.' The weather was extremely cold and penetrating. Owing to the water searching through every little crevice from the working of the frame of the vessel, my berth has become so damp, as to compel me to have recourse to any part of the main cabin, where most free from dropping water.

22nd.—'Lying to,' as yesterday; the storm still raging with unabated violence, squalls, heavy rain, and lightning through the night. The sea having risen to a fearful height, frequently inundated the deck of the vessel; and from the continual working of her whole frame, our bed-places have been unfit to sleep in, the water having found its way through



numerous chinks. This morning early, a heavy sea broke into us, bringing a larger quantity of water upon the deck than at any time before. To myself a very remarkable and striking event took place this morning. Shortly after the vessel had shipped a heavy body of water, I went up the hatchway to look round for a short interval; at that moment the seas were running in mountainous succession, and I observed that some of the loftiest waves were very nearly prevailing against our little vessel; it seemed as if she could not much longer escape being overwhelmed by them altogether. I made no remark to any one, but soon after we tried to get some breakfast: while so occupied, one of the men called down to inform us that there was a sight worth looking at on deck; it was a large collection of a species of whale, close by the ship. I thought I should like to see them; there were perhaps more than two hundred of these animals close to us, each about twelve feet long. When I went upon deck after breakfast they were still close to our bows; and the man at the helm said, that they served as a breakwater for us: their being so was afterwards mentioned by some other person. At last my eyes were open to discover the protection they were affording to our little struggling vessel: they occupied a considerable portion of the surface of the sea, in the exact direction between the vessel and the wind and waves, reaching so near to us, that some of them might have been struck with a harpoon; they remained constantly swimming in gentle and steady order, as if to maintain the position of a regular phalanx, and I suggested that nothing should be done to frighten them away. It was openly remarked by some, that not one sea had broken on board us, while they occupied their useful post; and when they at last retired, it was perceived that the waves did not rage with the same violence as before they came to our relief. I give this wonderful circumstance just as it occurred; and if any should be disposed to view it as a thing of chance, I do not; for I believe it to be one of the great and marvellous works of the Lord God Almighty. These friends in need, and friends indeed, filled up a sufficiently wide space upon two of the large swells of the ocean, completely to obstruct the approach of each succeeding wave opposed to the vessel; so that if the third wave from us was coming in lofty foam towards us, by the time it had rolled over and become the second wave, its foaming, threatening aspect was destroyed entirely, reaching us at last in the form of a dead and harmless swell. They are very oily fish, but seldom larger than to yield about two

barrels of oil; they are commonly called black fish.

23rd.—Still ‘lying to,’ sustained through another rough and perilous night; the wintry storm yet howling around us. We remarked after having just passed the shortest day in this climate, that our friends in England had returned home from the yearly meeting, and were enjoying the delightful days of summer at their greatest length.

26th.—The tempestuous weather, which our little vessel has had of late to contend with so largely, and the great length of voyage still unaccomplished, at the most unfavourable season of the year, have frequently been a subject of serious thought, but more particularly from witnessing, since the last heavy gales, considerable and almost daily increasing leakage from different parts of the deck, owing to the great strain to which her upper works have been subjected, by the enormous weight of lumber, together with part of our stock of fresh water, upon the deck. After looking at the state of things on every side, and taking the different bearings of the whole into deliberate consideration, it seemed the most prudent measure, in the hope of contributing to the future safety of the vessel, and enabling her to perform the service looked forward to, in its fullest extent, to lighten her deck, by launching overboard, on the first favourable opportunity, every weight of spars, &c., that could be dispensed with. As this could not be done in rough weather, without the risk of injury both to the people and the ship, and there being less wind and sea to-day, than for some time back, it was resolved, if possible, to accomplish it. Accordingly, four heavy logs, an old spare square-sail-yard, a heavy spar intended for a top-mast, with many other cumbrous weights, which tended to increase the weakness of the quarters of the vessel, were cast into the sea without accident. It is cause of regret thus to sacrifice articles, which at a future day may be much needed; but the necessity of endeavouring to relieve the present difficulty and distress, compelled us to pass over that, which now can be looked at as remote, and may never occur.

As this step has not been taken suddenly, or hastily determined upon in the moment of impending danger, when fear might have operated, but is the result of patient and deliberate observation, I trust that our dear friends in England will see the propriety of our so doing. Several of the articles thus thrown into the sea, belonged to the vessel when first purchased, and I believe the sum of five pounds sterling would cover the whole amount of such things as were afterwards bought and intend-

ed as extra stores. I was disappointed at finding on inquiry that the name Henry Freeling, which was deeply branded on each of the four logs, had not been previously cut out before they were thrown overboard,—lest this omission should give rise to a report of our having been wrecked, gone to pieces, or foundered at sea, if any of them should reach a distant shore, or be picked up by another ship.

Seventh month 2nd.—Since the 26th ultimo, the weather has been very rugged. Tomorrow we expect to be abreast of the Cape of Good Hope, but more than one hundred and fifty miles to the southward of it, having kept aloof from the coast, in the hope of avoiding the currents and heavy gales, which prevail in its vicinity at this season of the year. To us, so far, it has not proved a Cape of Good Hope, but a cape of constant anxiety and fearful expectation, having been marked by tempest after tempest, cold, rain, hail, sleet, and lightning.\*

7th.—Still 'lying to,' the storm has continued all night, and the sea makes very heavy upon us. The mercury in the marine barometer sunk to 29.30, then rose a little, and again sunk lower in the tube. As the night advanced, the storm increased with awful violence. The strength of the wind was incredible, and the lightning appalling, with a fall of rain and sleet; the sea broke in upon our little ship in an alarming manner. The poor men were lashed upon the deck with ropes, to prevent their being washed away; benumbed with cold, and at times floating with the vast load of water upon the deck—their sufferings are not easily described. The bulwark on the larboard side was damaged, and the spray reached more than two-thirds up the main-mast. In the morning, the seamen expressed considerable discouragement; and I observed a disposition rather to make the worst of things. The captain said, 'he hoped he should not see such another night in this vessel.' One person did not expect she would have kept up until morning. When assembled at the breakfast table, I had to tell them, with a degree of firmness, that a murmur ought not to be heard amongst us, but rather the expression of thankfulness, that we are as we are. On looking round at the ravages of the storm, I was surprised to find that so little damage was done; and the increase of pumping had been comparatively trifling to what

might have been expected from the violent and frequent strokes of the sea, and the floods of water that had rolled over the deck of the vessel.

In the darkest part of the night, a distinct luminous appearance, or glow of light, remained at our mast-head; a phenomenon only seen in dreadful weather, when the atmosphere is highly charged with electric fluid. The sailors call it a *corposant*.\* I think such an appearance is mentioned in John Churchman's Journal, or that of some other worthy. The countenances of our men were considerably whitened this morning, by the great quantity of salt, which having been deposited by the constant wash of the sea, had dried upon their faces.

8th.—Early this morning the storm abated, and at eight A. M. we bore away before it to the eastward. In the course of the storm yesterday evening, unusual darkness gathered round us, when suddenly the wind which blew with great violence, increased to a complete hurricane, and roared in a terrific manner, and for a while closely threatened our little vessel. The force of the wind was so great, that the waves for the time almost ceased to undulate, and the surface of the ocean became levelled and whitened with foam. At this juncture I was comforted in beholding the calmness and resignation with which my dear Charles was favoured. At one time he remarked, 'What a painful situation those people must be in, who have not a good reason for being exposed to similar distress, when they find themselves overtaken by it.' I told him it was formidable enough, even to those who felt themselves in the line of apprehended duty.

9th.—The wind moderate, but the swell of the sea caused by the late tempest continues to impede our progress; the motion however of the vessel is greatly diminished:—Charles remarked, "then are they glad, because they be quiet;" which truly was our case.

13th.—This morning the monsters of the deep seemed roused from the secret abodes, probably by the approach of elementary strife. Several whales were observed about us: a fine spermaceti whale followed for some time close to the vessel, exactly in her wake. This was a full grown female fish, and was thought to be nearly as long as the Henry Freeling. As night approached another storm began to threaten.

14th.—At ten A. M., it was so tempestuous, that we again hugged the howling blast,

\* This passage will probably remind the reader, that when Bartholomew Diaz first rounded the Cape, he bestowed upon it the significant appellation, of 'Cape of the Furies', which the Portuguese authorities thought proper to exchange for its present name.

\*(Originally written Corpus Sancti.) See John Woolman's Journal, Dublin edition, 1794, p. 212.



by 'heaving to:' as the vessel came round with her head to the wind, one heavy wave broke on board, but happily none of the crew were lost. In the afternoon, when it was thought that the storm had arrived at its greatest strength, this hope was suddenly extinguished by the mercury falling in a short space of time down to 29.50. The captain said, 'We have done all we can,—trust in Providence only remains.' Heavy rain succeeded; but instead of the bursting forth of another hurricane, which the incessant thunder and lightning led us to expect, it was observed that the roar of the wind was lessening; it changed from north-east to north-west, but shifted so gradually in the right direction for the vessel, that the change was scarcely felt, and the sea fell in full proportion as the wind abated.

Two or three days previous to this tempest, I felt much depressed on account of my Charles, he having drooped more than usual, from the effects of the cold weather: the great length of time we had already been the sport of the winds and waves since leaving Rio de Janeiro, could not but excite a painful and discouraging fear lest his strength should prove unequal to the remaining part of the voyage, as we had only passed over about one thousand miles in distance, since beginning to traverse the margin of the Indian Ocean; and we are still greatly annoyed by the strong currents and heavy gales which prevail from the direction of Madagascar, and are probably attracted down the Mozambique Channel, which separates that island from the coast of Natal, on the south-east shore of Africa. But as the late storm approached, I felt, through unmerited favour, increasing peacefulness and tranquillity, which nothing during its whole continuance was permitted to disturb; and in the most awful moment of uncertainty and impending danger, fear had no place to enter: this was utterly banished by the love of the ever-blessed Master that flowed in my heart, and in the true dignity of its heavenly power cast it out; and the language which at intervals continued to prevail and occupy the inner man, with a soothing and encouraging sweetness, was that of the Psalmist,—“Delight thyself in the Lord, and he shall give thee the desires of thy heart.” Thus indeed was strength truly administered, according to the glorious working of His power, unto all patience and long-suffering with joyfulness, to endure and to give thanks to the Lord Most High. I should shrink from making any remark on the state of my own mind, whilst in the extremity out of which we have been so remarkably delivered, did I not feel called upon by a sense of gratitude to our

compassionate Lord; at the same time a hope gleams through my heart, that it will tend to strengthen the faith of some hesitating and doubting fellow-travellers who may eventually peruse these lines, to “follow on to know the Lord” for themselves; and thus partake of His love, mercy, and life-giving presence, and be encouraged to forsake all and follow Him, “nothing doubting,” wherever He may be pleased to lead: for the declaration,—“Lo I am with you alway,” will assuredly be verified in their experience, and all earthly things will be estimated but as loss and dross, in comparison with the excellence of the knowledge of Christ Jesus.

22nd.—Whilst lying to in heavy weather the fore-part of last night, (the fourth time within eight days,) I felt much exhausted for want of rest, and not a little discouraged by surrounding circumstances. The almost incessant labouring of the vessel, and the heavy strokes of the sea, which have so often assailed her battered sides, could not fail to occasion extra pumping when it blew hard; although upon the whole, she had suffered little since her deck had been freed from dead weights; and yet every returning day seemed to bring a fresh tempest with it, which kept the sea unceasingly agitated. All these circumstances could not fail to occasion renewed thoughtfulness, more especially as we have still more than one hundred degrees of east longitude to run down, before reaching our intended port, and are so frequently compelled to ‘lie to,’ for our safety, lest the sea should overwhelm us altogether. Thus I was letting in fear and doubts, and listening to the tempter’s insinuations, notwithstanding the multitude of mercies which have been showered upon us for our deliverance. Such is the frailty of human nature, that when we see the waves of adversity boisterous about us, we begin to sink, by letting in fear at the prospect, although fully sanctioned at setting out by the Lord himself: even the brightest gleam of sunshine soon loses its gladdening influence on our minds, unless again and again renewed by the ever-blessed Master, who having been touched with a feeling of our manifold infirmities, pities the weakness of poor mortal dust. After passing through considerable mental conflict, in contrition I went upon the deck, supposing from the great motion of the vessel, that the storm had continued all the night, and that we were still ‘lying to;’ when to my surprise, I found a bright and beautiful morning, the weather apparently entirely changed, the wind fair, and the vessel gradually pursuing her route; but the great and diverse swells of the sea still occasioned her to labour hard, nearly as much

as during the storm in the fore-part of the night. I could not help feeling ashamed and mortified in abasement of self, in finding I had been thus duped by the grand adversary, who, ever on the alert and unwearied, had found the 'watch' neglected in a dark and gloomy hour of trial and perplexity; and thus he improved the opportunity to his own advantage, leaving me covered with self-reproach as in dust and ashes.

27th.—It is cause of humble admiration and gratitude to observe within the last few days, an improvement in the health of my Charles; considering the cold and damp to which he has been so long exposed, without having felt the glow of a fire the whole winter, and the small portion of exercise that can possibly be obtained, beyond what the motion of the vessel supplies, he is certainly sustained in a very remarkable manner. I have of late been much comforted by a circumstance brought to my recollection respecting him, I feel no hesitation in believing, by the good remembrancer,—although many years have passed away since it occurred; but a lively image of the whole event is now strikingly brought home to my mind. When he was about four years old, it was concluded that the time was come for him to begin to attend meetings; and I well remember sitting under the gallery in Sheffield meeting, about twenty-one years ago, when he was conducted by one of his brothers to a seat at the top of the meeting for the first time. I had been in my seat a short time previously, and on seeing him led up the side aisle, it sprang up in my heart to offer him that day unto the Lord. Although at the time a pretty strong impression was engraven on my mind which yielded a peaceful review, to the best of my knowledge it has since been as much obliterated, as a thing that never took place, from that period until a few days ago, when it was recalled fresh and fragrant to my understanding.

28th.—The height of the waves compelled us again to 'lie to,' under storm-cannass, for thirty hours. This gale increased to a violent degree, but differed in most respects from all we had previously been called to witness. In all the preceding cases there had been a change of a favourable nature to cheer us through the dreary tempest; but now every alteration appeared to be against us, serving only to render our situation more and more alarming. It did seem as if we were now cast off, and left to the fury of the wind and waves; and notwithstanding we had with our own eyes seen as it were Jordan driven back, and the waters of the Red Sea stand as a heap, for our deliverance; yet now the glorious

presence was withdrawn, and so completely hidden, that no trace could be perceived to administer one glimmering ray of hope in the midst of our complicated distress. On looking at our forlorn situation, and the overwhelming appearance of the storm, the fury of which had been only aggravated by every change which had so far taken place, it now seemed too late for any thing to occur that could operate in our favour, as the sea was running in confused heaps different ways in a frightful manner, caused by the wind having shifted to different points, and from each point blowing furiously. About three o'clock in the afternoon, the mercury fell lower and lower, when we were overtaken with a squall of wind, truly appalling and terrific, which in a short time afterwards was succeeded by a second still more violent; but, through the medium of these two dreadful blasts, which at first threatened nothing but destruction, our deliverance was marvellously effected. Such was the fury of these two typhoons, that they actually, in a short space of time, changed the wild and disfigured surface of the troubled ocean from unruly mountains to a rugged level, by their boisterous breath, leaving nothing but a sea white as milk with foam. From this time the storm subsided, and at midnight we were again enabled to bear away for Van Diemen's Land, distant about four thousand seven hundred miles.

31st.—'Lying to,' with an increasing tempest around us. Charles and myself sat down together, it being fifth-day; though "troubled on every side, yet not distressed; perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted" again and again, but verily "not forsaken; cast down but not destroyed;"—however much like two poor outcasts tossing on the bosom of the restless waters, far from friends and native home, but under a peaceful feeling of resignation and poverty of spirit. The barometer was low yesterday, but had begun to rise a little: in a short time, however, it began again to sink, and dropped down to 28.50, being an inch lower than when we experienced the hurricane in the neighbourhood of the Cape of Good Hope. This circumstance spread a gloom over us; having witnessed such dreadful weather about three weeks before, when the mercury was at 29.50, and knowing the correctness of the barometer in former cases, our apprehensions were increasingly awakened; and under a sense that another close trial was not far distant, we endeavoured to wait patiently the event, though in painful suspense, with, I believe, a full surrender of ourselves to the will of Almighty God; remembering my poor, scattered orphan family and dear relations and friends everywhere,—in earnest-



ness and brokenness before Him, who knows the anguish of a tribulated soul. Towards evening the wind and sea increased in such a dreadful manner, that the horrors of the scene cannot be faithfully described. It blew a perfect hurricane; and although we had only sufficient storm canvass set to keep the vessel's head to sea, yet she seemed in danger of being torn to pieces with the intense pressure, against which she had to struggle for some hours together. The captain was much alarmed, and said, 'If she gets through this, she will get through any thing.' The agitated waters broke in upon us on every side, like cascades, frequently loading the deck with their weight: the whole frame of the vessel trembled and shook with the strain in an unusual manner. This hurricane at length became a steady gale of wind, but very heavy.

Eighth month 4th.—The weather very boisterous, although we were permitted to keep before the wind and sea. To-day we were escorted by an unusual number of birds, such as the albatross, Cape hen, stormy petrel, &c. On the 5th we were compelled again to 'lie to;' and this day, the 6th, we were again 'lying to.' At three o'clock, P. M., we were assailed by a most violent tempest, with heavy falls of rain, sleet and hail; the sea curled in an unusual manner, and raging in opposite directions, our little bark seemed as if she could not long sustain the unequal conflict, as the wind kept increasing to a degree almost inconceivable, except to those who may have witnessed the hurricane with all its furious and angry growl. Every thing was done that could be devised for our relief; but all our efforts seemed overpowered, and we could not wholly divest ourselves of an apprehension that she must eventually fill and founder by the lee with us at last, if the fury of the storm were not curbed; of this, however, there seemed no probability, and the approach of night served only to increase its horror, and renew its force. In this situation one would have supposed that no relief could have availed short of an abatement of the storm; but true it is, that an increase of its fury produced a circumstance, which at once enabled our little vessel to rise with comparative ease to every opposing mountain-billow. At eight o'clock, P. M., the wind was so powerfully strong, that it blew our new storm-jib away from the duff or bolt-rope altogether. Every exertion was made to prevent the total loss of the sail, but it flapped with such violence as to shake the whole frame of the vessel, threatening destruction to all that came near it. At length it was lowered down into the water under the lee of the ship, and happily secured, but not without one man being hurt by it. For want

of this sail, it was now feared that the sea would make a constant breach over our deck; but before another sail could be prepared to replace it, it was truly relieving to find that the vessel bowed to the seas as they met her, in a much more lively manner without it, than she had done with it. Thus, in a very unexpected manner, was a way made for us to ride triumphantly through the remainder of the terrific storm, without any material injury to the vessel beyond the loss of part of her bulwark. "This poor man cried, and the Lord heard him, and saved him out of all his troubles;" and to Him be the glory and the praise for ever. Every storm which we had witnessed previously to the last, had been more or less accompanied by thunder and lightning, sometimes in an awful manner: and although we left England without conducting chains; yet thus far, not a flash has been permitted to harm us. By way of precaution, the pumps have at times been stopped up, to prevent their being split. Such favours I desire to record with thankfulness, and to number them among the many blessings, which have descended upon us from our heavenly Parent, times innumerable.

8th.—It is now more than ten weeks since we sailed from Rio de Janeiro; we are still more than three thousand miles from our desired port, and yet the winds have mostly blown from favourable quarters, but often with such violence as to render them unavailing, on account of the tremendous seas they have occasioned. A larger vessel would have profited by many of the gales, which have compelled us to 'lie to' until they have moderated; when, perhaps, a change of wind to a less favourable quarter has succeeded, our progress has been much retarded by the old swell yet remaining. What little we do gain seems like fetching water from the well beside the gate of Bethlehem, at the risk of natural life; yet I am fully persuaded that it has been "good for us to be here."

10th.—The two last days the weather has been very rugged, but it became more gentle in the course of last night, and some heavy showers of rain have greatly assisted in stilling the swellings of the restless waters; which allowed our ship's company to sit down together in a good degree of comfort, it being first-day.

14th.—To-day we have again ventured before the wind. In the forenoon, it being the fifth-day of the week, Charles and myself were engaged in silent waiting. I sat under a painful feeling of great strippedness and desertion, which have frequently been my portion of late; but my Lord knows best what is best for me; and although His blessed will

may not at all times suit the creaturely desires of a poor finite mortal, yet I think I desire to be patiently resigned, and to be able to say in sincerity of heart, "I have behaved and quieted myself, as a child that is weaned of his mother; my soul is even as a weaned child;" humbly praying, that at seasons an evidence may be granted that all things will work together for good, although the blessed Comforter, who alone can relieve my soul, may be so veiled from the view of my mind as to appear far from me. By noon the wind and sea had so much risen, that it became needful again to 'lie to,' without delay. Soon after the vessel was brought to the wind, every indication was exhibited of another dreadful tempest being close upon us. The interval of suspense was short before our fears were realized by being again surrounded with all the horrors of a furious storm, which continued through the night with unabated fury.

15th.—The wind shifted several points in the course of the gale, causing the white crested foaming billows to run one against another in fearful heaps, and breaking as they met in every direction, to exhibit one vast ocean of white foam in confused agitation, not to be described. As the principal weight of this mighty tempest was from the southward and westward, in the neighbourhood of the pole; the wind coming off such vast bodies of ice, brought with it most chilling cold, and heavy falls of hail or sleet, which added much to the already accumulated sufferings of our poor, drenched, and numbened seamen.

16th.—After midnight the storm became less violent, and only blew a gale of wind, which gradually diminished before day-break this morning, and the mountainous waves having ceased from foaming, though still prodigious, about seven o'clock, A. M., we again put the head of our little bark towards the long desired Tasmania; although but small progress could be made, from the lofty swells which remained. During the tempest of yesterday, it was very evident that several on board were much discouraged at its awful strength. It was acknowledged by the captain, mate, and others, that they had never beheld such a dreadful sea at any time before; and yet the little Freeling was preserved through it all with comparatively slight injury. Such indeed have been the renewed extendings of abounding mercy, as ought to be sufficient to cause even those of little faith to be ashamed, and to cease any longer to doubt: but, alas! the rod once withdrawn, is soon forgotten; as is the loving-kindness of the Lord, when the danger is passed away: like Israel of old, we sing His praise, but soon forget His works.

17th.—The weather being more gentle the crew were assembled twice in the course of the day for devotional purposes. The evening was crowned with sweet peace.

At noon this day we have completed full 140° of longitude, more than 100 of these since leaving Rio de Janeiro by the way of the South American continent to the Cape of Good Hope; and we have yet about 46½° more to accomplish before entering the Derwent river, besides several degrees of south latitude to fill up.

Ninth month 6th.—Since the 17th ult. to this date, the weather has been more favourable, though often boisterous. To-day strong gales and cloudy; but the sea although high, still admits of our steering a direct course: yesterday at noon we were about 340 miles from the southern promontory of Tasmania. If the weather be clear to-morrow, and the wind continue in this quarter with the same strength, we expect to see the land once more in the afternoon. This evening there is a rumour of land being in sight.

#### CHAPTER XVIII.

*Van Diemen's Land—anchor off Hobart Town—meeting with J. B. and G. W. W.—aborigines—illness of Daniel Wheeler—sail for Botany Bay—arrival at Sydney—interview with the Governor—public meeting at Sydney—religious engagements.*

Ninth month 7th.—AFTER sailing rapidly with a strong breeze all night, the land was fairly in sight at day-light this morning; but it was too distant to be determined with certainty what particular part we saw. Towards noon the south Cape of Van Diemen's Land, with the land in the neighbourhood of Tasman's Head were distinguished; but the wind had shifted almost directly against our vessel, and a considerable swell of the sea had risen, although in the morning these were both in our favour. In the course of the day we had two satisfactory sittings with the crew, it being first-day. About five o'clock, P. M., the atmosphere assumed a very threatening appearance. The sailors could scarcely get in the sails before it blew in a furious manner. Our hopes, which had previously brightened at the prospect of getting into port, were now unexpectedly blighted; and instead of a probability of this being soon realized, we had the mortification to witness a painful reverse; for before midnight we were literally blown off the land altogether, and our situation rendered hazardous by the neighbourhood of rocks and shoals. One of these rocks, from its ex-



act position being unknown, caused more thoughtfulness than others. The storm lasted all night, and brought with it the swells of the Pacific; which meeting those from the edge of the Indian Ocean, together with the currents occasioned by New Holland, &c., soon raised a cross and outrageous sea. It was thought that our vessel had not sustained more real damage from any storm she had previously encountered during the whole voyage, except one, which exceeded it in violence. The sea ranged over our deck almost the whole night. She was struck several times in different parts by heavy seas, and part of the bulwark on the starboard side was driven on board.

Towards morning on the 9th instant, the strength of the wind was so greatly diminished, that by eleven o'clock, A. M., we made sail, and stretched to the northward again. Soon after noon the small islands of Pedro Blanco and the Eddystone were plainly ascertained; afterward the main land appeared, and we steered at once for Tasman's Head, entering Storm Bay just at nightfall. After beating about for the next forty-eight hours with contrary winds and great fatigue to the men, we entered the Derwent before dark on the 10th instant, and were at last favoured to anchor safely off Hobart Town, at eleven o'clock, P. M., nearly opposite Mulgrave battery; and eventually moored with two anchors, close to the garden of the Lieutenant-Governor Arthur. Next morning I ascertained, that our dear friends J. B. and G. W. W. were still in these parts and well.

[In a letter from Hobart Town, Daniel Wheeler thus writes:] My friends will bear with me whilst recapitulating the gracious dealings of our heavenly Father, as set forth in the extracts from my Journal. Though many storms and tempests have been enumerated, yet not one half of what it has been our portion to witness, has been told. It may suffice for me to say, that we have been compelled to seek refuge more than twenty times from the fury of the hostile elements by 'lying to,' with the ship's head to the wind and waves; and this has been resorted to only in cases of extreme danger.

[In the same letter, he alludes to one of the sailors, who, it appears, had been remarkably visited, and brought under feelings of deep condemnation, and who opened his mind to him in a letter:—of this man he remarks;] a lapse of two months had occurred from the time of his first impression, before he divulged the secret in that letter. I had perceived in his eye, the anguish of his wounded spirit, but knew not the cause until he wrote to me. He had several times been in danger of being

washed overboard, and once nearly fell from one of the yards when aloft; but no outward danger was sufficient wholly to bring down his stubborn heart. But the power within was too strong for him, he could not resist it; thus verifying the assertion of the Apostle, "greater is He that is in you, than he that is in the world." I think this circumstance cannot fail to animate the hearts of all our dear friends, particularly such as have been instrumental in any degree, towards promoting the great work in which we are engaged, and cause them to feel a lively participation in that heavenly joy, which welcomes the repenting and returning sinner to his Father's house.

[From a previous extract, it will be observed that Daniel Wheeler suggested,] that certain stipulations should be made with any person who might be engaged to take the command of the vessel; one of these was, that himself and mate should attend morning and evening, when the Holy Scriptures were read; this appears to have been attended to, and the sailors also enjoyed the privilege of hearing them read at suitable times. From a paragraph in one of his letters, it appears that he had been careful to inform them, that he did not consider such reading as a part of divine worship; but that true worship is an act between man and his great Creator, and can only be performed acceptably in spirit and in truth.

[In a letter from Hobart Town, bearing date the 21st of tenth month, 1834, the following passages occur.] Soon after my last letters were finally closed, our dear friends J. B. and G. W. W., returned to Hobart Town. As we had previous information of the time they were expected to arrive, we were at their lodgings in readiness to receive them. They were not strangers to our being here, as the arrival of the Henry Freeling had been publicly notified in the newspapers, in connection with my name, as a member of the Society of Friends. Our joy at meeting so remote from England, I believe was mutual, and can be more easily conceived than described; and it has been since not a little heightened by our having been favoured and strengthened to labour unitedly together, for the promotion of the same great and glorious cause, in the different meetings which have been held at this place since our arrival, as also in opportunities of a more private nature.

On examination, after reaching this port, it was found that several repairs were necessary, both to the upper works of the vessel, and also to the sails and rigging, as might be expected from the long and tempestuous voyage which we had been favoured so safely to accomplish;

but these are not of such magnitude as to require more than some blacksmith's work, and timber, in addition to our own strength, and stores. I think we are unitedly of the opinion, that she is as good a vessel as can be put together, and that if she had not really been such, she never would have been here.

With a little exception, our sailors have exceeded my most sanguine expectations as to behaviour and conduct in general; and I think no men could have suffered more hardships from the weather, than they have endured. For a time we gave them some wine, but whether from its becoming flat and rapid by washing about in the cask, when a quantity of it had been taken out, or with the change from cold to heat, and then to cold again, some of them declined drinking it, on account of its not suiting them; so that they had nothing but water for months together. It is a little remarkable, that, although they have been sometimes wet, and in wet clothes, not for a day or two, but for a week together,—when their teeth have chattered with cold, with no warm food,—the sea having put the fires out, even below the deck; and the water filtering through the deck on their beds below, and not a dry garment to change;—yet not a single instance of the cramp has occurred amongst them, nor the slightest appearance of the scurvy, even in those who have before-time been afflicted with it, and still bear the marks about them: and with the solitary instance of one man, who was forced to quit the deck for two hours during his watch, from being taken unwell, every man and boy have stood throughout the whole voyage in a remarkable manner. They have been plentifully supplied with fresh provisions and vegetables since we arrived, and with some malt liquor also; but their character for sobriety and temperance, and general good behaviour, has warranted every reasonable indulgence likely to conduce to their health and welfare.

My dear friends will perhaps remember, that the Society Islands have always been the primary object before my mind; and this originally gave rise to our making the attempt to reach them by the way of Cape Horn as the nearest route. And although Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales are also included in the certificates granted me, yet the Society Isles are still the object bright before me, as the first point of destination to be aimed at. It is expected that we shall be ready to leave this port in about a fortnight, and as it appears that our dear friends, J. B. and G. W. W., are now about closing their engagements in Van Diemen's Land, and will be ready to proceed hence at the same time, we therefore propose conveying them to Port

Jackson; where it is my intention to call, for the purpose of recruiting our stock of coals, oil, &c., all of which, are extremely high in price at Hobart Town, and may be purchased in Sydney at a reasonable rate. As our course will be round the northern extremity of New Zealand, we shall have but a trifling distance extra to perform, by hauling in for the coast of New Holland.

[Soon after the foregoing was written, Daniel Wheeler was taken so seriously ill, with a complaint which settled on his lungs, that his recovery seemed doubtful; he remarks:] For a time it almost seemed as if I had come to Van Diemen's Land to lay down my head there; but in this prospect, resignation to whatever should be the will of my heavenly Father, was the stay and comfort of my mind; bearing it up above the bondage of fear, even to a degree of rejoicing in humble trust and confidence in the inconceivable love of Him, who "came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance;" permitting them to know and sensibly to feel the riches of that universal, heavenly grace, which triumphs over all the depravity of human nature, where its operations are submitted to; begetting a faith, that can remove every mountain of sin and opposition, and can give the victory over death, hell, and the grave, to all who believe in its powerful and saving efficacy: who "live not unto themselves, but unto Him who died for them and rose again;" and "because He lives, they live also," through the mercy of God, in their crucified and glorified Redeemer. The season was particularly late and cold; deep snow was lying upon the mountains in sight; and cold rains almost daily falling in torrents, rendered the streets and roads in the town nearly impassable, excepting a few of the principal thoroughfares that are macadamized. No regularly formed footpaths are yet established in any part of the colony; so that getting about on foot was almost impracticable for invalids, even in an advanced stage of convalescence. But although our intentions have been thus frustrated, yet I am persuaded, that all things which have been permitted, have been mercifully dispensed, and have worked, and will continue to work together, for good; and that the lengthened continuance of cold winterly weather has been best for us, and will serve the more effectually to brace us, and prepare our constitutions for the relaxing and constant heat that we shall meet with amongst the Society Islands. Besides the advantages which have been thus derived, I am firm in the belief, that our protracted stay in this neighbourhood, will ultimately be found to have been in the ordering of divine wisdom; however apparently at the



moment impeding the great object before me, which it has been my earnest and anxious solicitude to accomplish, while the earthly tabernacle retains a good degree of strength. By this detention an opportunity was afforded for a complete and satisfactory arrangement, not only of our own affairs, but of those of our dear friends J. B. and G. W. W. The arrival of a ship in this interim, brought out for them a variety of books, tracts, &c.; these were much needed for distribution in Van Diemen's Land; so that it seemed to crown all their labours, and enable them to depart in peace.

During this time we were present at two conferences with members of the Wesleyan connexion; at the latter of these, most, if not all, of their preachers were collected. Some time back the Wesleyans were very favourable to our friends J. B. and G. W. W., and disposed to render them every assistance in their power; supposing, although they were walking among men under a different name from themselves, that still in Christian doctrine they were nearly agreed, or that the difference was so trifling, as to be unimportant. But finding that of late some of their members have become convinced of Friends' principles, a marked shyness has begun to show itself; and several attempts have been made to prove, that the principles which we profess, are not fully supported by Scripture authority. The perceptible guidance of the Spirit, it seems, they cannot believe in, notwithstanding they profess to be continually under its influence in all their religious proceedings: we cannot therefore wonder, that our mode of worship and silent waiting upon Almighty God, are disapproved of and incomprehensible to them. These conferences have served to show, that there is a much wider difference between them and us, than they had previously supposed.

However we may be disposed to cherish Christian charity one towards another as religious professors, yet I am fully persuaded, that whenever the principles of our religious Society are thoroughly understood, they will always be found striking at the root of a tree, upon which most other denominations are feeding; and this must and will be the case, so long as the preachers and teachers of the people are paid for the performance of their offices, and are trained up for them. I am far from asserting, that there are not individuals of other societies, who are truly called to the work of preaching the gospel, and who are labouring in the noble cause from pure and disinterested motives; but I do fear that the number of these is comparatively small:

and it is my belief, that if no money was permitted to circulate in connexion with the outward performance of any religious service, the religion of Jesus would soon shake off the defilements with which it has been sullied, and again shine forth in primitive purity and lustre, "clear as the sun, fair as the moon, and terrible" to sin and iniquity, "as an army with banners." O! that men would come to that true teaching of the heavenly anointing within them, which would abide in them and teach them all things; and which is Truth itself and no lie. Then would they be sensible, that they needed no man to teach them; for the teachings of man would be to them as that water, of which "whosoever drinketh, shall thirst again;" but when they have tasted of the water given them by the Prince of life Himself, which should be in them "a well of water springing up unto everlasting life,"—"whosoever drinketh of this, shall never thirst."

[After making several visits to take leave of their friends, previous to their departure, in company with J. B. and G. W. W., they weighed anchor in the evening of the 11th of twelfth month; having previously had a parting opportunity in the family of the Lieutenant-Governor, George Arthur, who uniformly treated them with kindness and hospitality. They had however, no sooner left the quiet moorings of the Derwent river, than they had to encounter the buffetings of the stormy main. This was more or less the case, during the whole passage from the Derwent to Port Jackson. In the night of the 19th, they were in considerable danger of being driven amongst the rocks by some unknown current; but were favoured to discover and escape the danger in time, although the night was dark, and much rain falling. Daniel Wheeler adds,] although the danger which threatened, was evident and imminent, yet our little company were preserved in quietness, and divested of fear. At eleven o'clock, next day, the 20th, they saw the light-house and signal-staff on South Head, which forms one side of the entrance of Port Jackson. A timely signal having been made, we got a pilot on board on nearing the reef, and immediately worked up the bay towards the harbour. At two o'clock, P. M., we were favoured safely to anchor in Sydney Cove, at a convenient distance from the shore; before anchoring, the mail, with which we had been entrusted from Van Diemen's Land, was duly conveyed to the post-office at Sydney. [They met with a cordial reception there, not only from persons to whom they had letters of recommendation, but from many others also; marks of respect, kindness,

and hospitality were also shown them by the Governor and local authorities. Meetings for worship, on first and fifth-days, were regularly held on board the vessel during their stay, which several persons usually attended.

[The deplorable situation of some of the aboriginal inhabitants, is thus described:]

Twelfth month 23rd.—After dinner, we landed on an uninhabited part of the coast, on the north side of the harbour, to obtain sufficient exercise; and accidentally met with an aboriginal family, consisting of two females, one of them far advanced in years, and three children, the offspring of the younger woman. There were two men not far off, who belonged to them, but they kept aloof. These women appeared to be in a poor state of health, and exceedingly shrunk: they could talk a little English, and on our making them some trifling presents, and saying that some of us would see them again, if they should be there to-morrow, one of them said, 'You welcome; come.' It was affecting to behold the degraded condition of these natives of the soil. The state of these poor creatures has been rendered abundantly more miserable, since the English have taken possession of their country, from the introduction of vices to which they were before strangers, particularly the use of spirituous liquors.

24th.—We sent some biscuit to the native family on the north side of the bay, by the mate and my son Charles; who saw two other families of these people in the course of their excursion. Their debased condition is greater than can well be conceived, and such as to render every attempt to assist them fruitless: if money be handed to them, it is immediately exchanged for rum; or if clothes, they are forthwith sold or exchanged for whatever will procure strong drink: such is the curse entailed upon them since their acquaintance with the British; who are doubtless chargeable, not only on this score, but for much of the demoralization and degradation of these harmless people. Whilst dining on shore to-day, we had both windows and doors open; such is the heat prevailing on this side of the globe, on what is commonly called Christmas eve.

26th.—This morning we received a visit from William Pascoe Crook, one of the missionaries that first went to Tahiti, in the ship *Duff*, many years ago. The letters he had very recently received from the Society Islands, enabled him to communicate much interesting intelligence, some of which was of an encouraging nature, although many mournful facts were at the same time related.

In the evening we went on shore for exercise. On returning towards the boat, we were abruptly thanked by a negro for what we had done for their colour. At first we did not understand what he meant, but soon found he was alluding to the exertions of our Society for the abolition of slavery. He had come from the Mauritius, on his way home to Jamaica, and was waiting for a ship bound for Europe or America, in order to get thither. Although the abolition of slavery could never have been effected, but through divine interposition, yet it was pleasant to find that any of the instruments employed in the work, were remembered with sensations of gratitude.

27th.—We called upon the Colonial Secretary, who accompanied us to the government house. We were kindly received by the Governor, Sir Richard Bourke; who being informed that J. B. was desirous to visit the Penal Settlement upon Norfolk Island, readily gave his consent; at the same time saying, that no person was ordinarily allowed to go there, but under present circumstances there would be no objection. He lamented the low state of religion and morality upon that island. The account of the prisoners there, as furnished by Dr. Marshall, of the Alligator sloop of war, is truly affecting. About one thousand persons reside upon the island. When I first understood that it was the intention of our dear friend J. B., to pay an early visit to the settlement upon that island, I shrunk at the thought of going thither; a feeling which was, I believe, induced principally by the desire of hastening to Tahiti, without any further sacrifice of time. But, as the subject dwelt with weight upon my mind, and as I abode under it, without consulting any one, I had a clear and lively impression, that if I gave up to conveying our dear friends J. B. and G. W. W. to Norfolk Island, at this time, it might be the means of preventing my having to go there at a future day; not doubting that my beloved friends in England would unite in this measure, when all the circumstances of the case were considered. The Governor was therefore informed, that I proposed to convey them in the *Henry Freeling*; but not until he had made the inquiry how they were to get there, as no vessels are allowed to touch at that island, except those belonging to the government, which are but few in number, and seldom go thither, and none of them were about to sail at the present juncture. It is therefore presumed, that ample time will be afforded to our friends, if conveyed there by the *Henry Freeling*, to perform what service may be called for at their hands, and be ready to re-



turn to New South Wales by the first government vessel which may arrive after their landing; or it may be, by the second, as duty may demand, or longer tarriance become needful. Before leaving the Governor, we had an assurance that proper documents and private signals should be furnished by the Colonial Office, to enable us to approach Norfolk Island without difficulty. An allowance of the usual rations for the subsistence of our friends during their residence at that settlement, was also mentioned. Since I have given up to convey our friends to Norfolk Island, my mind has been peaceful and easy, and the way has opened with clearness; a circumstance at once consoling and confirming. This island is no great distance out of our regular course to Tahiti, and bears from hence about east and by north half-north, distant less than one thousand miles.

30th.—At noon we received a visit from Samuel C. Marsden, who has been connected with this colony, in and out, more than forty years, as a Church missionary. He has been six times in New Zealand, and speaks highly in favour of its enterprising inhabitants, with whom he has so frequently resided in peace and safety, and amongst whom, he would have no fear whatever of dwelling again, if occasion required it. His great experience in these parts, the plainness and simplicity of his manners, and the abundant store of authentic information he possesses, made his company not only edifying but animating.\*

[During their stay, they had several visits from this interesting individual, as also from some other pious characters, several of whom were occupying prominent stations in different religious societies.]

First month 3rd, 1835.—To-day a hot wind prevailed, which is common in this country, but almost insupportable. The thermometer in the cabin standing at 90°, but on shore at 100°, in the shade. A sudden change took place before two P. M., commencing with a tremendous squall of wind: the great heat was at once turned into cold. It is this peculiarity of climate which renders inflammatory complaints so frequent and fatal here, affecting the aborigines as well as strangers.

7th.—Having at times for the last two or three days, felt my mind drawn towards holding a public meeting with the inhabitants of Sydney, and dear J. B. unexpectedly inquir-

ing whether I had thought any thing of such a meeting, I felt a willingness to unite with him, in the freedom of the gospel, to appoint one, and to take the necessary steps to procure a suitable place to hold it in. The old Court-house was obtained, and the meeting was held in the evening of the 11th; which appears to have been a satisfactory and relieving opportunity. Notwithstanding another meeting was to be held under the same roof at seven o'clock, appointed by a Baptist preacher, yet we had the satisfaction to witness a crowded attendance at ours, of nearly five hundred persons; and many that could not be seated, went away altogether, but a large number stood the whole time: perhaps from the novelty of its being the first meeting of Friends for public worship held at Sydney, and we hope, on the part of many from a desire to be benefited, the room was presently filled: several present were persons who held public stations in the town and neighbourhood. It was upon the whole, from beginning to end, a solid opportunity: J. B. and myself were largely opened in testimony amongst them: J. B. appeared a second time, and concluded the meeting in prayer. From the quietness and solemnity which reigned throughout the whole time of the meeting, it might have been supposed that the congregation consisted wholly of persons accustomed to stillness and silence, instead of an audience, of which scarcely an individual had ever before been present at a Friends' meeting, or was even aware of the manner in which they are usually conducted: but the glory was and is the Lord's.

[The following third-day, the 13th, J. B. and himself, by invitation, paid a visit to the Governor at his house at Paramatta, on which he remarks:—]—However humiliating such visits may be to myself, they may have a tendency to promote the great work, and open the way in the minds of those in power, to contribute to its furtherance; and this brings into a willingness to be held up as a spectacle before men for the great Name's sake. But on such occasions, great circumspection and watchfulness are increasingly needful, lest any of our testimonies should be let fall or compromised, and the enemy have to exult in the loss we sustain. [Daniel Wheeler adds:—] It was ascertained, whilst on this visit, that it is in contemplation to build a large hospital for insane persons in the neighbourhood, which afforded an opportunity for J. B. to furnish the Governor with Samuel Tuke's *Account of the Retreat*, and with his pamphlet, entitled *Practical Hints*; both these contain important information, highly needful for those who are about to establish such an institution.

\* This devoted servant of Christ is since deceased; he died on the 12th of the fifth month, 1838.

21st.—I have found the advantage of placing our sailors, upon rather a different and more respectable footing than those of other ships; and the result has been, so far, that we have had comparatively no trouble with them. It is so common a thing for the shipping to lose their men here, that a few days ago, the question was put to me by General Bourke, the Governor, 'Have you lost any of your men?' And it is satisfactory to know, that some of the strangers who have attended our meetings on board, have in more than one instance remarked, (as if of rare occurrence,) that our sailors look more like healthy, fresh-faced farmers, than men come off a long voyage: the generality of those we see daily, have a thin and worn-down appearance, particularly when they belong to ships that supply them daily with ardent spirits; our sailors have each a quart of beer per day, of weak quality, being brewed as is customary here, with only sugar and hops, both of which are very cheap. I found it advisable to keep up a desire in the crew, to make themselves acquainted with the art of navigation; and this could not be done without their being furnished with materials for its accomplishment, such as quadrants, slates, pens, paper, &c.; and though the expense of such things ultimately devolves upon themselves, yet at the moment of purchase, the advance of money has been unavoidable on my part.

23rd.—Captain Saunders, who commanded the *Science*, when she brought out our friends, J. B. and G. W. W., came on board. He related to us the extraordinary escape from shipwreck he had experienced off Cape Horn, on his return from that voyage; when the *Science* by one stroke of a heavy sea was dismasted, and turned nearly bottom uppermost. The mate and part of the crew were washed overboard at the same time, and never seen again. Captain Saunders and his companions continued on board the vessel in this situation for six days and nights, when the floating hull was observed, and taken for a whale, by one of the South Sea whalers, which ultimately was the means of rescuing them from being wrecked on a barren and inhospitable coast, from which they were only about two days drift when discovered. The everlasting Arm was signally displayed on this occasion, as they were so near the coast, as to be quite out of the usual track of every description of vessel; and yet one was actually brought near enough to descry the hull, and save their helpless crew, though at considerable risk to themselves.

27th.—For the last three or four days I have been in a low and stripped situation;

and while anxious to be getting on our way towards the islands, I could not come to any decision and clearness sufficient to enable me to fix the time for our sailing. This morning, dear J. B. asked me if I had felt any thing as to another public meeting with the inhabitants of Sydney. [This subject occupied their close and serious consideration, and they unitedly agreed that one should be appointed to be held the following first-day evening, as the most suitable time, and that extensive notice should be given thereof. Daniel Wheeler adds:] I felt relieved, and willing to take a share with him in that exercise of mind; which, with me, at all times, precedes a prospect of such magnitude and importance.

[The old Court-house was again procured, and the meeting held on the evening of the following first-day, the 1st of second month, which was as numerously attended as the former one, and proved a relieving opportunity.]

Second month 4th, fourth-day.—As J. B. has for a day or two been under no small concern of mind, from an apprehension that an attempt must be made to collect the sailors of the fleet now in Sydney, at this time very considerable; and as this is not likely to be accomplished, but on a first-day; there seems now no probability of our proceeding towards Norfolk Island during the present week. The crews of the ships had not wholly escaped the notice of my mind, for several days previous to J. B. mentioning the subject to me; but not in any manner as of pressing obligation towards seeking a religious opportunity with this class of the people exclusively, but yet sufficient to raise a feeling of unity with him in the engagement. Upon inquiry, it seemed to be the general opinion, that meetings were mostly best attended by sailors when held on board of ship; application was thereupon made to Captain John Hart, of the ship *Henry Porcher*, who readily granted the use of that vessel's deck for the intended purpose, in the forenoon of the following first-day. [The meeting was held accordingly on the 8th, and was attended by about 130 persons, and is thus described:] J. B. was largely engaged both in testimony and supplication. It was my lot to keep silence, although I could spiritually unite in the labours of the day, under a sense of the states of some, in particular, of those by whom we were surrounded. After the meeting, a large number of Friends' tracts, and those of the Temperance Society, were distributed, and received with eagerness as the company returned to their boats.



# CHAPTER XIX.

*Sail from Sydney—arrive off Norfolk Island—parting with J. B. and G. W. W.—sail for the Society Islands—equinoctial gale—enter the Torrid Zone—Maitea—arrive at Tahiti—first interview with the natives—visit from the King—prohibition of ardent spirits—meeting of the missionaries and natives at Papaoa.*

THE day we first landed in New South Wales, we were saluted by a most appalling volley of dreadful oaths and imprecations, from some of the poor intoxicated creatures, in the garb of sailors, who were standing about the stairs; but now, on quitting its shores, I am thankful in believing that we have the prayers and good wishes of many, however weak and feeble those are who offer them; and I think we can say, that under a deep sense of utter unworthiness, on leaving we were honoured with many honours, on the part of some.

We sailed on the morning of the 13th of second month, 1835, and at noon, we stretched off the land into the Southern Pacific, with a strong opposing wind, which increasing, soon raised a troublesome swell of the sea. From the 14th to the 20th, we continued to beat against adverse winds, although the weather remained fine for the most part. The heat below was oppressive, which kept all our passengers but myself in a sickly state for the first four days; since which, they have been far from well, as a considerable swell of the sea from the north-eastward kept up an incessant motion of the vessel.\*

Second month 22nd.—Yesterday the weath-

\*The following extract from the journal of our friend, J. B., between Sydney and Norfolk Island, relative to the seamen on board the Henry Freeling, will, it is thought, not be out of place here.

‘It is pleasing to see the seamen of the Henry Freeling instructing one another in nautical observations and calculations; the carpenter is a good navigator, and since he became a steady man he has taken pleasure in instructing the other sailors, who appear to be improving in knowledge and conduct. They strongly exemplify the benefit of temperance principles on board ship. They are allowed beer, when it is to be had, and as much tea, coffee, or cocoa, as they like. There is no swearing to be heard; and the men have the appearance of comfort, and spend their leisure in improving themselves, reading, &c. Happily neither the captain nor mate make a foolish mystery about the course of the vessel, such as is common on board many ships, by which the sailors are kept in ignorance, to no purpose, unless it be to enable the captain and officers to puff themselves up with an unworthy conceit of knowing more than those under them, and keep the sailors in a state of degradation, inimical to good morals and conduct.’

er was fine and clear, but the wind contrary. Several flying-fish made their appearance; also an albatros and some smaller birds in the course of the day. To-day the weather is still beautifully fine: our invalids pretty much restored from sea-sickness, and being the first-day of the week, portions of the Holy Scriptures were read to the ship’s company assembled upon the deck. During the time of silence in the morning, J. B. compared the management of a ship at sea with the spiritual progress of each individual, showing the constant attention at all times necessary in both cases, in order to be enabled to steer a true and steady course towards the great object of our voyage, both as regards an earthly and a heavenly port. The latter part of the forenoon we sat down together in the cabin; towards the conclusion, I thought I was made sensible of a renewal of strength to wrestle for the blessing.

26th, fifth-day.—In the forenoon we sat down together in the cabin, to wait upon the Lord: much poverty and weakness were sensibly felt. The wind still adverse, with considerable swell of the sea, but fine and pleasant weather.

Third month 1st, first-day.—To-day we assembled the crew, both in the forenoon and afternoon. J. B. alluded to a text of scripture which had been read,—“Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you;” explaining the spiritual intercourse and communion of the Holy Spirit with the soul of man, and that the blessed partaking of the flesh and blood of the Son of Man, ‘can be witnessed by those only, in whom Christ dwells, and they in him,’ &c. After dinner the wind became more favourable, and gradually increased to a fine breeze.

4th.—At day-light, we got sight of land, and gliding rapidly towards it, Mount Pitt on Norfolk Island and Philip Island, were both plainly in sight soon after breakfast. When near enough to the Penal Settlement station, we made the private signal, according to written instructions received from the government at Sydney. Soon after this, a boat was discovered coming from the shore, in the direction of our vessel, which at length arrived with a military officer; who brought us a hearty welcome from the commandant, Major Anderson, accompanied by an invitation to his house. On ascertaining that, although the landing was dangerous, it was yet practicable in a suitable boat, J. B. and G. W. W. concluded to make an attempt to return with this officer. When all things were ready, and my letters for England delivered to the care of J. B., we were thus hastily and unexpectedly torn from each other, at a short

notice; and although time was only afforded to take an abrupt farewell, yet we all keenly felt the moment of separation, but I trust with feelings that will lastingly remain, through the frequent renewal of Divine love. As the boat was not adapted for taking more than two or three passengers, it was agreed that upon its reaching the shore, if then practicable, a larger boat should be sent off immediately for the luggage.

5th, fifth-day.—The boat not reaching us yesterday in consequence of rough weather, at an early hour this morning we edged down towards the Penal Settlement, and a boat was shortly afterwards discovered making towards us from the shore, which eventually proved to be the conveyance for the luggage of our dear friends; being safely loaded, and a few lines written to J. B., requesting him to acknowledge the kindness of the commandant on our behalf, the boat put off from the vessel; when we immediately began to beat off the coast in earnest, and passing between the islands of Nepean and Philip at ten o'clock, A. M., once more launched forth on the capacious bosom of the Southern Pacific. Nepean Island is little more than a large barren-looking rock, but said to abound with rabbits: Philip Island exhibits more fertility, and abounds with hogs. The officer who came on board informed us, that a party had been sent from the settlement the preceding week over to Philip Island, and had succeeded in shooting and returning with eighty of these animals. Norfolk Island appears from the offing to be about half the size of the Isle of Wight, and is richly covered in places with a beautiful pine, peculiar to the island, which we had seen growing in the neighbourhood of Sydney, having been transported thither by the Governor and other individuals. The valleys abound with lemons, limes, grapes, guavas, &c.

For some days previous to making Norfolk Island, my mind was at times drawn to consider, whether I might not have to land upon it myself, and remain a few days; but I believe I may venture to say, that I did not in the slightest degree perceive that it formed any part of my duty to do so; neither on receiving the commandant's invitation, nor afterwards on an expression of regret communicated by note from J. B., did any thing arise in my heart, as if I flinched from that service. His note says, 'Much regret is expressed, that you did not come on shore, and I hope if you feel inclined to come, you will yet do so; though I do not regret you did not come with us, as we got a surf on our backs, and the boat's nose upon a rock: but though thus permitted to feel the danger of landing, by the good

providence of our merciful heavenly Father, we were preserved from further suffering. If we do not see you again before you proceed to Tahiti, I will once more bid you farewell in the Lord. May He continue in condescending goodness still to be with you, and qualify for every good word and work, to His own glory and your peace; and may His good Spirit still more and more work into subjection to Himself the shipmen of your vessel, that you may have increasing comfort in them.' Having thus been favoured to accomplish the landing of our beloved friends and brothers, with their luggage, without a detention of more than twenty-two hours, however much their absence may be felt, the suspense and anxiety with which my mind had been filled, from a knowledge of the great risk which at all times attends such an undertaking, where there is no shelter from the surf of the wide ocean, was wholly relieved and removed.

It being our usual meeting-day, dear Charles and myself sat down together in the forenoon, and although stripped indeed as to the outward, yet comforted from a sensible evidence, that a most merciful and gracious Lord remains to be "God over all, blessed for ever."

8th, first-day.—Yesterday the weather continued unsettled and showery, and to-day the wind is contrary, with fresh gales and clear weather. We read portions of the Holy Scriptures twice in the course of the day in the cabin; as the state of the weather and the heavy swell of the sea prevented our assembling upon deck. At sun-set we fell in with a shoal of spermaceti whales, one of the largest in sight passed by the side of our vessel, at a distance of ten or twelve yards. This fish would contain about fifty barrels of oil. There were at least twenty of them within a small compass around the Henry Freeling, and it is probable they formed but a small part of the shoal.

10th.—Since leaving Norfolk Island, but more particularly within the last three or four days, it has been to me at times a trying, proving season. The loss of the company of our dear friends, with whom we had been closely and sweetly connected for more than five months, either by sea or land,—the steady opposition of the winds since we separated,—the great distance we have yet to go,—the advanced state of the season, towards autumn in these regions,—and yet above all, the absence of Him in whom my soul delighteth,—combined to weigh down and oppress my poor, tossed mind, beyond the usual degree. But in the depths, although unable to draw nigh, I endeavoured to look towards the holy temple: I remembered the Lord, and my prayer was, I trust, permitted to come in unto Him; and He



remembered a poor unworthy creature, and in His own way and time, was graciously pleased to speak comfort, and to seal instruction. The affecting instance of the dear Son of God himself, was brought to my remembrance, "who was made sin for us, who knew no sin," and died, "the just for the unjust, that He might bring us to God;" when, in the very act of child-like and lamb-like obedience, and meek submission to His holy Father's will, from the extreme depth and weight of suffering upon Him for the sins of poor, lost, guilty man, He poured forth the agonizing query, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" and I am renewedly persuaded that these present trials, and proving baptisms, are all in unutterable and inconceivable love and mercy, dispensed for the preservation of that precious life which is hid with Christ in God.

15th, first-day.—Assembled the crew twice in the day for devotional purposes. During the latter part of the interval of silence in the afternoon, petitions were raised in my heart to the throne of grace, for the best welfare of our little company. A whole year has now passed away since we sailed from the Mother-bank, and although more than seven months of that time have been spent upon the mighty deep, and with the exception of a few transient intervals, out of sight of land altogether; yet such is the boundless and unmerited mercy of Him with whom we have to do, that if the question were asked, 'Lackest thou any thing?' 'Nothing, Lord,' would be immediately responded.

16th.—This afternoon we were in the latitude of Cartes Island, Macauley's Rock, and several others of recent discovery, extending from this latitude northward for more than 200 miles, and some of them level with the surface of the sea; therefore at six o'clock, P. M., we tacked, and stood to the southward, rather than risk being driven too near such treacherous neighbours.

Fourth month 1st.—By nine o'clock last night, the wind became quite fair; but in a short time it began to blow strong, and the sea rose so rapidly, that at midnight we again hove to under storm-sails. As the mercury continued gradually to lower in the tube, and the storm to increase with appalling violence, there now seemed no doubt but an equinoctial gale had overtaken our often-tried little bark. It raged with great fury throughout the night, and returning day seemed only to increase its strength. At noon the sea wrought in an awful manner, and frequently the white crests of the mountain billows, were carried off by the sweeping and irresistible tempest, and uniting together flew in one continued mass of drift several yards above the rugged surface,

with incredible force. Yet on this, as well as on former occasions, the Divine Arm of everlasting love and strength was not only near for our support, to compass us about as with a shield, but mercifully to overshadow us with a canopy of peaceful resignation. Not a sea was permitted to injure our vessel, and even the weaker part of her upper works remained unbroken through it all. How correct is the animating declaration of the Psalmist,—"The Lord sitteth on the flood; the Lord sitteth King for ever." And is it not encouragingly verified? "The Lord will give strength unto His people;" those that fear, love, honour, and obey Him, these are his people; and "the Lord will bless his people with peace."

15th.—Fresh and favourable gales; we made great progress, and to all appearance, the wind we had been so long expecting was fairly set in, and we were once more venturing to look forward to a termination for a time, of our "perils by sea." But the pleasant anticipation was shortly afterwards disappointed, by its being ascertained that from our present position a dangerous reef lay directly across our path; which, at the rate we were sailing, we should probably get close upon by the setting sun. As the sea was running pretty heavy, it seemed doubtful whether we could pass to the southward of this reef; it was therefore concluded best, as suggested by my Charles, that our course should be forthwith altered sufficiently to insure our passing it in safety to leeward, which was accordingly done. As the exact position of this reef cannot be fully relied on, any more than that of our vessel, owing to the clouded state of the atmosphere of late, we seem to have no outward prop to lean upon through the cheerless gloom of darkness; but we well know there is a Power almighty and all-merciful, whose compassionate eye never slumbers.

23d, fifth-day.—At two o'clock, P. M., yesterday, we passed the tropic of Capricorn, and entered the torrid zone. The latitude at noon was  $23^{\circ} 38'$  south: by lunar distance, well taken this morning, the longitude was found to be  $142^{\circ} 36'$  west. The latitude of Tahiti is  $17^{\circ} 29'$  south, longitude  $149^{\circ} 28'$  west. As the wind now blows, our being so far to the eastward is an advantage, in making it completely fair for us.

27th.—Yesterday, though heavy rain fell near us throughout the day, we were not prevented from assembling in the usual manner twice in the course of it, it being first-day. At noon to-day, the island of Maitea was distant fifty miles. It would have been relieving to have come within sight of this island before dark; but although the horizon was pretty

clear at sun-set in that direction, it could not be distinguished from the mast-head. Many birds have been daily with us latterly, a fact which strongly indicates our approach to land; and the course which these take for their evening flight, speaks in plain language where it lies.

28th.—At day-break this morning, Maitea was in sight; but the wind being light and fickle through the day, it was night-fall before we had fairly passed it by. This island is now used as a penal settlement for Tahiti. Last evening a sufficient number of albicoas and bonitos were caught by the sailors, to furnish the whole of us throughout the day with fresh meals; and as it was more than six weeks since we had had one, they proved very acceptable.

This morning, 29th of fourth month, about half-past one o'clock, the mountains of the long-looked-for Tahiti, were discovered through the gloom upon our lee-bow. It will be eleven weeks to-morrow since we left Sydney, and with the exception of the equinoctial gale, we have during the voyage, for the most part been favoured with fine weather, but with an unheard-of proportion (for these seas) of contrary winds during nearly the whole time, completely setting at nought all former experience. After leaving Norfolk Island we traversed from twenty-nine to forty degrees of south latitude, in the hope of finding the westerly winds, which usually prevail, to waft us to the eastward; but could never meet with them to any purpose, and since we entered the trade latitudes, to this day, we have been in constant expectation of meeting with the south-east trade-winds, to enable us to fetch the island of Tahiti, and have in this been equally unsuccessful. We have, however, after traversing various zigzag courses over more than 5000 miles of ocean by the log, since leaving Sydney, been guided to a hair's-breadth, in so remarkable a manner, as to get the first sight of the island when nearly dark; the moon not being twelve hours old at the time. The darkness and the light are both alike to Him, who hath been with us, to bless and preserve us; enabling us in degree to "glory in tribulation," and even to bear privation for His name's sake,—indeed as not being worthy to be recounted, because of the love, and peace, and joy, which at seasons have been our happy portion.

30th.—At noon passed through Matavai bay. A canoe with four of the natives came off to us, bringing oranges, guavas, and other kinds of fruit; these we purchased, after much bargaining, for a hank of thread and three small needles to each individual, although the price they first asked was a dollar for each

basket; there were five baskets of fruit. We were all pleased with the openness and simplicity of these people. At two o'clock, P. M., we took the pilot on board, and immediately entered the channel within the reefs; but after getting through the most dangerous part, it fell calm, which obliged us to drop an anchor for the night, directly opposite the house of George Bicknell, so close to the shore, that a mooring hawser was made fast to one of his cocoa-nut trees. By this time our deck was covered with the natives. Just as we were ready to go on shore to take tea at George Bicknell's, to whom, as deputy Consul, the mail brought from New South Wales had been delivered, the young king (or perhaps it is more correct to say, the husband of the queen) came on board, with his younger brother and uncle, and several others; they behaved with great openness and cheerfulness, and seemed highly pleased to see us. Our captain was personally known to them already. They soon looked round the vessel, apparently delighted; left us a basket of oranges, and said they would come again to-morrow. To my great rejoicing, the pilot soon after coming on board, informed us of the entire disuse of ardent spirits in Tahiti; saying 'rum is no good here.' The total prohibition of spirituous liquors has been so strongly enforced, that they have taken them out of private houses without exception, and thrown them away; and the natives have carried it to the length of smelling the breath of people, to ascertain whether they had been used, and if found to be the case, a severe fine was imposed; so that a person well known to lead a thoroughly sober life was not allowed to have such a thing in his possession, but was liable at any time to undergo a search.

Fifth month 1st.—At day-break the pilot came on board, and the breeze being favourable, the vessel was got ready, and run gently down to Papeéte Harbour: the water was so clear, that the beautifully spreading branches of coral could be plainly distinguished as we passed over the most shallow parts of the reef. About nine o'clock, A. M., we took up our station in a well-sheltered cove or harbour, surrounded by straggling houses and plantations of the cocoa-nut tree, banana, bread-fruit, orange, and sugar cane, ranging along the edge of the sea, on the level land at the foot of the mountains. In the forenoon, George Pritchard, the resident missionary came on board; for whom we were bearers of many letters and parcels, which proved very acceptable: in the afternoon we visited his habitation, and were kindly received by his wife and family. George Pritchard very kindly inquired whether I wished to be at the



worship of the Tahitians, next first-day; but I informed him that I believed it would be best for me to be with my own crew on that day.

Having endeavoured to keep my mind exercised to ascertain the will of my Lord and Master, it was with me to tell George Pritchard that the first step which I had to take, was to request a conference with the whole of the missionaries in this district; asking him if they had any stated times for meeting together by themselves: he said they had, but a special meeting could be convened for the occasion. On considering a little, he found that their next quarterly meeting in regular course was to be held the second week in the present month. As the month was already come in, I thought it would be unreasonable to subject the parties to the inconvenience of meeting on purpose, as their own meeting would still necessarily have to be held on the appointed day; more especially as I had several affairs to regulate, and preparations to make, to enable us to barter for supplies, &c. At present, I see no further than to attend this conference, and there produce the certificates furnished by my dear friends in England; humbly trusting, that the path of my future proceeding will be graciously manifested in due time, and strength and perception mercifully afforded to enable me to walk faithfully in it. I had been unwell on the 12th instant, but having passed a more favourable night, on the morning of the 13th instant, I felt no hesitation about proceeding to Papáoa, as the day was fair overhead. George Pritchard called with a boat, to take Charles and myself with him,—he finding three natives to row, and myself two.

Having understood that on the present occasion, the principal chiefs from all parts of the island would be there, and a large muster of the inhabitants residing in this district, it occurred to my mind that it would be a favourable medium, through which my arrival might be publicly announced to all the distant districts, if at a suitable time my certificates were read. On mentioning this to George Pritchard, and showing him the translation so kindly made before I left London by William Ellis, he at once saw the propriety; but said it would be necessary to consult Henry Nott, the senior missionary, resident at Papáoa,—George Pritchard himself being a junior: this was a matter of course, and had I been aware of the distinction, I should myself have proposed it. From the wind having sprung up a fresh breeze against us, we were rather late in reaching our destination; and Henry Nott had taken his seat in the meeting before we got to it. We followed George Pritchard through a large number of people already as-

sembled, until we got up to Henry Nott; who, on being consulted, immediately consented that it should be done, when their service was over. We then took our seats, having kept on our hats until that moment: but the heat of the climate renders it too oppressive to keep them on for any great length of time. We heard of no remark, however, having been made on this head, whatever might have been thought. They commenced by George Pritchard giving out a hymn, then part of the epistle to the Ephesians was read, after which George Pritchard kneeled down and prayed; another hymn was then sung, and was followed by the sermon, delivered by Charles Wilson, from a text out of the same epistle; when this was finished, another hymn was given out, at his request, and he afterwards finished with prayer. Some business then came on relating to the affairs of the Missionary Society, when the queen of the island took her seat as its president. We merely sat as silent spectators through the whole of this, which from beginning to end was conducted in the Tahitian language. As only George Pritchard sat between myself and the queen, I observed that she was employed in reading my certificates, which had been previously laid upon the table. The whole of my certificates were then audibly read in the Tahitian language by George Pritchard; who took great pains to give ample explanation whenever needful. The marked attention and solidity of countenance manifested by the Tahitians, was both striking and comforting; and the solemnity which spread over this large assembly had previously covered my mind as with a mantle, contriving my spirit under a sense that the great Master Himself was there. After the reading of the certificates was gone through, profound silence reigned. I asked if I might say a few words, which was at once permitted, and George Pritchard agreed to interpret for me. I requested him simply to repeat what I said, and I have reason to believe this was faithfully done; and was to the best of my recollection after this manner: ‘I have no wish to trespass upon the time of this meeting. I was desirous that these documents might be read, which would account for a stranger being present, and inform all that I came not here in my own will, but in the will of my Lord and Master, whose I am, and whom I desire to serve to my latest breath; and would also let you know, that I came with the full unity and consent of that branch of the Christian Church in England, of which I am a member. And now, grace, mercy, and peace from God, the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied upon all the inhabitants of this land; and may the

God of peace, who brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, keep our hearts and minds,' &c.

After I sat down, a solemn silence again prevailed, until one of the natives, a supreme judge, broke it by addressing me by name, which he had caught from the certificates; and declaring on behalf of himself and the islanders, that the manner of my coming among them was very satisfactory, because what had been read and spoken, was in accordance with the gospel, which they had been taught, and were acquainted with. He also at considerable length touched upon the great distance I had come over the deep waters to see them, and to do them good; that in return, their hearts, and arms, and habitations, were open to receive me; duly appreciating the disinterestedness of the motive that had induced the step; having no trade, nor other object in view. He hoped I should visit all their schools, and stroke the heads of the children; that he should now deliver them all into my hands. I told George Pritchard to say, that the dear children would always have a strong hold, and a strong claim upon my heart. Much more transpired that was truly consoling and comforting; and the missionaries who spoke on the occasion, I truly believe, most fully and cordially co-operated in endeavouring to explain my views to the people in terms of strong approbation.

Although the above may not be exactly verbatim, it is the substance of what passed. When it was all over, Henry Nott kneeled down, and concluded the meeting with prayer in the Tahitian. The natives then generally rose from their seats, and began to flock round us, and to shake hands with Charles and myself in a very hearty manner, and without regard to order, age, or sex, from the humble peasant to the bronze-coloured queen, her two aunts, and the numerous chiefs, who, I think, are the stoutest, most giant-like men I ever saw assembled together. About 800 persons were collected at this meeting; but the house was so large that it seemed impossible to make any accurate estimate; for my own part, I should have supposed the number not less than a thousand. The judge before spoken of, in one of his speeches, (for he spoke three times,) hinted that they perceived I was not exactly of the same description of Christians that had hitherto come amongst them, or I belonged to a different body. This, however, did not seem to stand in the way. Some days previously to this meeting being held, the young king and several chiefs came on board to breakfast, six in number. After breakfast, our usual reading in the Holy

Scriptures was introduced, during which they behaved with great attention and propriety; sitting as still, in the time of silence, both then and at the pause before breakfast, as if accustomed to it. When they were about going away, a telescope and a piece of handkerchiefs were presented to the king, and a shawl to each of the others; with which they seemed highly pleased. Through the medium of an Englishman, who had been sent for on the occasion, the king was told, that I had something in reserve for Pomare, the queen, expecting she also would pay us a visit. They behaved with much openness and affability, and told us in plain terms that they liked us, because we were like themselves, and did not make ourselves very high to them.

I had a conference with the missionaries of the Papáoa district, who, although only four in number, are capable of rendering me much assistance in forwarding my views, and interpreting to the people. I was fully aware the missionaries were under an impression, that I was come out to inspect the state of the missions, and particularly that of the schools; private letters had reached them some months ago to that effect from London; but they were informed that now the missionary meeting was over, I was waiting as at the posts of wisdom's gate, not knowing to what I might next have to turn my hand: this explanation at once placed me in a fresh point of view. An expression of desire to do all in their power to co-operate in the work, in any manner I could point out, was, I think, avowed by each individual; and we parted in brotherly love.

## CHAPTER XX.

*Tahiti—visit of chiefs—the young king—meeting for sailors—distribution of tracts, bibles, &c.—temperance ships—introduction of ardent spirits—visit to the schools—attend the native meeting—visitors on board—John Davies—meeting on board—importance of translating and circulating the Scriptures—Tahitian council—native meeting.*

Tahiti, 14th of fifth month, 1835.—THIS morning, Tati and his brother, two of the principal chiefs, and truly great in stature, with a grand-daughter of the former, came on board at breakfast time, bringing with them another person of note. They partook of our meal, and stayed over our usual reading in the Scriptures; during which, and in the time of silence, they behaved in a solid manner. These are the most elderly chiefs that we have seen, and perhaps the oldest upon the island; and they are said to be the



principal support of the present government. They had been on board once before, but it being late in the evening they had not stayed long. I put a small cotton dress upon the child, and presented a shawl to each of the great men. They invited us to come with the vessel to Mairi Péhe, where they reside, and on leaving seemed well satisfied with their visit. It being fifth-day, Charles and myself endeavoured to wait upon the Lord, but under feelings oppressively languid from the heat.

15th.—My mind having for some days past been brought into thoughtful solicitude for the best welfare of the crews of the vessels now lying at anchor about us, I mentioned it to my Charles soon after rising this morning; and seeing no way of being clear of the blood of these poor neglected people, but by appointing a public meeting, to be held next first-day, it was concluded to make the necessary arrangements for so doing. There was no doubt that the deck of one of the whaling vessels might have been procured for the purpose; but on considering the subject, it seemed best to have the deck of the *Henry Freeling* made use of, lest umbrage should be taken by the English sailors, if the meeting was held on board an American vessel; or by the American sailors, if held on board an English one, in the same calling; both parties considering our own as employed on very different grounds from any other in the bay. There were six American whalers, and one trading vessel, all large and well manned, in the bay; and only one English whaler, the *Rover*, of London.

I stepped on shore to inquire whether the eleventh hour, next first-day, would interfere with any arrangements the missionaries might have made; that the work of neither party might be marred, and that nothing on our part might appear as done in a corner. On learning at George Pritchard's, that nothing would clash if our meeting was held at that hour, and having invited him or any part of his family to attend it, we returned immediately on board, and were soon after visited by a serious and respectable person, who had been sent out in 1825, by the London Missionary Society to teach the natives the art of spinning and weaving.

The young king and his brother came on board in a private capacity: their visit was much more agreeable than when attended by several of the principal chiefs. They stayed dinner, and remained on board several hours. The simple habits, and gentle unassuming manner of this young man, do not appear at present to be liable to alter from his having become the husband of the queen. The amiable disposition he possesses, and which can-

not be concealed, at once renders him an object of general esteem. He has evidently acquired considerable polish from the intercourse with foreigners, of which he does not fail to avail himself at every opportunity; and although from this circumstance, his manners are much more civilized than those of his countrymen, yet now and then the wild nature of a South Sea Islander shows itself. They brought us some fine bunches of oranges, the largest of which contained eleven in a cluster, and the smallest seven. A sliding knife and fork were presented to each, also a three-bladed knife and a penknife. Shortly after these guests had left us, Paofai a chief, residing near Point Venus, came on board, and made signs that he wished to read my certificates, which were accordingly furnished for his perusal in the Polynesian language, although he could speak more English than any we have yet met with. He is considered a great man, and was more modest in behaviour than any we have yet seen of his stamp. Having observed, while he read the certificate, that his sight was impaired, I presented him with a pair of spectacles; at the same time a pocket-handkerchief and a small hatchet were given him; upon which he said he had no money to pay for them. Such an honest confession we had not before met with, nor with any person who mentioned payment for what they received. He left us with an acknowledgment of the kindness with which he had been treated, and I believe both parties were satisfied with the interview. In the evening, we were engaged in writing notices of the public meeting, intended to be held next first-day.

16th.—After breakfast, my Charles went to distribute the written notices amongst the shipping. In the forenoon, a quantity of tracts were selected, and parcelled in readiness for distribution at the close of the meeting to-morrow.

17th, first-day.—In the morning the prospect before us was rather gloomy. There had been rain in the night, and soon after daylight the Mariner whaling vessel put to sea; thus the seamen on board of her were prevented from attending the meeting; but I thought there was no reason why they should be deprived of their share of the tracts, which had been got ready for distribution the day before. As the wind was light, there was no difficulty in overtaking her before she got outside of the reef. Our mate was accordingly despatched in good time, and succeeded in handing them on board. They were received with civility, and the requested application of them promised. By the accommodation of some planks kindly provided by the *Emerald*,

our decks were extensively seated, and the planks were well covered with canvass, spare flags, &c.

At half-past ten o'clock, a bethel-flag, with which we have been furnished, was hoisted, as a thing understood by all sailors, and a little in their own way: this allowed half-an-hour for the boats to collect from each ship, in order that the time appointed (eleven o'clock,) might be kept to, and the quiet of the meeting preserved from late comers on board. Although the invitation, with the exception of George Pritchard's family, had not been extended by us beyond the shipping in the bay, several persons attended from the shore; Doctor Vaughan, Captain Henry, George Bicknell, and some other white people with children, whose copper-coloured skins indicated that they were the offspring of Tahitian mothers. The meeting at length settled down into stillness beyond our expectation. I thought there would scarcely be a single individual then present, except our own crew, that had ever before been at a meeting held exclusively after the manner of Friends. In this, however, I found I had been mistaken, as the mate of the Lancaster came on board the next day, and acknowledged he was a member of our Society, though, as he stated, he had not kept close to it. He told us, that he little expected to see a Friends' meeting held amongst these islands; but seemed glad of having an opportunity to attend one.

However long the time of silence might be thought, there was no restlessness sufficient to disturb the quiet of the meeting. Unexpectedly to myself, I felt an engagement of mind to state to the meeting, that the religious Society of which I was a member, had, from its earliest rise, been called upon to bear a faithful testimony to the excellency of silent worship and waiting upon God: that it was a noble testimony to the all-sufficiency and teaching of that grace, which had appeared unto all men,—teaching all, and bringing salvation to all;—"for the grace of God that bringeth salvation, hath appeared unto all men, &c., looking for that blessed hope and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour, Jesus Christ," &c., to the end of the text. "For God is a Spirit: and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth:" and we are told in holy writ, by the Son, that "the Father seeketh such to worship him." I was then carried forth on the nature of true, silent, and spiritual worship, to a considerable length; and had to state, that my head would not have laid easy upon the pillow at a future day, if the attempt had not been made to collect the seamen of the fleet:—that sailors were a class of men

more than most others, separated from their homes and regular places of worship, particularly on these long voyages upon the mighty deep, for months and months together; but that the ample provision made by the glorious gospel for the restoration and redemption of mankind, boundless as its love, extended unto all: for He that said, "Let there be light, and there was light;" even "God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ." I had largely to proclaim some of the principal doctrines of the gospel, and was helped through, to my humble and thankful admiration. It was indeed a glorious, and I trust to some, a blessed meeting. I had, I think, more than once to call their attention to the heavenly power that reigned over us with precious solemnity, as a crown and diadem: and before the meeting closed, I had to acknowledge the same with prayer and thanksgiving, to the glory and the praise of my God. After the meeting was broken up, I requested an individual out of each ship to step forward, when two hundred and twenty-nine tracts, principally those of Friends, were disposed of, including those sent on board the Mariner in the morning.

19th.—The Nassau sailed early this morning for the coast of California, to prosecute the whale fishing. The captain was furnished with six Bibles and six Testaments, in the Spanish language. He said there would be no difficulty in putting them into suitable hands, he being well acquainted with those parts.

20th.—The American ship Emerald, being about to sail for Manilla and the Philippine Islands, and Captain Eaglestone having kindly offered, on application being made, to forward our views, in circulating the Scriptures in the Spanish language, he being on a trading voyage, and of extensive acquaintance, this morning eighteen Bibles, eighteen Testaments, eighteen *Letter on Christianity*, with five copies of Wilberforce's *Practical View*, were got ready and delivered to that ship. We have met with great civility and willingness to lend a helping hand in many of the American captains: at the same time, we are frequently sensible of a mixture which cannot be reconciled. The foregoing remark has no allusion to the inconsistent conduct of the crews of many of the American vessels, which we have fallen in with here, that are called 'temperance ships.' At first I could not but view these with satisfaction, and with a degree of thankfulness, as likely to contribute by their example to the welfare of the islanders. But, alas! I now find, with horror and surprise, that the word 'temperance' applies only



to the ships, and not to their crews, none probably of which are members of a Temperance Society; they are merely bound by articles, that the voyage shall be performed without any spirits being on board, except as medicine, and their sobriety only exists because they cannot get the liquor; when on shore, and unbound by these articles, they are lamentably, in many instances, notorious for drinking to excess; and their immoral conduct, at this place, makes me shudder for the awful and woful consequences, both as regards themselves, and the daughters of Tahiti. Although great exertion is made and promoted by the missionaries here to stop this overwhelming torrent of iniquity, yet all their measures are abortive, and can never be successful, unless co-operated with on the part of the masters of the shipping. Notwithstanding the disuse of spirituous liquors is rigidly enforced at Tahiti, and no person is allowed to have the article in his house; yet this bane of the human race is still to be purchased on shore, and the supply is kept up by the American ships; it is clandestinely landed amongst the supposed empty casks which are sent on shore for water, (an instance of this kind took place a few days ago,) and by other methods. A considerable quantity was brought in last week by an American schooner from Valparaiso, and safely landed; but has since been discovered, the casks destroyed and their contents totally lost. By what is said, I do not mean to imply that this gross immorality is confined solely to the crews of the American vessels, because those of the English are perhaps equally implicated, but with this difference, they do not assume the character of 'temperance ships.'

How dreadful and appalling the consideration, that the intercourse of distant nations should have entailed upon these poor, untutored islanders, a curse unprecedented and unheard of in the annals of history. Will not, shall not the Lord visit for these things?

22nd.—The American schooner Peruvian, came in before noon from Valparaiso, with horses. In the afternoon, went on shore upon the Queen's Island. On this small spot of ground much is concentrated; a small chapel, with sides of upright bamboos, (wicker-work,) is standing, with seats and a pulpit, at one time probably in use: there were also several pieces of cannon in a useless state, one placed on a platform, formed of loose stones and coral, and others lying about in a condition equally harmless. These have been left as presents by the ships of different nations, which have visited these seas, and stand as memorials against them, by showing that their dependence is upon the arm of flesh for protection: England, France and Russia seem

to have been the donors of them. Part of one building is fitted up as an armory, with an inscription to this import over the arms, which consist of three worthless muskets without locks. We cannot wonder at young and barbarous nations being eager to possess weapons of a destructive nature, when they see in what high estimation they are held by those who are called Christians; but, alas! their conduct proclaims aloud, that such are not the followers of the Prince of peace, nor are living under the blessed influence of the gospel.

23rd.—The king came on board to breakfast this morning by himself, but departed as soon as our reading was over. As attending the Tahitian worship has been frequently the companion of my thoughts for several days past, it seemed best for me to be in readiness by having the way opened for the ensuing first-day, (to-morrow,) should this be my portion. After communicating this to my son Charles, we concluded to go on shore, and mention the subject to George Pritchard. On seeing the latter, I told him that my mind had been drawn to attend the Tahitian worship to-morrow morning. He asked, if I meant to perform service there, or to sit as a spectator. 'To sit as a spectator,' I replied; 'but if required to speak, to have permission to do so.' He then said, 'You must not expect to find things in the same order as if you were at home;' and added, 'If you could come on shore about half-past eight o'clock in the morning, there would be time to look at the schools before the meeting begins: the meeting for worship begins at nine o'clock, but a prayer-meeting commences at sun-rise.' I cannot but admire, with reverential gratitude and thankfulness, how in every instance of this kind that has yet occurred, mountains have become mole-hills, as a willingness has been wrought to approach them; and if it were not fixing a very high stamp upon ourselves, I should say, surely the blessed Master, in like manner as when He sent forth His disciples two and two formerly to every place where he intended to come, is already not only come, but has condescended to go before, and prepare the way for us poor creatures in a remarkable manner, in the hearts of others with whom we have to do. In returning we walked along the edge of the bay, and were accosted by a respectable, clean-looking white man, who has resided here about fifteen years. He had been a sailor, but a severe hurt in his right hand and wrist had caused his being left at this place. It seemed that he had been told we were much at a loss for an interpreter: he wished to render us every assistance he could, and was

willing to accompany us wherever we might have to go; wanting nothing in return, as he was comfortably off; and he was not one that stood opposed to the work in which we were engaged: as he had but a small piece of land, he was at liberty at any time to attend us. We acknowledged the kindness and disinterestedness of this offer, and told him, if occasion required it, we should make application to him. We think him a suitable person to have the care of some tracts for lending out to others, and one with whom some of the writings of Friends may be left.

On first-day morning, the 24th of fifth month, we proceeded to George Pritchard's house about the appointed time. We were much too early for the school, owing to there being no regular time kept amongst the people; and some having to come from considerable distances, are the more likely to be out of season when they arrive. The principal teacher, who is a deacon in the church, made his appearance; soon after which we followed to the school-house. A considerable number of children were collected: the boys sitting at one end of a long building, and the girls at the other; the teacher standing on one side, about midway between them. He gave out questions to the boys and girls alternately, which were answered in the same way by a few of the elder children in a singing tone simultaneously, the rest seeming to take but little interest in what was going on. We were told, that when the queen resided here, the number of children was much greater than at present; but as she now lives at Papáoa, such children as formerly attended here, now go to the school at that place.

It was considerably more than half an hour after the fixed time, before we entered (what is called) the church, where a large number of persons were collected and collecting. The whole congregation were squatted on the floor, the building being in an unfinished state, and no seats as yet provided: they appeared to occupy the whole of the floor, which is very extensive. While they were proceeding in their usual manner, I endeavoured to draw near to the Fountain of Israel, whose God is, and ever will be, Him who giveth strength and power to his people. My heart was softened in an unusual manner, and the creature was brought down into a state of nothingness: tears flowed beyond a capability of restraint, as "in the day of the great slaughter, when the towers fall," (the towers of pride, high-mindedness, and self-exaltation,) and the will of the creature subjected to the will of the great Creator; as shadowed forth by the prophet, when pointing to the spiritual conflict, and the accomplishment of the great work of

regeneration in the heart of man, at that day when the Lord alone is exalted.\* My mind was in a calm, and I was prepared to stand up when the proper moment arrived. At length the singing ended, and a universal stillness prevailed over the meeting, probably increased by expectation, which had for some time been stamped upon the countenances of the whole assembly.

"God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all churches of the saints;"—were the first words uttered by me; which being interpreted, were followed by,—"it is not an every day circumstance for a stranger thus to speak amongst you, probably what you never before witnessed; but it is according to the true order of the gospel that the prophets should speak two or three, that all might learn and all might be comforted,"—with more of the text; repeating again, for "God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all churches of the saints;" proceeding with, 'I have nothing new to offer: the way to the kingdom is the same now as in the beginning; there is no variableness or shadow of turning with that God, with whom we have to do. The things of time may vacillate and change; but the Rock of Ages remains unimpaired: it changeth not,—"the foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, the Lord knoweth them that are his." This foundation is Christ Jesus: and no other foundation can any man lay than is laid. Every man's work will be made manifest, the day shall declare it, the fire of the Lord will try it: that only will stand which is built on Christ Jesus the righteous, that tried corner stone, elect of God, and precious indeed to them that believe,—though to the Jews a stumbling block, and to the Greeks foolishness. But to them who are called, and who obey, "Christ, the power of God, and the wisdom of God." For this cause "God gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life:"—with more on this important point. 'In looking over this large assembly, the love of God has filled my heart as I have sat amongst you:—may the Lord in heaven bless you, is the language that has arisen therein. It is this love that induced me to come amongst you; it is this love that would gather all into the heavenly garner of rest and peace. Endless in duration is the mercy of the Lord; free and unbounded is His love. His love has been long extended to these islands, and covered them as with a mantle. This island has had advantages beyond many others.' I reminded them that many years had now elapsed since the sound

\* Isaiah xxx 25.



of the gospel was first heard in their land: they had long had many parts of the Holy Scriptures in circulation, which from their earliest pages point to the Saviour. It was promised, soon after the fall of man, that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head. Moses declared to the people in his day,—“A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me; him shall ye hear in all things;” and “the soul which will not hear that prophet, shall be destroyed from among the people;” which led to the query, what return had been made for all this, and wherein had they been benefited by these great privileges. They had run well for a season: what had hindered them? What had prevented them, that they should have turned again as unto the weak and beggarly elements? If they had obeyed the gospel, this would not have been the case: they would by this time have been a pure people for their God. That unless there was a thorough alteration and change, the blessing intended for them would be withdrawn; and the rod would be administered for their iniquity. Continuing,—“Be watchful, and strengthen the things which remain, that are ready to die;” for your works are not perfect in the sight of God. “Remember, therefore, how thou hast received and heard; and hold fast, and repent.” There is a great work to be done; for where is your hope when the present generation are summoned from works to rewards, if the younger children are not trained in succession? I had to call upon the parents to step forward before it was too late; they had all a part to take in it. Tahitian mothers had a large share devolving upon them; much depended upon their influence and example in endeavouring to train up their children in habits of civilized life, by letting them learn to read; (which at present is much neglected, and disliked both by parents and children;) that so they might partake in the advantages which are to be derived from the Holy Scriptures: reminding them, that “they that be wise, shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever:” exhorting them, not to be overcome with evil, but to overcome evil with that which is good; that the promises are many, great, and precious, which are recorded in Holy Writ, to them that overcome, &c. Though, perhaps, more might be expressed than above noted, and with some variation as to the words; yet I believe that what is here inserted is the substance and principal part of what was uttered.

Having finished, I took my seat. Soon after this, George Pritchard concluded the

meeting. When the whole congregation rose, the elderly people came forward to shake hands; but being pretty near one of the doors, we were soon carried outside by the current of people turning that way. There were upwards of a thousand people inside of the building, and a considerable number outside also: the doors and windows being all open, those without could hear about as well as those within.

28th. Fifth-day.—Soon after breakfast, Charles and myself endeavoured to draw near in silence before the Most High. Although under feelings of great weakness and inability of ourselves to maintain the watch against our subtle enemy, yet we must not shrink or be discouraged from using our humble endeavours to maintain the unequal conflict; seeing that He with whom we have to do, knows that we are but dust, pities our frailties and weakness, and regards with an eye of merciful compassion his poorest creatures: yea, even the lone sparrow on the house-top cannot fall to the ground without his knowledge.

30th.—Yesterday, C. Wilson and son, from Point Venus, dined with us. They came to inquire for some articles for the latter, who is about to join the mission likely to proceed to the Navigator islands. In the evening, went on shore for exercise. William Henry having purchased supplies for our vessel, came on board this morning to procure sundry articles of barter goods. In the forenoon, had an opportunity of finishing a respectable woman with a Testament, *Selection of Advices*, John Woolman's *Serious Considerations*, and nine tracts on religious subjects. This female was taken into William Henry's family when a child of four years old: she is well acquainted with the English language, and has a numerous family, which she is endeavouring to bring up in a praiseworthy manner. The influence of her example of industry and notability may be traced in the different appearance of the family from that of others; and the result is strikingly obvious in the behaviour and habits of the children. She is, doubtless, the offspring of one white parent. Her husband is a native, but we have not yet seen him: they reside in the neighbourhood of Mairi Pêhe.

Yesterday morning, a native of Dundalk in Ireland, by name Murphy, lately arrived in the Peruvian, came on board. He stated that his coming here was solely for the purpose of procuring a passage to the Sandwich Islands; but that he is not suffered to remain here, for want of proper credentials, which are required of such as come to reside on shore. It is one of those cases in which we can not render any assistance, there being a decided law in this country, that prevents

strangers, under such circumstances, from coming amongst the people, and which applies to all foreigners. At the same time it is pretty evident, that a fear of his introducing the Roman Catholic religion greatly operates against him; for which it is probable there may be some ground, as he acknowledges to have been six years at a college in Ireland, training for a priest; but says he never was ordained. He is now come from the Gambier Islands, where, he says, there are six French Roman Catholic priests and one English: whatever may be the real cause of his coming here, his present situation renders him an object of pity. As attending the public places of worship here, can only be done to purpose on first-days, as it is only then that large bodies of the people are assembled; and as it is probable that I may have to see the whole population of the island before I can proceed any further; I have felt a little anxious to avail myself of these opportunities, so as not to protract the length of time we may have to remain here. In the afternoon my mind became more uneasy, and it seemed best to go on shore, and make inquiry as to the meetings to be held to-morrow; but I soon ascertained, that George Pritchard had been unexpectedly summoned to a distant district, and that notice had been generally given of this arrangement. I now found that I could not cut and contrive for myself, in my own will, way, and time; but that the Lord's time must be waited for: without His approving and sanctifying requisition, our creaturely performances, instead of procuring the blessed and joyful sentence of "well done," may only place us on the same woful level with the workers of iniquity, even though we may profess to have prophesied in His name, in His name cast out devils, and in His name done many wonderful works.

31st. First-day.—In the forenoon the decks being too damp, the crew were collected in the cabin, where we were joined by several strangers from the shore, including the family of the female who was on board yesterday, and some others. After having read the latter part of the epistle to the Hebrews, and a portion of the Psalms, we settled down into silent waiting, not aware that I should have any thing to offer. We continued to sit in this manner, deepening in solemnity; when I perceived that matter was gathering upon my mind, which, from, as it were, a mere blank, was now filling under a quickening influence, until utterance was yielded to.—"That which may be known of God is manifest in man; for God hath showed it unto him," as we are told in the epistle to the Romans;—"God hath not left himself without a witness," in

the heart of every son and daughter of the human race, however circumstanced, or wherever placed, sufficient if attended to, and co-operated with on our part, to enable us to work out our salvation with fear and trembling.—"He hath showed thee, O man, what is good, and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God." Thus was I led on step by step, until strengthened to show, I trust, that there was no occasion to look to this minister or that minister, for we all had the great Minister of the sanctuary, and of the true tabernacle which the Lord hath pitched and not man,—the only true Teacher of His people; who continues to teach as never man taught. Declaring, that this was "the grace of God that bringeth salvation," which "hath appeared unto all men, teaching us," &c.;—that it was the poor in spirit, on whom the blessing was pronounced. In this manner, having turned the attention of the company to their heavenly Teacher, to an extent not contemplated when my mouth was first opened, we again settled down into solemn silence; and my peace flowed, under a consoling belief, that my remaining on board was in the ordering of the blessed Master. I have not met with a circumstance since leaving England, more truly cheering to my mind, than to find, that the Lord hath even in this place, some of the seven thousand, that have not bowed the knee to the image of Baal. I pray that I may yet meet with many more like this dear woman:—before they went on shore, I had some interesting conversation with her.

Sixth month 3rd.—For the last three days our time has been much occupied by persons coming on board, and in attending to the exchange of some of our articles for barter, to obtain the needful supplies of fresh provisions, fruit and vegetables.

While on shore yesterday for exercise, we met with an aged native, who remembered the first coming to these islands of Captain James Cook. It was clear that he was no stranger to the circumstances of his death at Hawaii, as he himself alluded to the place. Although we had the advantage of an interpreter being with us, yet the age of this man could not be ascertained, as no record of births is instituted amongst them. In the forenoon, a judge, with whom we were previously acquainted, came on board, bringing with him the queen's mother, and a third person, to us a stranger. It evidently appeared to be one of those visits made only with a view to extort something from us in the way of present; signs were made by the female of chopping with an axe; but as I could only talk to her in English, she found there was nothing



to be got, and I did not consider it at all necessary to satisfy demands which were altogether unreasonable; and especially as I knew, that if her wishes had been complied with, numerous applications would be made by her colleagues, which would have been more difficult to refuse.

4th.—The king and his brother came on board to dinner, but did not remain long; their coming now is in a plain way, they come and go as they please: we treat them with civility, but no longer as strangers, or they us. This seems to suit their habits and inclination, which, like their bodies, are not accustomed to restraint. They paddle themselves off in a canoe, with no other clothing than check shirts, with a loose piece of blue cotton tied round the waist, and low crowned straw hats on their heads, and a broad blue ribbon round them.

5th.—This morning a respectable Spaniard came on board, whom I had seen several times when on shore. He had been an officer in the Spanish army, and was banished from his country at the last revolution in South America: he has resided here about three years, and bears a good character. He was promised a copy of the Holy Scriptures and other books in his native language: I never saw any person so much pleased and thankful at the prospect of having these books furnished him in this country. On inquiry, we found that there are three Manilla men here, one of whom was in the canoe at the time. This man read very intelligibly; and his willingness to receive any books we were disposed to give for himself and comrades, made us glad that we are in possession of such a variety in their language.

6th.—At George Pritchard's we met with John Davies, the missionary from Papara, who has been engaged here about thirty-five years; he is an intelligent elderly man. From his long residence he has acquired the greatest fund of information respecting these islands and their inhabitants, of any person we have yet met with; which he imparted in a manner to us highly interesting, and the more so, as its authenticity may be relied on. In speaking of the idols formerly in great repute here and in the neighbouring isles, he said, that when expostulating with the people, and endeavouring to convince them of the worthlessness of these wooden deities, which can neither see nor speak, nor stand, nor go; the most sensible amongst the natives would say, that they did not worship them as God; but that they served only to remind them of God, who is invisible, but in some manner connected with those images,—how, they knew not. He considered that the received opinion of

these islands having been originally peopled from South America, was altogether without foundation; indeed their having been peopled from Asia can be proved by striking facts. When traversing to the westward, the same language is invariably to be found on the islands, though, perhaps, in a variety of dialects; and this may be traced to Sumatra, Borneo, Malacca, &c.: and the same tradition as regards a deity may also be traced throughout them, more or less in degree, and varying in some particulars: but on going to the eastward, the language is less and less to be recognized, and eventually disappears altogether. The intelligent natives seem to be awakened to a confused idea of a general deluge having taken place at some time or other, from their having discovered, that upon the tops of the highest mountains in this island and others, the same marine substances are met with, as they are accustomed to find at the bottom of the sea. It has been the opinion of some, that the whole of these islands formed at one time a vast continent; but that by an unaccountable convulsion of the earth, this continent became water, except the tops of the loftiest mountains, which constitute the islands as they stand at this day.

7th, fifth-day.—Notwithstanding some information had spread that I should be gone to Papáoa, yet the state of the weather perhaps induced some to come on board about the time that we usually assemble the crew together. We had not sat long before some others arrived. The forepart of the time the children were a little restless, owing to the great heat of the place below, the deck being too wet to allow us to sit in the open air with safety; but a solemn feeling spread over our little company, and remained with us. My mind was gradually drawn into exercise, and at last I had to break through the silence with the expression,—True it is, that “God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness, is accepted with Him.”—“It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.” And, “If the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?” Also, true it is, that no man can save his brother, nor give to God a ransom for his soul: the work is our own, &c. It was one of those favoured times, of which it may be said, that the latter end surpassed the beginning, “because of the Truth.”

10th.—This morning received information that a public meeting of the principal chiefs and people of the island was about to take place, to consider the case of the supposed Roman Catholic. Although I had not been invited to a missionary conference which had

taken place on this subject, yet I felt my way more than usually opened to attend the council of the Tahitians, then about to meet. Accordingly myself and Charles hastened to the shore, and landed opposite to the building where the people were assembling. The queen with her mother and attendants were seated upon the floor, surrounded by the chiefs of seven districts. The sister of the principal chief, or king of Rarotonga, was one of the party. The business commenced with the examination of the Irish Roman Catholic; the place was now crowded with people, but the examination proceeded very slowly and unsatisfactorily; which I could not help perceiving was entirely for want of an able interpreter, who thoroughly understood the English language as well as the Tahitian. The people were restless and unsettled from this circumstance, the most part not seeming to know for what they had come together. None of the missionaries appeared willing (for sufficient reasons) to have any hand in the business; and seeing the real cause of the dilemma they had got into was still undiscovered, it seemed best for me to step forward, at a suitable moment, and state plainly to the heads of the meeting, that it was impossible for the business to proceed satisfactorily unless a competent interpreter was appointed; and turning to Captain Henry, who stood near me, I requested him to inform the chiefs what I had said. This being done, the council agreed that Captain Henry should be chosen; and he having consented, things began to move more readily forward, until the Catholic made some assertions highly injurious to the missionary cause, and offensive to the queen and all her chiefs, who felt very indignant on the occasion; and which I knew to be incorrect. There did not seem any other part for me, however unpleasant, than publicly to contradict what he had said, and to declare that some of the language he had used, had never been expressed by the person whom he was charging with having uttered it. This for a time caused considerable altercation; but having three witnesses on my side, this difficulty was soon got over, and order again restored. The examination continued, until the Catholic, unable to prove the statements he had made on first coming to Tahiti, and finding himself foiled on every side, made a hasty retreat, to all appearance not a little offended. One of the chiefs then expatiated on the case, as follows:—‘This man (meaning the Catholic) held out that he should not come to this meeting; and it is seen that he did come to the meeting. He declared that he had a letter sealed with King William’s seal, and he had no such thing: that he had a letter from the

British Ambassador at Paris, and he had no such thing; and now, by his running away, he has shown himself to be a deceiver.’ Then turning the attention of the assembly to my Charles and myself, he said, ‘On their coming amongst us, we had no occasion to ask for letters; they gave them themselves into our hands. It is known to every chief in the island there was no trouble with them, because they are not deceivers.’ He finished his speech, by proposing that such a man should never be allowed to come amongst them. After this the queen’s speech was delivered by a clear headed middle-aged chief; which concluded with a call upon all her faithful subjects to unite in never permitting this Catholic, or any other of the same profession, to come to disturb the peace and tranquillity of Tahiti. Another chief made a very animated oration, which we were informed contained a proposition, not only to banish this man for ever from their shores, but to follow him on the sea, and not allow either him or his comrades to remain so near them as the Gambier Islands, but to banish them from thence, lest the plague should come amongst them: throwing his long stick upon the floor, to describe them as trampled under foot, never again to rise.

11th.—Yesterday we went to George Pritchard’s to become acquainted with Alexander Simpson, the missionary from the island of Eimeo. He had come over to attend the meeting that had been appointed for the missionaries of all the districts, to take into consideration the arrival of the Irish Roman Catholic, above-mentioned. Alexander Simpson’s wife and daughter were with him. He seems kindly disposed to forward our views, when visiting the island upon which he resides.

14th, first-day.—In the forenoon a few strangers assembled with our own crew. In the course of the time we were together, I had a short testimony to bear to the indispensable duty of loving one another. How can we expect to be forgiven our trespasses, if we from our hearts do not forgive every man his brother their trespasses. Soon after one o’clock, P. M., George Pritchard called, accompanied by Alexander Simpson’s wife, in a whale boat, to convey Charles and myself to Papāoa. We reached in time for the meeting of the Tahitians, which consisted of a large body of the people. Throughout much of the day, and much of the time also that their religious engagements were going forward, my mind was under no small weight of exercise, and it seemed doubtful to myself whether I should have any thing to communicate or not; but towards the latter part, I only waited for a pro-



per interval of silence to stand upon my feet. George Pritchard observing this, asked whether I wished to say any thing then, or after the next singing was over: but the present moment seemed the right one; which being signified, he exhorted the meeting to stillness and attention, and waited by my side for me to begin. [D. W. then communicated what was upon his mind.] Shortly after this, the meeting broke up: when the people drew towards us, and commenced the usual ceremony of shaking hands. The queen was present; but I did not know it until afterwards. We called at her house on our way to the boat, but she was gone off on foot to Papeete.

Half-past eleven o'clock, P. M. My mind is peaceful and easy, and relieved; and the God of glory has the praise; who thus continues to bear up a poor tribulated way-worn traveller, renewing my youth as the eagle's, and as the day is, so causing my strength to be.

#### CHAPTER XXI.

*Visit to Bunaavia—native meeting—kindness of the principal chief—Point Venus—perilous situation—meeting at Point Venus—visit to Papara—beautiful scenery—school at Teahupo—meeting of the natives—letter from the native congregation—native meeting at Papara—return to the Henry Freeling—letter from the queen of Tahiti.*

Sixth month 16th.—LAST night had some conversation with George Pritchard about accompanying me to Bunaavia this afternoon. It was proposed that we should lodge at the house of David Darling, the missionary at that station, in order to attend the Tahitian worship at sun-rise to-morrow morning. We set out in a whale-boat about three o'clock, P. M., our company consisted of Alexander Simpson and George Pritchard, with some other members of the missionary families, my son Charles and myself, with four Tahitians at the oars. We had a fine passage while within the reef; but on reaching the opening which leads out into the main ocean, the rollers broke with so much violence, that some of our company were discouraged from making the attempt to force a passage through it. At length it was concluded to run the boat on shore upon a sandy beach, near some of the huts of the natives, who sallied forth in a body, and soon hauled her up beyond the reach of the surf. Our party being all landed, we proceeded on foot, and should soon have reached the mission-house, and in good day-light, but having a considerable river to encounter, the night overtook us before we

had all passed over it. This river is rapid, and of uncertain depth; and notwithstanding the bed of it is covered with loose round stones, the natives are so dexterous, that an accident but rarely occurs. A number of these people soon came to our assistance, and the company were all landed safely on the other side. Soon after dark we reached the hospitable mansion of David Darling, and were received with great kindness by his wife and family; himself being from home among the Marquesan Islands, whither he had gone to assist in establishing a missionary. At this place we found the wife and three children of J. M. Osmond, the missionary at the Tairapu station. They had been tossing about for a considerable time in a clumsy boat of their own, not at all likely soon to reach their abode, unless the wind should blow from a direction seldom witnessed at this season of the year. Being rather unwell in the evening, and having passed an almost sleepless night, I felt in poor condition when it was time to get ready to attend the sun-rise meeting of the Tahitians, on the morning of the 17th instant. A large number of the people collected together, and when the usual service of their own was gone through, I stood up, and George Pritchard interpreted for me, as at other times.

The principal burden that rested upon my mind, was to turn the attention of the people to the light of Christ Jesus in their own hearts, that their conversation might be such as becometh His gospel. I had to tell them, that although I did not understand their language, yet I was fearful for them, seeing that for every idle word a man shall speak, he must give an account in the day of judgment; for by our words we shall be justified, and by our words we shall be condemned: believing, and declaring this belief, that a very loose and wanton conversation was a besetting sin amongst them. I had to remind them of the superior advantages bestowed upon these islands, over many others of this part of the habitable globe, by the introduction of Christianity amongst them. Had they obeyed the gospel, the effect of the evil introduced amongst them by distant nations, would have been prevented. That the Lord is looking for fruit; and "the earth which drinketh in the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them by whom it is dressed, receiveth blessing from God: but that which beareth briars and thorns is rejected, and is nigh unto cursing, whose end is to be burned:" that the desire of my soul was, that the lamentation once taken up by the Saviour of the world, might never be applicable to them as a people:—"O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, &c., how often would I

have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings; and ye would not!" That the love of God had overshadowed these islands in an eminent degree; and I never heard of an instance where the Lord in matchless mercy, was pleased to send any of his servants amongst a people, but that his love was still towards that people. That Christ Jesus had been often preached to them, but they had not obeyed His gospel: they must repent and obey; and the way to repent and obey, is to fear God, and give glory to Him. That it is the same gospel now, as was proclaimed by the angel, which John saw flying through the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto every nation and kindred, and tongue and people; saying with a loud voice, "fear God and give glory to him; for the hour of his judgment is come: and worship him that made heaven and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters." Desiring that they might be sensible of that day when the Lord's judgment is come upon all that is of a sinful and transgressing nature; that so they might indeed fear Him, and in thought, word, and deed, give glory unto Him; and thus be prepared to worship Him in spirit and in truth; for it is such the Father seeketh to worship Him. That "God who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts," and to this saving light I wished to turn them. The people were generally very attentive, and a solemn covering was permitted to prevail over us. On rising from our seats, they gathered around us in the usual way. Being previously acquainted with Utami, a principal chief in that neighbourhood, we met like old friends, who knew and loved each other, if his love for me was the same as I felt for him. We got out into the air as soon as we well could, in order to escape some of the usual greetings,—not feeling in a condition, from weakness and exhaustion, to accept of all the kindness intended by these people. It is indeed worthy of humble gratitude and thankfulness, to witness how my gracious Lord, from time to time, has opened the way for me amongst the missionaries.

The printing-office is established at this place: we looked into it, but as the principal conductor of this work, David Darling, was absent, the press was standing still. The organization of the language, so as to admit the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the native tongue, is a work, the importance of which cannot be duly estimated nor conceived, as to the happy result, under the Divine blessing, that is in store for generations yet unborn; any more than the extent can be defined to which they may be permitted to

circulate and diffuse revealed truth in the language of holy inspiration. This work now considered to be near its completion, has been the labour of many years, in a climate wasting to the constitution of every European, being oppressively relaxing from the heat. Henry Nott has been a very laborious servant in this cause, without any regard to the many hardships and privations which the earliest settlers had particularly to encounter, and in which he deeply shared; his constitution is now sinking from long residence, and the effects of close sedentary application: who can doubt for a moment the devotedness of such a man.

Whilst here, we were waited upon by Utami, in the capacity of chief, to request permission to feed us, as they term furnishing strangers with a supply of food; which with them is considered the greatest respect that can be shown to a stranger: but we were compelled to decline their kind attention, as the materials could not be procured from the different parts of the district before the morrow, and we were bound to return to the Henry Freeling that night, if practicable, as the chronometers from being locked up in our cabin, could not be wound up until we returned on board again. The quantity of food usually furnished at such times, is quite preposterous; consisting of a hog, fowls, fish, plantains, bananas, &c., with a quantity of cocoa-nuts, and if hinted at, there is little doubt that a dog would be prepared, according to the ancient custom of the island. As the chief Utami has undertaken to repair a building for a school, I agreed to furnish a few pounds of nails, and a lock for the door, for his encouragement in this useful work. In the course of the day, our boat was brought from the place where we landed the preceding evening; and after taking leave of this family, we again re-embarked, and in a short time got safely through the most dangerous pass in the reef into smooth water, and reached the Bay of Papeete before dark, not a little fatigued, and in much poverty of spirit, and unable to write for want of sleep.

19th.—Principally employed on board.—Consulted in the forenoon with Samuel Wilson on the best mode of visiting the district of Point Venus, where his father resides, and that of Tiarei, the residence of William Henry. In the afternoon we went on shore for exercise until dark. Samuel Wilson, with whose plainness and simplicity we were much gratified, has kindly offered to accompany us to the distant districts as interpreter.

20th.—George Pritchard came on board in the forenoon, and assisted in arranging a plan for accomplishing our visit to the remaining



and most distant districts upon the island of Tahiti. It was concluded best for us to set off this afternoon towards Tiarei. As the wind blew fresh, about sun-set was considered the proper time to proceed as far as Point Venus, presuming the strength of the wind would lessen as the evening approached. It was proposed that we should remain at Point Venus until two o'clock in the morning, and then push forward so as to reach Tiarei about day-break, before the trade wind set in, which is mostly pretty strong, and generally from the quarter to which we were bending our course. All things being ready, we left the Henry Freeling soon after four o'clock, the wind having materially lessened by the fall of some rain, and it still continued to get lighter as we proceeded. As there was every indication of clear and serene weather long before reaching the first place of intended destination, it was suggested by our native boat's crew, that we should not make much stay there, but push forward while the wind and sea were gentle. The principal motive for wishing to stop by the way at all, was to lessen the fatigue of these men by dividing the journey into two parts, so that they might rest between them: but they were well aware that the whole distance could be performed at once in calm weather, with much more ease than if divided and time given for rest, if the wind and sea should rise against them, although but in a moderate degree. Just before dark we landed upon the shore of Point Venus, the place from whence the celebrated navigator Captain James Cook, observed the transit of the planet Venus on the disk of the sun. Opposite that part of the coast of Tahiti, which we had next to traverse, there is no sheltering coral-reef for its protection; so that the remainder of our journey was exposed to the whole beat of the Pacific Ocean, and can only be performed when the weather is moderate.

Having with us Samuel Wilson, we were readily conducted to the habitation of his father, Charles Wilson, the resident missionary at this station, and were kindly entertained by the family. As the passage round Point Venus is very intricate, and the water particularly shoal, the boat was taken round to the other side, while we were partaking of some refreshment: we lost no time in preparing again to embark. The crew met us with a native torch, made of the dry branching leaves of the cocoa-nut tree; which with our own lantern, lighted the intricate narrow path among the bushes, and was particularly useful at the sea-side, the night being now very dark. As the night advanced, we were helped by a gentle land breeze, so that the labour of the oars was a little diminished. There was

an experienced elderly native employed at the stern-oar of our whale-boat, whose course seemed to be principally directed by the white tops of the rolling surf, as it broke upon the coast, near to which he mostly kept. Off one rocky point of land it became needful to turn with a wide sweep towards the offing, to escape a projecting ridge of rocks, the outermost extremity of which was defined by the termination of breakers. By ten o'clock, P. M., it was declared that we were abreast of Tiarei; but the night was so dark, that the narrow entrance through the reef to it could not be distinguished even by the eagle-eyed Tahitians. The boat's mast was struck, and one of the natives stationed in the front with Samuel Wilson, to look out; and her head being turned shorewards, we edged gently down towards the foaming breakers, which were bursting on the rocky strand with thundering noise. As the rowing had now altogether ceased, the boat drifted only at the rate at which the swell of the sea hove her along; a measure highly prudent, until the dangerous pass we had to go through was clearly ascertained; as was afterwards sufficiently demonstrated, though at the moment such tardy proceeding might seem to protract the term of suspense. Having silently proceeded for some time in this way, and from the increasing roar of the restless waters, evidently drawing nearer and nearer to the margin of the crags, on a sudden there were symptoms of alarm, which could not be mistaken, on the part of the boat's crew; who now perceived that we had missed the only entrance that afforded a passage to the shore, and from our present position, a large lump of rock was in the way to the mouth of the channel, which the boat could not possibly escape. Our poor Tahitians immediately jumped into the sea, and did all they could to save the boat from being dashed to pieces; but they could not prevent her from striking. She however only struck once, and lay quiet, the wave having so far receded, that she did not float enough to beat, and the next roller that came in, carried her completely over the obstruction. But it was difficult for some time to ascertain whether the worst was now over or not; for our men began to howl and shout, the meaning of which we could not comprehend: it afterwards appeared, that this was done to rouse the sleeping natives on the shore; who, well understanding this yell, shortly came running with lighted torches to our assistance, and a few minutes placed us once more upon *terra firma*. As the boat could not get close in, one of these men very soon had me upon his back, to prevent my getting wet: Samuel Wilson and my son Charles were landed in the same way.

The journey altogether had been more speedy, and in many respects more favourable than is often witnessed, until we came to the last pinch, when the never-failing arm of Almighty power was again displayed in the needful time for our relief. As we were strangers to the language of the people, and could render them no assistance whatever, any attempt to direct their efforts must only have increased the general confusion; we therefore sat silent beholders of what was going forward, committing ourselves to Him, who saw our perilous situation through the darkened gloom, and did not suffer the briny waters to prevail against us; but in love and mercy and compassion, stretched forth his hand to save. As to myself I may say, my heart was fixed, trusting in the Lord, whose loving-kindness is better than life. He was with us of a truth, in fulfilment of his gracious promise, and we were not confounded. I desire to record this signal favour with humble thankfulness and reverence, to His praise and to His glory. We soon reached the mission-house where William Henry resides, to whom we were all personally known; by whom and his wife we were kindly accommodated for the night, although, from their secluded situation, but little in the way of receiving strangers, and at an hour so unseasonable that they could not have had the least idea of our coming. Much sleep could not be obtained, but we passed the night in quietness, and felt refreshed at rising.

Tiarei, 21st.—Previously to the commencement of the Tahitian worship at nine o'clock in the morning, our time was pretty fully occupied with the family devotion and taking breakfast; after which we repaired to the meeting house, it being agreed that Samuel Wilson was to stand as interpreter if I should have any thing to speak to the people. This was a relief to William Henry, and also to myself, as he had quite as much to go through as his strength was equal to, he being far advanced in years. After William Henry had shown us to a seat, he went into the pulpit, Samuel Wilson remaining not far from us. The difference in appearance and in the general deportment of the people, at this distance from the contaminating effects of the shipping, was discernible throughout the greater part of the congregation, which was large. Being comforted by the sensible presence of the great Master, my mind was strengthened in an unusual manner; but not until after a season of humiliating conflict had been passed through; in order, I believe, that the excellency of the power might be felt and known, and acknowledged, to be of God and not of us, nor of any thing that we can command or call our own. When the usual engagements of the meeting

were gone through, I stood up, and beckoned to Samuel Wilson to draw nearer to me. We went into a position a little more central, near the table; and under a solemn covering, after a short interval of silence, I said:—"I am fully persuaded in my own mind, that you, my beloved people, will suffer a few words from a stranger, who is with you in the fear, and in the love, and I may add, in the will of God, and not in my own; and therefore I stand amongst you with innocent boldness, because I seek not yours, but you; that immortal part in you which must sooner or later have a being in endless felicity or in endless misery." Declaring unto them, that 'there is no alteration in the Christian course; the warfare is continual, and can only be maintained and accomplished with burning and fuel of fire,—by the cleansing operation of that burning, which the spirit of judgment produces, and that unquenchable fire of the Lord, which consumeth the chaffy and transgressing nature in our hearts; and if submitted to, would prepare and purify us (even as He is pure) for a kingdom, consisting not in meats and drinks, but in righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost;—a kingdom, where nothing that is unclean, nothing that is impure, nothing that worketh an abomination, or that maketh a lie, can ever enter. Whilst I have been sitting with you, my heart has been filled with the love of God towards you; raising in it a fervent desire, that every individual, from the least to the greatest, might be numbered among the ransomed and redeemed of the Lord; who shall return and come to Sion with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads, from whom "sorrow and sighing shall flee away." But I had to tell them, that a great and individual work must be accomplished before these gracious and prophetic promises are realized. The indignation of the Lord must be patiently borne for sin and for transgression; until He should arise and plead their cause, and execute judgment for them, and in his own time say—it is enough; and bring them forth to the light, even the light of Christ Jesus, in whom they will then behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world. This light shineth in every heart, and is the true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world; in which only the righteousness of Christ Jesus is witnessed to be brought forth and beheld. When the precious blood of Christ was shed for the sins of all mankind, He ascended up on high; He led captivity captive, and received gifts for men, even for the rebellious also; that the Lord God might dwell among them, even among sinners, such as themselves and me. That a measure or ma-



nifestation of the gift of the Holy Spirit is given to every man to profit withal; and well will it be for those who are profiting thereby, and faithfully occupying therewith. I then had to remind them of the great things which the Lord had done for them: that the gospel sound had long been heard in their land; that many parts of the Holy Scriptures had been translated into their native tongue, which directed them to the Saviour,—to the Word, which was in the beginning, which was with God, and was God. After enlarging further, although I think what I have stated are the principal heads that were touched upon, I sat down poor and empty; yet satisfied with favour, and full with the blessing of the Lord. Instead of the congregation beginning to separate immediately in a hasty manner, as we have sometimes witnessed, even the dear children kept their seats, with the whole of the company; a delightful pause ensued, which was short, but crowned with that solemnity not at our command; during which I humbly trust the thanksgiving of many redounded to the glory of God. Silence was at last broken by one of the chiefs expressing, on behalf of the assembly and himself, their thankfulness and satisfaction, and how welcome my visit had been to them; because, he said, ‘You have preached to us the everlasting gospel, and have shown to us the propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of mankind, Christ Jesus;’ with something further, which when interpreted, I was fearful attached too much to the creature; and I requested Samuel Wilson to tell them not to look to the creature, but to their Creator. The whole of the people still continued together, about eight hundred persons, and seemed as if they knew not how to begin to separate, until some person proposed their shaking hands with us, which immediately commenced, and exceeded all we had before met with.

On our return, the difficulty of passing through the reef was trifling and insignificant; the light of day had dispelled all our fears and its terrors: we could now see what we were about to encounter. In a few minutes we were clear of the breakers,—and spreading our sail, directed our course towards Point Venus; where we arrived in something less than two hours, the wind having kept on the increase the whole of the way; and having a fine lively whale-boat that could run from the swell, there was no danger to apprehend, so long as it continued to follow her. We were soon ready to go to meeting, but a very different scene awaited us, for instead of another feast of heavenly dainties, the Bridegroom was taken away, and a fast was proclaimed;—“then shall they fast

in those days.” It was a time altogether the most discouraging that had yet befallen us. The continual talking and light behaviour of a large portion of the people were truly painful, although several attempts were made to restore order amongst them; and the sound of some sharp strokes of the long sticks, by the agents employed to keep order, was distinctly heard amongst the younger people. I requested Samuel Wilson to say, that although I had brought nothing with me, a little matter had arisen which I did not wish to take away. The attention of the people being somewhat arrested, I proceeded with—“Be not deceived; God is not mocked; for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap. For he that soweth to his flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting.”—“The Lord is good unto them who wait for Him, to the soul that seeketh Him;” and eternal life is the reward of all those, “who, by patient continuance in well doing, seek for glory, honour, and immortality; but unto those who are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile; but glory, honour, and peace to every man that worketh good.” I then had to turn their attention to the sure and only foundation, Christ Jesus; and to the necessity of their believing in his inward and spiritual appearance in their hearts: that without faith it is impossible to please God; pointing to the holy author and blessed finisher thereof, from whom alone it is to be derived. Without they live by this faith of the Son of God, who loved them, and gave himself for them, all their profession of religion is vain. With some further additions, I sat down; and the meeting soon after closed. We called at the house to bid the family farewell, and immediately put off for the Bay of Papeete. We should have reached the Henry Freeling by dark; but having lost our pilot and interpreter, Samuel Wilson, who remained at home at Point Venus, we were twice entangled in the mazy reef, and forced to row back again each time to get clear of it.

23rd.—To-day employed in arranging matters to enable us to set out again for the Taia-rapu journey, to visit the district where J. M. Osmond resides.

24th.—A whale-boat having been procured last evening, we proceeded after an early breakfast to George Pritchard’s; and from thence accompanied by our kind friend Samuel Wilson, set forward towards Papara. We reached Bunaauia in good time, and were again hospitably received by David Darling’s

family at the mission-house, he himself being still from home. After resting our crew more than an hour, we were again seated in the boat, fearful of wasting time; as the difficulty in some parts of the passage, going out and in between the reefs, on account of the currents which prevail, renders daylight indispensable in passing through them. We landed at a place where a large English barque had been broken up. Here we met with three Englishmen, employed in preparing to build a new vessel, with part of the materials selected from the old one. These poor men seemed to be left in a very destitute and neglected situation; and it is to be feared, were strangers to the great work yet to be accomplished for the salvation of their immortal souls, if not altogether unconcerned about it. A parcel of tracts was left for their perusal, which was promised by one of them. We reached Papara before sun-set, and on landing were met by Tati, with whom I was previously acquainted. This man is considered to be the greatest orator upon the islands, and one of the few who stand as champions for the general welfare of their country. After little more had passed than the salutations customary among the islanders, the natives began to flock round us as we stood upon the beach, when an interesting conversation took place in their hearing. Tati began by saying, that the peace and harmony which now prevailed, were the result of the gospel having come among them. I replied, that wherever the spirit of the gospel breathes, there must be peace; reminding him of the angelic chorus, that ushered in this glorious dispensation,—“Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will towards men.” He said, that the wars which formerly were continually breaking out and depopulating the country, had nearly altogether ceased since the gospel had been brought to them by the missionaries. On this I queried, ‘but did you not hear the sound of the gospel, before the missionaries came among you? I believe you did; and that many of you were sensible when you committed evil, and were stung with remorse for it; and also that a feeling of peace had been witnessed when a virtuous action had been done. Have you not been sensible of this?’ He replied, they knew it was necessary to offer sacrifices frequently for sin, to appease the wrath of an offended Deity. This, I told him, that had disquieted them for sin and transgression, though at the time they had not known what it was, was that gospel which had been preached in and unto every creature under heaven. After this, Tati invited us to his house, and refreshed us with the milk of the cocoa-nut. He said, that although many improvements had been intro-

duced by foreigners coming amongst them; yet we might perceive they still retained many of their old habits and customs, alluding to their domestic arrangements, squatting upon the floor, &c. The house exhibited more of an air of comfort and industry than any we had before seen:—native cloth, fishing-nets, &c., of their own manufacture were lying about. The approach of night occasioned us to hasten to the house of John Davies, a native of Montgomeryshire, one of the oldest missionaries upon the island, where we were kindly received and entertained.

25th.—Rising by the break of day, and partaking of an early breakfast, we departed, as soon as the family devotion was over, for Tairapu, the south-eastern extremity of the island. By the way we landed at Mairi Péhe and visited Samuel Henry and family; he is commonly styled Captain Henry, from having been several years the commander of a vessel: he is the son of William Henry, the missionary at Tiarei. Here the whole process of making sugar was going forward, from pressing the juice out of the cane by rollers, and all the different stages that it passes through, until reduced to the granulated state fit for use. The sun was high setting when we reached the missionary station to which we were destined; but the beauty and various scenery of this part of the island, served to enliven the last hour of a long day’s exposure to the sun, and to quiet in some degree the sensations of hunger and weariness, by which we had long been assailed. The stupendous mountains, however steep and rugged, were clothed in the richest and fullest manner, with every kind of fruit and forest-tree which flourish in these tropical climates, where perpetual summer reigns; their luxuriance only now and then interrupted by falls of water hurrying down the steep declivities in beautiful cascades to the vales beneath: but the noise of these numerous cataracts is at once overpowered and lost in the roar of the mighty Pacific, whose waves incessantly thunder in endless succession upon the shores and reefs of Tahiti. The rattle of our oars on the ocean’s glassy surface as we approached near the shore, soon drew forth the natives, with the missionary, John Muggeridge Osmond, who were ready to welcome and assist the strangers at their landing. We had before become acquainted with the wife of J. M. Osmond at Bunaauia; this, together with the hearty reception now given us by her husband, produced feelings somewhat like those experienced on reaching a home; we were favoured to feel refreshed and well the next morning.

26th.—We went to look at the children who had assembled for school at sun-rising,



with a considerable number of adults of both sexes. Every thing here looked clean and comfortable, as if under diligent care and superintendence, as did the different buildings, the whole being in a respectable state of repair. Being aware that the children would be gratified by notice being taken of them, I shook hands with every individual, both young and old, that was collected. Whilst here, the people present exceedingly urged our staying with them over the next sabbath-day: but as my engagements were such as could not be altered, and would prevent my consistently complying with their request, I asked J. M. Osmond to interpret my answer; and to tell them, that as the whole congregation was to meet me in the afternoon, I trusted that the divine presence would be with us, and if so, we should be satisfied with favour, and filled with the heavenly blessing of the Lord. In returning from the school, we had to pass through a long train of provisions, which the natives had provided in readiness to present to us, and which, through the medium of J. M. Osmond, we were informed were intended for our food and refreshment. Although this provision was as unnecessary as it was undesired, I felt sensible of the kindness and goodwill of the people toward us, with which, at my request, they were made acquainted. The quantity of food thus furnished was enormous, sufficient probably to have sunk our boat, if it could have been taken into her. Besides large quantities of the mountain plantain, and a variety of other vegetables and fruits, there were several fowls; and I observed among them a black pig tethered. The native boat's crew, which had brought us from Papeete, fared sumptuously for two days on the occasion; and I believe the major part was consumed or carried off by them, as is customary and expected at such times.

At four o'clock, P. M., the people assembled in the meeting house; where I had full opportunity to clear my mind towards them. The district on this peninsula being quite distinct from those on the other, it was needful that my certificates should be read, as none of the people could have previously heard them. They were read accordingly, with ample explanation, by J. M. Osmond, before I stood on my feet. The people were turned to the light of Christ Jesus in their own hearts. They were told that their being members of an outward and visible church, would not avail them in the great and awful day of account: that they must be members of the true gospel church, the church triumphant, whose names are written in heaven; and unless this was attained whilst here, it would be too late, for it cannot be done hereafter: there is no

work nor device in the grave, &c. Showing them how the primitive believers, through the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than that of Abel, attained to it in their day; and that it is equally attainable at this day, through the purifying operations of the Holy Spirit. I urged and encouraged them to persevere in this great and important work, earnestly desiring that they might not rest satisfied with an empty profession; but that they might come into possession of the inestimable pearl, the pearl of great price, the truth as it is in Jesus. It was indeed a solid and solemn opportunity, and one of those which I afterwards learned left the people hungering, I trust, for heavenly bread; whilst to myself it was productive of that soul-enriching peace, which can only be purchased by sharing in the blessed Master's cup of sufferings, of which I had drank, and under which I had been heavily bowed down during the afternoon, before going to the meeting, and there also. And now how can I sufficiently acknowledge and declare the condescending mercy and loving-kindness of my gracious Lord God, who in a particular manner was pleased to warm the hearts of these dear people with his life-giving presence; which made it an occasion truly memorable, and caused many of them to rejoice and abound with thanksgiving to his praise and to his glory. The same evening the deacons of the church, Tetohi and and Puna by name, came to J. M. Osmond's house, and being seated with us, one of them produced a letter, written on behalf of the congregation at Teahu-poo; which, being directed to myself, I opened; it was found to contain the address that follows, as literally translated by Samuel Wilson.

'Tea-hu-poo, 26th of June, 1835.

'Dear friends,

'The ministers, with the brethren and sisters in London.

'Peace be unto you, in the true God Jehovah, and in Jesus Christ his Son, who came into the world to save sinful men: we indeed are sinful men. Here is Daniel Wheeler amongst us; and he has made known unto us all the good words of Jesus Christ. And comfort has grown in our hearts; and great pleasure has been to us from his words, concerning the words of Jesus the Messiah.

'It was indeed very great pleasure in his saying to us, Jesus is the pearl of great price: it is a pearl good within and good without. And many have been the good words that he has spoken to us. Now indeed we know assuredly he has true love to the brethren and sisters in all places where the things of Jesus are held. In that love he has come amongst

us: and indeed our love is grown towards him and his son, in their making known on their way the things of Jesus, and in their visit of love to all the brethren, and inviting all to enter in to Jesus the Messiah.

‘Signed on behalf of the church. PUNA.’

At the breaking up of the meeting in the afternoon, I told J. M. Osmond, that I felt so much love to these people, I thought I should see them again; when he proposed to meet me at the out-station on the other side of the peninsula next first-day but one; where he said he would collect the whole of the people from this place, and from the two other stations. I could not speak decisively at the moment, though expectation was given that it might probably be so. Since this conversation I have recollected, that on leaving Tiarei last first-day, we were told that the people from an out-station of that district had just arrived, in expectation that we should be again at the meeting in the afternoon. It seems right for me to go to the out-station on the other side of the peninsula, called Tautira; and I find, on inquiry, that the Tiarei out-station can be visited at the same time; but that it will require fine weather and a smooth sea to effect it. It must, however, be left for the present with Him, who knows the thoughts of all our hearts; before whom I desire to stand in humble resignation and willingness to go or to stay, as seemeth Him good. The two men who came with the letter before-mentioned, (Tetohi and Puna) remained with us until near midnight; and I think it may be said, that by the breaking of bread our spiritual eyes were opened to perceive, that the great Master was there in marvellous condescension and mercy to bless the opportunity. It was indeed a heavenly banquet: and some of us who had lain many days in the grave, were now, like Lazarus, permitted to sit at the table with their Lord. I was reminded of the passover, and was constrained to declare amongst them, ‘This is the true supper—this is the sacrament indeed, as you call it:’ it could not be denied, for the Lord’s power was over all. One of those present observed more than once, ‘This is what is so much wanting amongst us—spiritual religion: this is what is so much wanting.’ [D. W. then proceeds]—Hearken to the invitation of the Bridegroom of souls, held forth in the language of holy inspiration: “Eat, O! friends; drink, yea, drink abundantly, O! beloved.” Sweet is his voice, and his countenance comely. Let us hearken that so we may be favoured to hear it. Let us wait for it with our lamps trimmed, and our lights burning; with girded loins, like men that are waiting indeed

for the coming of their Lord; for sweet is his voice, even the voice of Him, the same and no other, who said, “Behold I stand at the door and knock; if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me.” Then let us hearken, so that we may hear; and be ready to open the doors of our hearts, that the King of Glory may come in. Blessed and happy are they that hear and obey; they share in the highest, greatest, and richest heavenly favour bestowed on earth, by the quickening Spirit of the Lord from heaven, upon poor, frail, mortal dust. These “behold the King in his beauty,” and cannot refrain from declaring to others, that sweet is His voice, and His countenance comely.

27th.—Rose early, and after breakfast took leave of the family, and embarked forthwith for Papara. We reached Mairi Pêhe, (about forty miles,) before two o’clock, P. M.; Samuel Henry rode on horseback to the Mairi, whilst we pushed on in the boat, intending to meet together on the spot. This Mairi was, during the days of idolatry, considered the most sacred place upon the island: it is spoken of by Captain James Cook, who visited it when in its full splendour. At present it appears to be nothing more than a stupendous heap of stones, almost hidden with bushes and trees that have grown over it and the neighbourhood of it; where formerly human sacrifices were plentifully offered. Parting with Samuel Henry, we continued our course to Papara, and passed through the opening of the reef with a strong current, before the sun went down. At this place the boys were amusing themselves in the surf, by lying at full length on their backs upon boards, and letting the rolling, curling breakers whirl them precipitately down the liquid slope to the gulf below. Some of the boys best acquainted with this slippery sport, by watching the proper moment to launch forth, were hurled with great velocity to considerable distances, without being dislodged from their boards; while the unskilful would be impetuously rolled over by the curling wave, and for a time altogether hidden in the foam below. We were received with kindness by the ancient missionary John Davies, at whose house we passed the night.

28th, first-day.—At nine o’clock, A. M., the Tahitian worship commenced. John Davies had previously told me, that if I should have any thing to speak to the people, he himself would interpret for me. When the customary service was gone through, and he came down from his pulpit, I rose and stood near him. [When the attention of the people was attracted, and stillness prevailed, D. W. communicated what was upon his mind; he adds,]



notwithstanding there was reason to apprehend that many would be able to collect but a small part of what was said, on account of the feeble state of the interpreter, yet it was so evident that the divine presence and power reigned over all, that I had to appeal to the people as witnesses to the solemnizing influence with which we were favoured. I trust the Lord alone was exalted this day and magnified; and the people turned to their true teacher, Christ Jesus; whose name shall be great in every nation, from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same. What might be the feelings of others on this occasion, I am not aware; it was to myself a highly favoured, precious season, the sense and remembrance of which is relieving, and still abiding: and although some days have now passed away since this event took place, it yet raises in my heart a tribute of thanksgiving, and a song of praise to my great, and bountiful, and ever merciful Creator and Preserver.

One part of the return journey from Papara, was attended with considerable risk, by a violent current, occasioned by some alteration which had occurred in the wind, driving immense bodies of water from the ocean through the open parts of the reef, causing broken water in every direction; through the midst of which we were compelled to pass, surrounded by innumerable spires and stones of coral rock which presented themselves in every direction; and through the narrow winding intricacies of which, we were sometimes whirled in a frightful manner: we were however safely conducted through them all without any disaster; although the Tahitians were thrown into confusion, which added materially to the risk we were encountering, by their hastily rising from their seats.

We stayed a short time at the house of David Darling, and then proceeded with a fresh and favourable wind towards Papeete, where we were favoured to reach the *Henry Freeling*, about an hour after dark, and to find all well on board.

30th.—Yesterday employed on board most of the day. In the evening wrote late to bring up my Journal. To-day still looking forward towards the *Tautira* journey; and I shall be thankful to feel clearness and strength from my heavenly Father, whether by staying or going.

[Literal translation, by Samuel Wilson of Point Venus, of a letter, received this day, from the Queen, in which she remits the port dues on the *Henry Freeling*.]

‘Tahiti, 30th of June, 1835.

‘I do away with the money for the anchoring of the vessel. This is the reason why I

do away with it, because thine is a visit of love, and not a trading voyage. If it was a trading voyage, it would not be done away with: I would still demand the money for the anchoring: but because thine is a visit of love, I have not therefore demanded the money.

(Signed) ‘POMARE V.’

‘Health to thee and thy son in your (two) voyaging.’

‘Na Daniella Wira.’

## CHAPTER XXII.

*Set out for Tautira—a native ‘feeding’—meetings at Tautira—visit to Hitea—return to the Henry Freeling—obstructions to the progress of religion—visit to the queen—meeting for the white residents on board the Henry Freeling—letters from home—distribution of books.*

1st of seventh month.—IN the forenoon busily employed in preparing packages to send to the stations of Papara and Taiaapu, to make some amends for the trouble our late journey had occasioned. The eldest son of Tati, the principal chief at Papara, came on board to dinner. His behaviour throughout would have done credit to a people much farther advanced in civilization than the Tahitians. Before going away he was furnished with a razor, a pair of strong scissors, a pocket-knife, and a pen-knife for his father; and also with articles of the same description for himself, and a work-bag for the wives of both parties. Before he left us, George Pritchard came on board to bid us farewell, as the vessel in which he was about to sail was getting under weigh. He was going to visit the missions at the Leeward Islands, forming the Society group; intending afterwards to proceed to the Marquesas, to see the state of things there, and to bring back David Darling, who went thither several months ago to establish the missionaries, Stalworthy and Rongerson, on those islands. Got on shore for exercise towards the cool of the day.

2nd.—Prepared ourselves, expecting that we should have to be in readiness to proceed on our way towards Tautira, either late this evening, or at a very early hour to-morrow morning, so that we might have a few hours to spare to contend with the wind, if it should prove too strongly opposed to us. A whale-boat and a crew of Tahitians were accordingly provided for our journey. After our interpreter, Samuel Wilson, came on board, we were soon convinced of the propriety of moving forward this afternoon, in order to make sure of the object before us, as much as lay in our power. With exertion we got off at half-past four o’clock, and were scarcely seated in the

boat, when it was discovered, that the wind which had blown favourably all the day, was now changed against us. The men had a heavy pull up to Point Venus, (of late years called Matavai,) where we landed, and drank tea at Charles Wilson's. There was a little delay at the sea-side, while our men finished their vegetable meal; we then set forward again; but the wind continuing fresh against us, it was eleven o'clock at night before it was reported that we were abreast of the narrow entrance to Tiarei; and the moon which had shone beautifully all the evening, was now sunk behind the island, just at a moment when most needed to light us through the difficult opening in the reef. But having witnessed before-time the danger of missing the passage in the dark, and seeing the great utility of timely rousing the sleeping natives, I did not fail to urge this precaution being adopted, as soon as we began to steer shorewards. As we drew near the breakers, the crew shouted and yelled in true native character, until answered by one of the people on the shore, who was presently seen running with a lighted torch in his hand, and soon took up his station directly opposite the narrow pass through the reef. On nearing the coast, it was found that we were only a few yards to the eastward of it, and sufficiently distant to allow of the boat's head being turned in a fair direction, without touching the rock. A few surges hove us through this little gulf into smooth water; and the crew taking us upon their backs, soon placed their burden upon the sandy beach, beyond the reach of the agitated waters.

Upon arriving at the ancient missionary's dwelling, it was ascertained that the family were all asleep; and, however undesirable, there was no alternative but that of disturbing them, to afford us shelter for a few hours, as the boat's crew were too much exhausted, by having had so long to contend against both the wind and the swell of the sea, to proceed further without rest. William Henry himself soon gave us a hearty welcome, and allowed us to set out in the morning as early as we thought proper, without waiting for breakfast.

3rd.—Rising before day, we departed without seeing any of the inmates of the house, and continued our course towards Tautira. As the morning advanced, the wind freshened against us, and before noon was so much increased, that it was concluded best to run in the boat at the first aperture that the coral clad shore should present for our relief; and just at the moment when the united strength of the men was scarcely able to impel her forward, we found ourselves opposite to a narrow passage, but sufficiently wide, with skilful manage-

ment, to admit of our entering it with safety; and a native from the nearest hut placed himself as a beacon for our guide. On landing, the boat was immediately hauled up to secure her from the invasion of the breaking surf. From hence it seemed best to despatch a letter by a messenger to our friend J. M. Osmond, at Tautira, to say that we had arrived at this point, and were only waiting for the force of the wind to lessen, when it was our intention to proceed, so as to reach the place of destination as early as might be, that evening; which would allow the whole of next day, (seventh,) for the information to spread, in the hope that the meeting-house would be filled with people the next morning.

Having had but little to refresh us since leaving Point Venus the preceding evening, two o'clock the next afternoon was rather a late breakfast hour; the resident natives had, however, lost no time in preparing some food for us. After our arrival, they killed and roasted whole a good sized pig upon hot stones, covered over with leaves and then wood ashes, with bread-fruit, tarro, and the mountain plantain. When this 'feeding,' as they term it, was ready, and the floor covered over to a considerable extent with the large leaves of the purau-tree, it was presented to us in a formal manner, with a bundle of the island cloth, made from the beaten bark of the bread-fruit-tree, according to the custom of the country. The company then sat down upon the floor, consisting of Samuel Wilson, Charles and myself; with the boat's crew close to us, but according to usage, forming a distinct party. We had a solemn pause before beginning to dine, and all remained still until this was over. One of our men, who had acted the part of cook, cut up the pig, using a knife with one hand, and holding the victim with the other: when the carver had separated the pig into a variety of shapeless lumps, he threw some of them to us, and the rest to his comrades, and the whole was pretty soon out of sight. The milk of fresh-pulled young cocoa-nuts furnished our drink; and salt-water, in calabashes, fresh from the Pacific to dip the food in, was used instead of salt: this we found to be an excellent substitute. When nearly ready to depart, about six yards of a piece of cotton handkerchiefs was given to the man who had charge of the premises during the absence of the owner. It may be said that we dined in public, as the place was pretty well crowded with lookers on, principally women and children.

We got nicely out of the creek, and the wind, now much lower, although still opposing, allowed us to proceed with less difficulty. The day was nearly closing when we reached



Tautira, situate at almost the easternmost end of the island; it is a straggling village, about ten miles distant from Tea-hu-poo, where we had been the preceding week; the whole belonging to the district under J. M. Osmond's care. On approaching the mouth of the river, this active missionary was discovered in waiting to welcome our arrival. He conducted us to the residence (when here) of the queen, at which place we remained during our stay in the neighbourhood. In a short time after reaching these premises our attention was awakened by the voice of a person speaking aloud, in as high a tone as could be well imagined. This man, we were told, was the queen's speaker, who was come in her name, that of the church, and of the whole of the inhabitants, to welcome us to Tautira. On going to him at the door, he delivered a sort of congratulatory address, which happily was soon over, as he spoke so loud as to make it painful to our ears. After partaking of some refreshment, in true Tahitian style, the deacons and some others of the congregation assembled in the room, and one of them read a portion of Scripture, and prayed at considerable length. When this was finished, a general conversation followed, principally on our coming to visit them, and of a serious nature. We retired to rest about nine o'clock; J. M. Osmond upon a strong bench with a back to it, something like a sofa, Samuel Wilson upon a mat on the floor, and Charles and myself upon a mat spread over a raised frame, and supported by open work, made from the bark of a tree, which I thought an excellent bed. At this place I found my gimlets particularly useful in keeping my clothing a considerable height above the floor, by which they were not only out of the damp, but avoided the vermin, which were very annoying, and of various kinds. A house-lizard was caught upon the wall in the course of the evening; the house had been built several years, but had never had doors, so that dogs, rats, &c., had free access to any part of it. It was however to myself a peaceful and comfortable asylum.

Next morning, the 4th, we visited the principal part of the village, after having been presented with an ample feeding in due form by its inhabitants, accompanied, as usual, by a bundle of island-made cloth, and many assurances of welcome. This feeding fell into the hands of our boat's crew. A quantity of vegetables were unconsumed when the place was left, and they took away with them at least seven fowls alive. In the afternoon the body of the congregation assembled to receive us, when my certificates were read, and three persons spoke in strong terms of approbation and thankfulness at our coming amongst them,

and of the satisfaction that had been conveyed to their minds by the language contained in the certificates. I had to speak a few sentences to them in reference to the certificates, declaring that I had no other motive for visiting them, than that the fulness of the blessing of the gospel might be theirs; that some of them then present must have witnessed what the effect had been, as far as it had already been faithfully embraced; what then must be the result, when all the dreadful passions which pervade the human breast are brought under its benign and heavenly influence? nothing less than peace on earth, good will towards men: a prospect at which none of them could refrain from rejoicing, and uniting together in giving God the glory. On their being informed that my intention was to stay with them over the forenoon meeting to-morrow, and then endeavour to proceed to Hitea, they came forward, and in a pressing manner, desired us to stay over the sabbath, and spend the whole day with them. This, however, I could not decide upon at the moment; and a reason being given, which made its probability doubtful, they were in measure prepared not to expect it. Some of the people seemed much disappointed at my not being willing to accept of small presents of shells, &c. I requested J. M. Osmond to inform them, that I sought not theirs, but them; to bring their souls to God. I have taken care that the value of the feedings we have received, should be amply returned in nails, or other useful articles, as clothing, thimbles, slates, &c.

5th, first-day.—It is a little remarkable, that to-day should be the opening of a newly erected meeting-house, of large dimensions, only finished yesterday. This building is erected upon the site of an ancient Marai, a place where preposterous scenes of idolatry and superstition had for ages been exhibited. At half-past eight o'clock the children of the school assembled to be catechized, and at nine o'clock the regular congregation gathered. The meeting was well attended; and Samuel Wilson performed the duties, which at other times devolve upon the resident missionary at each station. Towards the close of their meeting, I was strengthened to stand up, and to recite the query of our blessed Lord,—“Who is my mother? and who are my brethren?” which led on to the gracious answer given by Himself, after looking round upon His disciples; “Behold my mother and my brethren! for whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother.”

The people near the place where I stood were very attentive, and full opportunity was afforded for me to clear my mind; and the

everlasting blessed Truth was set over all. It had been previously fixed for us to depart for Hitea as soon as this meeting was ended, in order to reach that place in time for the afternoon gathering there; yet it did not seem as if I had fully done with Tautira. The morning had been rainy, with thunder, and the general appearance of the weather now became more threatening than before: the wind had shifted, and it was blowing strong from the point to which we wanted to go. Upon inquiry of those best acquainted with the distance from the place, and the effect which the present strong wind and swell of the sea would have in retarding our progress, with the probability of our not being able to make much headway, in the heavy gusts which frequently broke forth, it appeared to be the general opinion, that it was not practicable for us to arrive in time for the afternoon meeting at Hitea. This, with the information that the natives never travel themselves in rainy weather, nor expect strangers to do so, determined me without hesitation to remain with the people of Tautira, and I had satisfaction in believing, that I should be in the right place; the tempestuous state of the weather, as the afternoon advanced, served to confirm the propriety of the measure adopted.

In the afternoon meeting, on standing up, I had to tell the people, that however contrary to my expectation, I was fully persuaded that my sitting amongst them again, was not only in the will of the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, but in his everlasting love to their immortal souls; in which my heart was greatly enlarged. Many solemn and incontrovertible truths were brought to my remembrance to speak before them, under a fresh and renewed influence of heavenly strength graciously vouchsafed; whereby I was enabled to sound an alarm, and to point out the repenting sinner's sure and never-failing friend and refuge, Christ Jesus, the Lord of life and glory: I humbly hope that the great and adorable name of the only true God, and our Saviour was exalted.

Just as the meeting was about to break up, the attention of the people was arrested by an individual asking me in English, whether I could speak encouragingly, and with confidence, as to the day not being far distant when the reign of the Messiah would be universal in the earth. I told him that I could speak with the fullest confidence of all the great and precious promises recorded in Holy Writ, connected with this important and interesting subject. As to the day being not far distant, which he spoke of, I was one of those who believed, that it was already come in the hearts of all, who believed in the inward and spirit-

ual appearance of the Lord Jesus by his Holy Spirit,—of those who loved Him, and obeyed His voice. The substance of what had passed was then imparted to the people at large. We then separated under a solemn feeling, better and more easily to be conceived than described. The weather cleared up in the evening; and a feeling pervaded, as if nothing had been lost by the delay, which it had apparently occasioned.

On the 6th, after a break-of-day breakfast of baked pork, the mountain plantain, and cocoa-nut milk, we took leave, and departed for Hitea with a favourable prospect. We had not rowed much more than an hour, when the trade-wind sprung up in our favour, and drove us along the coast so quickly, that by ten o'clock, A. M., we were abreast of the out-station about to be visited. On landing, we met with Etoti and Paofai, two brothers and principals amongst the island chiefs, then travelling towards Papara; with both of whom I had been acquainted from almost the first of our setting foot on Tahitian ground. We were informed that the people had been collected the preceding day, in expectation of our arrival; but that the weather had accounted for our absence. Having made two attempts to see these people, first at Tiarei, and now again on returning from Tautira, on each occasion prevented by the weather from seeing them assembled as proposed, I at first thought that I might venture to move forward towards the Bay of Papeete, where we left our vessel lying: but on being assured that if I would stay till next morning, a meeting would be held in due course at sun-rise, and that many people would attend, I found that I could do no less than make the sacrifice of another day, by remaining on the spot, however inconveniently circumstanced. The idea that I might venture to move on, and pass by these people, had been none other than a plausible suggestion of the grand enemy; but I was delivered out of his hand. This being agreed upon, we were shown to an empty house, like a large bird-cage in appearance; perhaps occasionally occupied, though but little trace of that was to be seen. It was built with open lattice-walls, and screens of cocoa-nut branches to keep out the wind. The floors were covered with withered grass, in a very dirty condition from long use, being laid upon loose earth, in a low and damp situation. There were latticed divisions which made four apartments; but not a door either within or without. The people soon brought us a supply of food, according to their custom of treating strangers; and in due time beds were prepared for us, consisting of frames of wood, supported on posts driven into the ground, and spread with



clean mats. We paid a visit to the resident chief, to whom I was no stranger, having seen him more than once on board the vessel. At his house a large 'feeding' was preparing, to which we were invited, but declined partaking of it. In the course of the afternoon we looked round the neighbourhood; and after the evening refreshment of ourselves and boat's crew, the governor and the elders or deacons of the church, with a native teacher, came to visit us. These were soon followed by a number of men, women, and children; and when the room in which we sat, was pretty well filled with guests seated on the floor, the adjoining room was occupied by others who were only separated from the rest by open lattice-work; through which, however, they could see and hear, and be heard, almost as well as if we had been together in the same room. On inquiring of the native teacher, through the medium of Samuel Wilson, our interested and highly interesting companion and interpreter, whether there was any indication that would encourage a hope that some few among the people were desirous to improve in those things that accompany life and salvation; he said, he thought, that there were instances where this was discernible, and that he himself was very desirous and anxious that this should be the case; that he laboured hard for it—greatly desiring to "work, while it is called to-day." I said, where there is such a desire in the teacher, and a correspondent one in the object of his care, a happy result under the divine blessing could scarcely fail to be produced,—or to this import. I told him, however, that although the text he had mentioned in some degree be applicable to the work in which he was engaged, yet I did conceive it was more so, as regarded the great work of regeneration in the heart of man: that this great and important and indispensable work, could be done only while the light of the day of merciful visitation was extended; and if this unhappily were overlooked and neglected, a night of darkness would assuredly follow, in which no man can work. "If, therefore, the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness." That there was a day of visitation extended to every son and daughter of Adam, sufficiently long for them all to work out their own soul's salvation with fear and trembling; and it was also as certain, that this day might, from one cause or other, be overlooked and withstood, or suffered to pass away unimproved. That this was evident from the language of the compassionate Saviour, when he lamented and wept over the city of Jerusalem:—"If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace, but now they

are hid from thine eyes." "How often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen doth gather her brood under her wings, and ye would not;"—which plainly shows, that her children might have been gathered; but, alas! they would not, because they knew not the day of their visitation;—their destruction was of themselves.

As we proceeded with this kind of conversation, the company more and more settled down into serious thoughtfulness. One person, however, seemed very desirous to understand what was my real object in coming to their island; several reasons were alleged, but they were evidently not comprehended or not satisfactory. The spirituality of the gospel dispensation was gradually brought before the view of their minds; and it was strikingly evident, that there was a fertile soil or good ground prepared by the ever-blessed husbandman, in the hearts of some present, for the reception of the sacred truths that were afterwards disclosed to their view. Some of them acknowledged that they had never seen things before in the same light, but at once yielded an assent from sensible conviction. The important distinction was explained to them, between the Word which was in the beginning with God and was God, and the Bible; a subject on which their ideas were confused, from having been accustomed to hear the Scriptures styled 'the word of God.' After alluding to the memorable conference between the Saviour of the world and the woman of Samaria, who, when told she had had five husbands, &c., left her water pot and went her way into the city, and said, "Come, see a man that told me all things that ever I did; is not this the Christ?"—I asked them, if they had not at seasons felt something within themselves, which brought to their remembrance sins and transgressions that had been long ago committed,—things which they would be glad to forget, much rather than remember with painful retrospect; querying, whether they had not long been sensible of this, before they ever saw the face of a missionary, or heard his voice? On this some of them shook their heads, and answered in the most satisfactory manner, with unequivocal simplicity and sincerity,—yes, that they had, long enough ago; proving a fact which I have never doubted, since the Lord Most High was pleased to reveal the Son of his love to my finite understanding, that the gospel has been preached in and unto every creature under heaven. I reminded them of the apostle's declaration to the Romans,—“That which may be known of God is manifest in them, for God hath showed it unto them;” and—“He hath showed thee, O! man, what is good.” This I told

them was that gospel "which was preached to every creature which is under heaven,"—to every son and daughter of Adam. On their saying they had never heard of this before,—S. W. replied,—they had always been exhorted to pray for the Holy Spirit, to seek and they should find, &c.; but they said, 'never in this way.' Such a solemnity now spread over us as could not be mistaken, even had "the doors" been "shut;" for—"peace be unto you," though not outwardly proclaimed, was known and felt to be amongst us, by some present. Under this precious, heavenly canopy, I told them,—now they might know for what I had come among them, in the love of the everlasting gospel;—that they might be witnesses for themselves of the blessings it conveys, and the glorious privilege to which it entitles, if faithfully embraced. Some of them could not forbear expressing their inward state, and their fear, from the uncertainty they were in, as to the future well-being of their immortal souls. It was indeed a season never to be forgotten; for it seemed as if some of their hearts were laid open by the Almighty Searcher, and a willingness wrought to confess their sins, and to call on the name of the Lord, through the powerful efficacy of redeeming love shed abroad therein, and working in them to will and to do of the Lord's good pleasure:—to the praise of the riches of his grace be it faithfully recorded, in characters which can never be defaced whilst memory holds her place.

At a late hour, we adjourned until sun-rise next morning, the 7th of the seventh month, when the people generally assembled in a commodious meeting house. As this was a meeting held in regular course, the accustomed duties were performed by Samuel Wilson, who acted instead of their native teacher. My certificates were then read, which seemed to prepare the minds of the people for the solemn season, with which we were afterwards favoured. I had a fine open time amongst them, during which the path to the kingdom was set before them, wherein a wayfaring man, though a fool, cannot err: and the state of mind which must be attained to by all, before true spiritual worship can be performed, and accepted by Him, who is worshipped only in spirit and in truth,—was, I trust, declared in plainness. I had largely to treat on the all-sufficiency of the light, the grace, which hath appeared to all men, bringing salvation to all; teaching all men, "that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, they should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world;" and commending "them unto God and the word of his grace, which is able to build us up, and to give us an inheritance"

amongst those that are already sanctified by faith that is in Christ Jesus. I sat down with a thankful and peaceful mind. Before we separated, one of the people stood up, and thanked me, in the name of the queen and of the church. I requested Samuel Wilson to say, that no thanks were due to me: I had done no more than that which was my duty to do, and was only an unprofitable servant. After taking some refreshment, we proceeded to Tiarei. Our stay here was limited, for fear of losing the wind, yet we did not like to pass by the mission-house altogether, whose inhabitants we might never see again. We had from hence a rapid passage, and were favoured to find all well and comfortable on board the Henry Freeling.

9th.—Since returning from Hitea, my attention has been turned towards the white residents in this neighbourhood, and I have endeavoured to dwell under the prospect of collecting them together, with the crews of the different vessels now here, at eleven o'clock next first-day.

11th.—After breakfast, went to inquire of Eliza Pritchard, (her husband having sailed for the Marquesas Islands,) whether there would be any meeting for the English tomorrow; for in the morning, matters had so far opened, that I found it best to tell my Charles, I did not see that I could do less than endeavour to meet the English residents tomorrow forenoon. But little information, could, however, be obtained on the subject, until late in the evening; when a missionary from a distant station came on board to tell me, that he had given notice of a meeting to be held on his own account, but that he should be glad to turn it over to me. As he had appointed it himself, it seemed best to tell him that he must go on with it, but that I intended to be there; and if I should have any thing to offer, it would be only according to gospel order. Our captain took considerable pains, late in the evening, to spread the information, that all persons inclining to attend might have an opportunity of knowing there would be such a meeting held.

12th, first-day.—Called at George Pritchard's house a little before the time appointed, to be in readiness, it being near the meeting house. I met there with the missionary who had given notice last evening, who wished me (as he expressed it) to begin the service of the meeting. I was best satisfied to decline the offer, as he had personally given notice of it, and by those to whom he had spoken, it was certainly understood to be for himself: if it had been appointed for me, it could only begin in silent waiting upon God. It afterwards occurred to me, however, that at a proper



time it would be safest for me, if found needful, to spread the subject before the meeting when collected together; and believing that I should have to speak to the people, I availed myself of an interval, after the reading of the 14th chapter of Luke, to step upon the base of the pulpit, and state,—that as this meeting was not specifically appointed on my account, it might be considered out of order to open my mouth in it; but as we might never have the opportunity of meeting together again, I had been made willing to attend it, and in the ability which might be given me to minister in it if called upon: that such a mode of procedure would still be only in accordance with the true order of the gospel: but, if any should consider it an intrusion, I hoped they would speak and object, and I believed I should be satisfied with having made this offer. No one spoke, until the missionary said, he believed there was not the least objection in the minds of any present. [In the course of the meeting D. W. expressed what was upon his mind at considerable length. The people behaved in a solid manner, and a solemn covering prevailed.]

13th.—Employed on board most of the day. Omitted mentioning that last week a canoe from Tea-hu-poo, and another from Tautira, reached the ship: in both these canoes were persons with whom we had social and religious intercourse at the places where they reside. Their coming afforded an opportunity to send clothing and slates for some of the most diligent children at the district schools in those parts; and nails suitable for general purposes, to the different congregations. As the dear people composing them had abundantly more than administered to my wants when amongst them, it was a relief to be enabled to return their kindness, and convince them that in my coming, I sought not theirs, but them. I do feel anxious, and I hope it is an allowable solicitude, that none may have it in their power to say, that we have in any degree been chargeable to them; and thus far I think there are none at whose houses we have been entertained, that have not in one way or other been remunerated.

There are so many aggravated circumstances which contribute to lessen the desire of the people for religion, that the present aspect of things here is truly discouraging; none of these seems to operate more powerfully to produce dislike and disgust, than the arbitrary laws that have been made to compel the people to attend the places of worship and the schools; the neglect of which has no less a penalty attached to it, than the forfeiture of their lands. So long as these things are suf-

fered to exist, and the native authorities permit or wink at the landing of spirituous liquors from the English traders, from the colonies of New South Wales, and from America, (which are much more numerous than the former,) hopeless indeed will be every attempt to civilize, much more to christianize the natives of these islands; these are disadvantages which must ever impede the free course of the gospel.

15th.—This afternoon went up to Papara in one of our own boats, to take leave of Henry Nott. We found him alone, and in a very weak and feeble state. He has long been unable to attend the place of worship regularly, though near his own dwelling. On our return we called to take leave of the queen: we found her sitting on the step at the back-door, with several of her chiefs squatted round about her, one of whom had been reading to the others, until interrupted by our approach; the king was sitting on a wall, eating part of a cocoa-nut. For want of an interpreter, I was unable to acknowledge the indulgence of the queen, in remitting the port-charges on our vessel. Reached the Henry Freeling before dark. Soon after our return, the carpenter of the vessel was seized with violent inflammatory symptoms, which increased so rapidly, that a boat was despatched for Doctor Vaughan. One of our strongest seamen, has for some days been rendered totally unfit for duty by a similar attack, and the apprentice is nearly useless with an inflamed leg. Many persons on shore, both natives and foreigners, are in a weak state, occasioned, it is thought, by the coolness of the night air, while the sun by day emits a scorching heat. We have great cause to be thankful for the blessing of health so graciously bestowed upon us, whilst visiting the different stations on every part of the island, notwithstanding the great dampness of the lodging-places which fell to our lot, and the variety of food, to which we were for the most part wholly unaccustomed; we had also been exposed to every sort of weather in an open boat, in heavy dews, at times for hours together. The distance travelled on these occasions exceeded three hundred miles; but for the most part, under the reefs of shelving coral, which skirt the island in many places in a wonderfully providential manner: where these do not extend, the swellings of the Pacific had to be encountered. The rapid, eddying currents, in some places, rendered our situation perilous at times; but the Lord was nigh, sustaining us through all, and making our way prosperous, as already recorded in some of the most favourable interviews with the people, and, I humbly trust, to the exalta-

tion of His own great and ever excellent name. Who would not fear Him? Who would not serve Him?

16th, fifth-day.—The fore part of the morning much unsettled, by the natives being more numerous on board than usual; but a large ship appearing in the offing, served to attract most of them away. This ship proved to be the Charles Carroll, Reuben Weeks, master; out twenty months from Rhode Island, in America. It was quite a relief to be permitted to sit down in silence this morning, although much was found still remaining to cause a painful struggle between flesh and spirit.

18th.—Yesterday, with the exception of taking our usual exercise on shore about sundown, we were busily employed on board, amongst other things, in selecting copies of the Scriptures in the English, French, Spanish and Portuguese languages; also a large number of religious tracts, and some standard works and writings of Friends for Samuel Wilson. He leaves us next week, on a mission to the Samoas or Navigator's Islands. May the fear of man not be permitted to operate on his mind, so as to prevent his acting up to what he knows to be right: but may the fear of God more abundantly dwell in him, and prevail in him abidingly; and may the rich aboundings of His love in Christ Jesus be the comfort and strength of his heart, and his portion for ever.

This morning, called on board the American ship Charles Carroll, for a short time. My mind has at times, both yesterday and today, been occupied with the prospect of holding another meeting with the white inhabitants residing in this neighbourhood, together with the crews of the vessels in the bay, and any other persons who understand English. On considering this subject, it seemed best to hold this meeting on board the Henry Freeling. It was late in the afternoon, before I ventured to disclose my prospect to my son Charles and Captain Keen, lest, instead of being found following my heavenly guide, I should be detected in having, through mistaken zeal, got before him, and missed the way.

19th, first-day.—Early in the morning, the deck of the Henry Freeling, with the assistance of some planks furnished from the Charles Carroll, and our own resources, was prepared with seats, in readiness for the intended meeting. At half-past ten o'clock, our boats and one from the American ship, were employed to convey the people on board from different parts of the shore, and soon after eleven, the meeting was comfortably settled. As there were a number of persons present who had never before attended a Friends' meeting, and

were wholly unacquainted with the manner in which they are conducted, it seemed best, after we had sat for some time, to suggest the necessity of our endeavouring to restrain all wandering thoughts and imaginations, that we might be sensible of the Lord's life-giving presence, if peradventure we should be favoured therewith; and also be the better prepared to receive any thing He might please to give for expression, for our edification and refreshment,—or words to this import. A covering of solemnity now drew over the assembly, and continued in a precious manner; under which I was strengthened and raised up to speak of the ways of the Lord amongst them; repeating his expressions to the disciples, which so beautifully illustrate the immediate connexion between Himself and the church, under the similitude of the vine and its branches.—“I am the vine, ye are the branches; he that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit: for without me ye can do nothing.” And if we stand in need of help to wade through the common occurrences of human life, how much more needful then is the assistance of his Holy Spirit, when thus assembled together for the professed purpose of worshipping that God, who “is a Spirit,” and must be worshipped “in spirit and in truth.” After this, I had to speak of the excellency and efficacy of silent waiting upon Almighty God, in order to be qualified for the right performance of this spiritual worship; that mankind might be turned to the only true teacher of His people, Christ Jesus, without whom we can do nothing, but all things, by and through the strengthening influence of his Holy Spirit:—contrasting the worship under the law, with that under the present glorious gospel dispensation, unlimited as to time and place; but which can never be acceptably performed, while we continue in sin and transgression,—because it must be offered in the beauty of holiness, and in newness of life, through the blessed aid of the Holy Spirit, in spirit and in truth. I had strongly to press the necessity of every individual's turning inward, and of diligently seeking an acquaintance with the manifestation of the Holy Spirit, a measure of which is mercifully bestowed upon every son and daughter of the human race; and which, if sought unto, would set their sins in order before them, in love and mercy, that they might repent and be saved from them. Appealing to them, whether they had not been sensible of the strivings of this blessed Spirit, when sin had been committed: at the same time declaring, that it might be withstood and rebelled against, until it ceased to strive; and they themselves be suffered to go on, adding



sin to sin, without feeling its reproofs and checks. If the light in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness! Thus would the day of their visitation be passed over, and they know it not; and this light, if withdrawn in divine displeasure, could never be rekindled [by them,] although before they might often have been gathered, like Jerusalem of old. The heads above quoted may suffice to show the substance of what I had to express amongst them, though but a small part of the whole. The Lord has been pleased to favour us with many blessed meetings; but this for solemnity and stillness excelled.—“Blessed be the Lord God, the God of Israel, who only doeth wondrous things; and blessed be His glorious name for ever: and let the whole earth be filled with His glory. Amen, and Amen.”

Our two sick men continue in a precarious state; their absence from duty seems to protract our stay here: but I believe it is in the divine will. Though sensible of almost daily increasing infirmities, arising from the decay of nature, yet I am mercifully supported in humble resignation to whatever may yet be in reserve for me; being fully persuaded and taught to confide in the all-sufficiency of that Almighty power, that can, at His pleasure, help me to run through a troop of difficulties and besetments, and to leap over a wall of opposition and unbelief. And as I believe it to be so, why should I not say, in the language of the apostle, “I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me.”

20th.—Began to prepare the vessel for sea, in the hope that our two invalids will soon be restored to health, though at present extremely weak.

21st.—Received a packet of letters from London, which had been left at the island of Eimeo by the *Ulitea*, on her way from Sydney to Raiatea. Our joy may be more easily conceived than described, on finding an uninterrupted series of favourable accounts from home, as well as, in the general, from others whom we also dearly love: they did not fail to raise in my heart a tribute of thankfulness and gratitude to the great Preserver of men, our Almighty and merciful Benefactor.

23rd.—By the mission, which is nearly ready to proceed to the Navigator's Islands or Samoas, an eligible opportunity is afforded, for an extensive circulation of the sacred writings, and other books of a religious nature. We have accordingly furnished a supply of the Scriptures in the English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese languages. As many white people and Europeans are known to be mingled amongst the inhabitants of this extensive group of islands; a large quantity of Friends' tracts, and of those from the Tract

Society, were also selected for distribution through this channel.

24th.—This forenoon the *Harmony* sailed for the Sandwich Islands. In this vessel, the mail brought from Sydney by the *Henry Freeling*, was duly forwarded. It would have been better for the people of Tahiti, if she had never entered the bay, having been a fruitful source of wickedness, from having landed a considerable quantity of rum; although spirits are strictly prohibited by the present laws of that island. If all persons who contribute to the destruction of their fellow-creatures, by this or any other evil practice, were publicly stigmatized as the agents of Satan, and at all times shunned by virtuous characters, as unworthy of being noticed while persisting therein, it might, I think, be a means of compelling some of them to desist and to be ashamed of their conduct, and deter them from further adding sin to sin, in causing others to sin by their means. The *Raiatea*, a vessel engaged to convey the mission to the Samoas, sailed soon after noon for Eimeo.

In the departure of Samuel Wilson for the Samoas, we have lost a most willing, competent, and faithful interpreter: but as he was provided for us in a manner altogether unexpected and unlooked-for, we may safely trust that we shall be cared for in this respect, while amongst the islands of the Society group, which we have yet to visit.

25th.—At the close of the public meeting on board the *Henry Freeling*, last first-day morning, Reuben Weeks, the master of the *Charles Carroll*, expressed a desire that a meeting might be held on board his own vessel, when all the crew would be collected together: of this I was afterwards informed. This did not escape my recollection, and my attention was frequently turned to it in the course of the past week, though until this morning I did not mention it; when I did not see how I should stand acquitted, without availing myself of the offered opportunity. Having mentioned the subject after breakfast to our captain and my Charles, I wished to ascertain whether if the meeting should be held on board the American ship to-morrow forenoon, it would be attended by the whole of the crew. There appearing no doubt on this head, I felt willing that Captain Keen should inform Reuben Weeks, that I had no objection to the meeting being held on board the *Charles Carroll*, provided the whole crew, without any compulsory measures being adopted, should be found willing to attend it; but that they should be left at their liberty to choose for themselves in this matter. It is a regular custom, on board whaling-ships, when lying there, to allow one-half of the seamen

to be on shore daily for exercise ; and therefore I am desirous that all who may attend our meeting should do it of their own accord ; it was known that only one-half of the ship's company attended our meeting last first-day, the other half having claimed the privilege of their liberty. As this doubt was removed to my satisfaction, the meeting was appointed to be held at eleven o'clock to-morrow morning. Care was taken that this intention should be spread to all the vessels in the bay, and on the shore also. At noon, Reuben Weeks came on board to say, that William Henry, the missionary from Tiarei, (now here on account of sickness in his family,) had given notice that service for the English would be performed by him to-morrow, at their chapel on shore, at eleven o'clock. I did not see it my place to flinch from the arrangement which had been made as to our meeting, more especially as no invitation had been extended from the shore to the crews of the shipping. In the evening, I called upon William Henry, who having heard of our intended meeting, at once said that he should countermand the notice he had given, and would come himself to our meeting ; not doubting but his hearers would be very willing to join him in so doing.

27th.—Yesterday morning, we repaired on board the Charles Carroll, in time to attend the meeting appointed. About fifty persons were assembled on the occasion, and the Lord was graciously pleased to give us a precious season together, and to magnify His ever great and adorable name. With those that attended from the shore, were the missionary and his wife from Rarotonga, Eliza the wife of George Pritchard, and William Henry of Tiarei.

After the meeting had sat a considerable time in silence, it was with me to make a few remarks, to wean the expectation of the people from words, and to prepare them for a longer time of silence, if that should be permitted. I had to tell them, that if I were to read to them, or to speak to them in my own strength, it would only be an act between one man and others ; but that worship, for which very solemn purpose we were met together, could only be performed between man and his Almighty Creator, who is a Spirit, and must be worshipped in spirit and in truth, with our spirits, through the Spirit of his dear Son. A precious covering of solemnity now spread over us, under the feeling of which we continued until the time was fully come for clearing my mind amongst them, and declaring the mercy, loving-kindness, compassion, and faithfulness of my God ; who willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather that all should return, repent, and live for ever. The means were amply provided by His sending His only-be-

gotten Son into the world, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have everlasting life ; who came not to kill or destroy,—He came, that we might have life ; and that we might have it more abundantly ; declaring himself to be “the Way, and the Truth, and the Life.” He continues to be so to all such as not only believe in His outward appearance on earth, and in His sufferings, death and resurrection, but in his inward and spiritual appearance also in their hearts, and in the operation of his Holy Spirit there,—even that of burning and fuel of fire, to the consuming of the chaffy and transgressing nature therein ; and if waited for, submitted unto, and abode under, this would prepare us for an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, in the kingdom of Christ Jesus, that shall never have an end. I had largely to treat on the subject of divine worship, and to point out the difference between that under the Mosaic dispensation, and that under the gospel : that, with the Jews under the former, was outward, ceremonial, and superficial ; but under the latter, it was altogether inward, in the inner temple of the heart,—simple, but spiritual and substantial, in spirit and in truth. I had to declare the beauty, purity, and spirituality of the true gospel church, of which none are members, but the ransomed and redeemed of the Lord ; who have passed through the great work of regeneration, and have been ransomed by the blood of Jesus :—with much more of warning and exhortation, and encouragement, as ability and utterance were graciously afforded.

After I sat down, my heart was filled with humble gratitude ; and a tribute of thanksgiving and praise was raised to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who had thus graciously condescended to make Himself known amongst us, what if I say, by the breaking of the bread of life : under a sense of which, I had publicly to acknowledge the same, and that the Lord should have the glory due unto His Holy name. The meeting held longer than usual ; but the weight and solemnity so strikingly apparent, (as afterwards openly acknowledged,) remained to the last undissipated and undiminished. What, indeed, is man, or the son of man, that the Lord Most High is thus mindful of him,—that He thus visiteth him.

28th.—I may mention, for the encouragement of others, who at a future day may have to follow in a track similar to this, in which it is my highly-favoured and happy lot to tread, that previously to attending the meeting just alluded to, I had felt very poor and empty, and disqualified : although without any particular feeling of discouragement as to the re-



sult. When the time came for me to stand up, although weakness and fear were my wholesome companions; yet the further I proceeded, the more I was strengthened and furnished for the work before me, and was even to the end unexhausted. The remainder of the day, and through the night-watches, my peace flowed undisturbed and uninterrupted, as the stream of a mighty river; and a song of praise filled my heart: for I was indeed made joyful in the house of prayer, as on the mountain of the Lord;—to the glory of the riches of His grace be it spoken.

### CHAPTER XXIII.

*Visit from missionaries—Baron de Thierry—meeting in the chapel—sail for Eimeo—letters from home—arrive at Eimeo—school—native meeting.*

Seventh month 29th.—THIS day arrived the Frances of New Bedford, John Briggs master, whose vessel rode by our side, fourteen months ago, when at Rio de Janeiro: it is like meeting with an old acquaintance, as we were known to each other at that time. The chief Paofai came on board this morning; he stayed breakfast, and our reading. He was desirous to buy cloth, and to possess one of our iron boxes; neither of which could be spared to him. In the afternoon, Charles Pittman the missionary from Rarotonga, came on board. Our two invalids have been reported in a convalescent state.

30th, fifth-day.—In the forenoon, Charles and myself sat down in the usual way, but under a renewed sense of dryness and barrenness; which perhaps was the food most convenient for us, to keep the creaturely part in subjection. Charles and Elizabeth Pittman, Eliza the wife of George Pritchard, and Mary Darling, paid us a visit. The impaired state of the health of Charles Pittman has compelled him to quit his station at Rarotonga for the present, being no longer able to attend to the duties devolving upon him. His wife is also far from well. They have resided about ten years upon the island, where their united labour has been eminently crowned with success. The circumstance of there being no harbour for shipping, except for vessels of very small tonnage, and that insecure, although the means of subjecting them to many privations, is a great blessing to the people of that island; because they are thereby preserved from the contaminating example and effects, which the sailors invariably introduce wherever they go; and to this may, in great measure, be attributed the success of Charles and Elizabeth Pittman's endeavours: at the

same time, it is only just to say, they are a truly devoted couple, and well qualified by example as well as precept, to fill the station they have occupied. They hope to return to the island in a few months; and being desirous that the natives might be furnished with cotton dresses, for want of which they evidently suffer much in their winter seasons, it seemed a good opportunity afforded for me to furnish them with a stock of knitting-needles, as cotton grows spontaneously and plentifully upon the island: this was accordingly done, together with a knitted worsted vest, as a pattern to begin the work with. They need only to commence the work, and their wants will soon be supplied; industry would also be promoted, of a kind not too fatiguing, and which they are capable of sustaining: hard labour cannot be borne in this climate, and I think the ample supply of food provided for them by a bounteous Creator, plainly indicates it was never intended or required.

31st.—This morning arrived the barque Active from Panama. Wishing to ascertain whether she had picked up any letters for us on the road, and other particulars respecting her, Captain Keen went on board to make these inquiries; he soon returned, bringing with him Charles, Baron de Thierry, as he styled himself, who with his wife, five children, and servants, had arrived in this vessel, which had been chartered by him at Panama. The baron's object in coming with our captain, was to inform me, that he was going out to New Zealand, exactly as our predecessor William Penn, went to establish the government of Pennsylvania; but I found, on investigating his views, that he was a perfect stranger to the principles which actuated William Penn in his government of that colony: as he was taking with him a military force, with arms, ammunition, &c., and a Polish major, (Edward Fergus, formerly employed in the staff of Russia, and at Petersburg, with whom we soon became acquainted,) to organize these troops in New Zealand, and direct their operations as needful. I told the baron that I could enter into his plans, just so far as they went upon gospel principles, and no further; informing him that no weapon more formidable than a constable's staff, was made use of for more than sixty years, for the support of the government of Pennsylvania, or while the peaceable principles of William Penn and his friends were suffered to prevail.

Eighth month 1st.—To-day, I did not feel as if I dared omit endeavouring to hold another meeting on board the Charles Carroll to-morrow, if that ship's deck could be again procured: I did not mention this until the afternoon, wishing to try the fleece both wet and dry.

On a request being made to Reuben Weeks, the master of the said ship, for the use of her deck, it was immediately granted, and the crews of the different ships in the bay invited to attend the meeting. In the evening the invitation was extended to the shore.

2nd, first-day.—At half-past ten o'clock, A. M., a warning flag was hoisted on board the Charles Carroll: and about eleven o'clock the meeting was completely gathered. The number of sailors who attended was considerably increased by those from the newly arrived vessels. Charles Pittman, Mary Darling, and Eliza Pritchard, attended from the shore, with Charles de Thierry, his wife, and the Pole, Edward Fergus. After the attention of the people had been arrested by the object of our meeting together being explained, a general silence prevailed. At length, I stood up with the words; "The wolf shall dwell with the lamb; the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together: and a little child shall lead them;" &c. After alluding to the fulfilment of this prophecy in the gospel dispensation, as shadowed forth by Isaiah, I had to tell them that these are the very days in which we live; every individual had a share in it, and a part to act in it, though of general application:—that the gospel was not a mere outward declaration of good things, but, "the power of God unto salvation," to all who believe, repent, and obey it; and that its privileges could only be attained through Christ: that the early promulgators of the Christian religion were constrained to turn all men to Christ. "We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord; and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake," was the apostle Paul's declaration to the primitive believers, on behalf of himself and fellow-labourers: but he himself had a more special and divinely authorized commission, communicated immediately by the voice of that Saviour, whom he had so long and cruelly persecuted, wherever His appearance could be found: it was stamped with a double seal, for a two-fold purpose, as a minister and a witness of those things which he had seen, and of things which were hereafter to be shown to him; in which his Lord would appear unto him, to open the eyes of mankind, to turn men from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God. That Christ was the Light, the true Light, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world; unto whom all mankind must be turned, and must come, if they are saved, &c. &c. It was a highly favoured, solemn meeting, and owned by the great Master of assemblies; whose power reigned gloriously amongst us, causing thanksgiving and praise in many hearts.

7th.—Walked in the evening to George Bicknell's, and had an opportunity of seeing the master of the Olivia schooner of Boston, lately arrived from the Paumotu islands. He seemed in the last stage of consumption, was unwell when he left home, and has been exposed to great hardship amongst those islands. His complaint has been much increased and aggravated by having long to subsist on fish and cocoa-nuts. He appeared glad to see me; and after sitting awhile by the bed-side, I began to advert to his appalling situation, winding gradually on as matter opened. On saying it was little matter how soon we leave this world of trouble, if we are but prepared for the event; he said, 'I am not prepared, and cannot prepare myself.' I told him I was even rejoiced to find he was thus sensible of his own inability and weakness, because it was a conscious feeling of the want and necessity of the Saviour's help. I endeavoured to turn his mind to the dear Redeemer; but he said, 'the time was too short to expect to accomplish the great work,' and spoke as if it had been too long deferred. I reminded him that the invitation was extended even as late as the eleventh hour; and then mentioned the thief upon the cross, with the words, "To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise." He seemed a little encouraged before we parted. I was afraid of staying too long, and of causing too much excitement, but a prayer ascended in secret for him both then and since. When about to leave, he expressed a wish for me to come again, and I hope to comply with it. I was comforted in finding he had got into a place where he would want for nothing, and be well attended to. I consider it an act of true Christian benevolence in George Bicknell, with his large family, to take in, without solicitation, this poor, exhausted, sick stranger; and cheerfully to administer to all his wants, without any prospect of remuneration.

8th.—Busily employed on board, closing our letters for England, to be despatched this day by the Active, for Panama. Got some exercise on shore in the evening. It has occurred to me, since the last meeting held on board the Charles Carroll, that the chapel on shore would be the next place for me to be in; although I mentioned it to no one, desiring to see the way clearly open, before any steps were taken.

Charles Pittman came on board yesterday: and in the course of conversation said, that it had been thought whether I would not come on shore the next sabbath-day, to have a meeting; and that he himself was desirous that some arrangement should be made, in which he expressed a willingness to assist. I told him it was yet uncertain, but that I intended



calling at George Pritchard's house in the evening. On arriving there, I found Charles Pittman under the verandah, talking to a sailor, who had belonged to the Charles Carroll, and had then come to have some conversation on the subject of religion. It appeared that this young man had been reached, at the last meeting held on board that ship, and was desirous of help and advice. He found it very hard work to stand against the strong current of evil, to which he was exposed on ship-board, amongst a rude and wicked company, who continually annoyed him in one way or other. He was encouraged to watchfulness, and to perseverance in resisting every temptation; and if faithful, he would doubtless overcome them all, through the strength of Him, who for our sakes "endured such contradiction of sinners against himself." Whilst at George Pritchard's, I inquired whether any missionary was expected, or whether any meeting would be held there to-morrow, which was replied to in the negative. I said that I felt a little difficulty about their meeting-house, as it belonged to the people on shore, and they might be disappointed at not finding one of their own ministers there; and I could not answer, if I attended the meeting, but that it might be a silent one, which to some would be a disappointment; but Eliza Pritchard said, they know very well; I suppose she meant, the manner in which the meetings of Friends are usually held. Having believed it right for me to hold a meeting there, previously to leaving the ship, what had passed served only to show that the way was open before me; and going out, I said, 'Then I think we must venture to give notice to the shipping, that a meeting will be held at eleven o'clock to-morrow forenoon.' As we returned on board, some information of the intended meeting was given by ourselves, and our captain engaged at once to invite the crews of the shipping generally, and to spread the information more widely on the shore.

9th, first-day.—At the time appointed, repaired to the shore, landing at George Pritchard's, whose family with Charles Pittman and wife accompanied us to the meeting. The attendance was much larger than at any time before. The baron, his wife, and the Pole, appeared amongst others. We sat long in silence; when I stood up, with—"It was never said to the wrestling seed of Jacob, seek ye my face in vain; "for the sighing of the needy now will I arise, saith the Lord." Let us remember the example of Jacob, who wrestled for the blessing until the break of day, although the angel said, "Let me go, for the day breaketh;" but the patriarch refused to grant the request, saying, "I will not let thee

go, except thou bless me." The result of his faithful perseverance was, that his name should be no longer Jacob, but that he should be called Israel; for, said the angel, "as a prince hast thou power with God and with men, and hast prevailed." After urging upon all present, the necessity of our wrestling for the blessing this morning, that so we might be numbered amongst the princes of Israel, and like him prevail, &c., with some further addition, I sat down. The meeting then settled down in quietness, and remained long under a solemn feeling; when I had again to stand up and declare the blessedness of those who trust in Mount Zion, the city which the Lord hath founded, which can never be moved; whose children are joyful in their King; because poor in spirit, to whom the gospel was preached, and is still preached: these are filled with good things; but the rich and the full are sent empty away. It is the poor of the Lord's people—the poor in spirit, whose provision will ever be abundantly blessed. Yea, they shall be satisfied,—and no wonder, when made to partake of that bread which cometh down from heaven,—whosoever eateth thereof shall live for ever; for this soul-sustaining bread is Christ, who said, "I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me shall never hunger, and he that believeth on me shall never thirst." There is nothing in this perishing world to be desired, or worth hungering or thirsting after, by those who have tasted of this true and living bread that cometh down from heaven. Who would not desire to be a citizen of that city which hath foundations, whose maker and builder the Lord is?—this Sion, which he hath founded for the poor of his people. There is no other way to accomplish this, but that of doing the will of God, and not our own, through Christ Jesus, by the help of his Holy Spirit in our hearts, &c. I was largely opened to declare many great and heavenly truths to these people for about an hour, under a weighty feeling of a power to myself irresistible; all seemed brought down and laid low under its dominion, and the pillars of my frail tabernacle were shaken. I had to rise a third time to say, that if words would avail any thing, I was willing to spend and be spent amongst them; for I had been poured out as water for their sake, &c.—turning their attention to the Word nigh in the heart and in the mouth, of which the apostle spoke;—commending them to God, and to the word of his grace, &c. Returned on board after the meeting. In the afternoon read portions of Scripture to our own crew, who had been on shore to the meeting in the morning.

14th.—Yesterday afternoon, Charles being too feeble to go on shore for exercise, I took

with me a native boy, and went on shore. This boy was born at the Paumotu Islands, and has been very useful to us for several weeks, and ready on all occasions to plunge into the sea, or to bring down the cocoa-nut from its lofty tree; and never more delighted than when permitted to accompany us on excursions for exercise, or to search for shells among the coral reefs.

27th.—For several days past but little has transpired to vary the customary routine of duties. As regards myself, I have not been able to discern any particular line of service called for at my hands; and hope to be preserved watching and waiting as at the posts of wisdom's gate. Vain, indeed, would be an attempt to move forward, while the cloud thus, as it were, rests upon the tabernacle. In the afternoon went to Taunoà to visit the American captain, who is not expected to survive many days. Here is an affecting and mournful instance of the great business of life being neglected or little thought of, until brought upon the bed of death. The Olivia, of which vessel he is part owner, sailed yesterday, and I thought he would now have nothing left relating to worldly matters to harass him, which induced me to make the present visit. I humbly trust, yea, I pray, that this poor dear man may yet so bow in humble resignation to the name and power of Jesus, and from heart-felt conviction confess that He is Lord, to the glory of God the Father, as to obtain the salvation of his own soul. For, though he is now bowing, under heavy judgment, to this power, great is my desire, that he may yet bow to it under a sense of the Lord's everlasting mercy and forgiveness; for mercy still covers the judgment seat, even to a hair's breadth: with God all things are possible to them that believe.

Ninth month 10th.—I told the captain yesterday evening, that I did not see any thing to prevent our sailing this morning for Eimeo. At an early hour the pilot came on board, when the vessel was unmoored; and there being a light breeze off the land, the last anchor was weighed. We were towed out of the bay by a boat kindly sent by Captain Davies, of the ship *Balance* of Bristol, Rhode Island. Just as the anchor was weighed, a man came from the shore with a packet containing letters, the yearly meeting's epistle, &c., from England, which had been brought by an English whaler, to the Marquesas Islands, from which George Pritchard had arrived in the night. We could not but admire how exactly we had been cared for, in being permitted to receive accounts from our beloved family at Petersburg, contained in four letters; which, though old dated, were truly acceptable, with letters also from some of our

dear friends. Having discharged the pilot, cleared the reefs, and begun to stretch away from the island, the delightful employment of reading our letters commenced. While sitting on deck, the vessel made a formidable pitch, which occasioned a loud and sudden crash, as in a moment. It was soon ascertained that our mizen-mast was gone by the board, and had fallen over the very centre of the stern. Not only the man at the helm escaped unhurt, but every other person on board; and nothing short of an Almighty, all-merciful, and all superintending Providence could possibly have screened and sheltered us from every harm. My Charles had been sitting for some time quite near the mast, but had removed just before from the place of danger. Our captain immediately represented the vessel as so crippled, that she would not stay, or tack, and wished to know whether I thought of proceeding, or of endeavouring to return to the bay of Papeete, which we had just left. I paused for a moment, and then signified that we might safely proceed, although at the time it was nearly calm, and a heavy tumbling sea heaving around us. In a few minutes, however, the regular trade-wind sprung up, with a fresh gale in our favour, which in a few hours drove us to the desired haven of Talloo; into which the *Henry Freeling* worked as well as could be desired, notwithstanding she had lost one of her wings; but it became dark before she reached the proper anchorage. The wreck of the mast, rigging, sails, &c., was all cleared away, and got on board, before the strength of the trade-wind set upon us, and before the sea had time to rise under it, which soon afterwards became unusually heavy. The great superiority of a small vessel over a large one was fairly proved to-day, as we were beating through a channel beset with coral reefs, in a masterly manner, our pilot frequently cried out 'Maitai, Maitai!' 'good,' 'good!' to denote his approbation; and would occasionally say, in tolerable English, 'She works well.' He told us, that one of the American ships now here, beat about for five days in the same place, and was towed in at last by six boats, when the wind died away. We just looked into the harbour, as we passed, where Cook had formerly anchored, but it is more exposed to the heavy seas, which some particular winds occasion at times on the coast.

11th.—Taloo Harbour, Island of Moorea, or Eimeo.—This morning sent on board the American ships, for assistance to repair the damage recently sustained in the loss of our mast. We were soon visited by the captains of those two vessels, who brought their carpenters along with them. It appeared that the dry rot, even with the deck, had been the



cause of the accident. On examination, it was concluded best to make the same mast do again, which could be accomplished by making a tongue below the deck, and securing it with strong iron bands, which would only reduce its original height five feet. Though this reduction will not improve the look of the vessel, in other respects it may be considered a decided advantage. In the afternoon we landed, and for the first time visited the school, the residence of Alexander Simpson, his wife, and their little daughter. The children, about twenty-two in number, were at play upon the grass-plots in front of the house, which gave the place quite an air of English comfort;\* this ground is fenced in with strong stone walls. We did not purpose stopping long, not being acquainted with the safest landing-places, nor sufficiently so with the road from Alexander Simpson's, to find our way back to the boat in the dark.

In one of our letters recently arrived from England, was found a copy of a short account drawn up at Shoosharry in Russia, by my beloved children, of that illness which deprived them of their sainted mother, intended to have a place in the *Annual Monitor* for 1835.† The perusal of this document brought afresh to my recollection the days of distress and affliction, which my endeared family had to pass through in the loss of their precious parent, when already almost fatherless, from my having previously left home, to pursue the path of apprehended duty in the South Seas: a wound so deep, and but slightly healed, that it can never be forgotten when touched. But, I believe, that bitterness and anguish of soul are not offensive, when not accompanied with repining at the will and pleasure of my gracious and compassionate Lord; who when passing through the straits and difficulties of humanity, wept in love divine at the tomb of Lazarus. His compassions fail not; neither is the greatness of His faithfulness one particle diminished to a poor frail mortal; who, in the depth of affliction and anguish, still endeavours to breathe in humble resignation and sincerity, the language of "thy will be done."

12th.—This morning the natives began to visit our vessel, but only few in number. One man brought a hog, but seemed rather shy at first: taking but little notice of him soon brought him to reasonable terms. Having been paid for the hog, he went away; but he soon returned with bananas, guavas, ninitas, &c., in ample quantity, demanding for the whole, forty small sized clasp nails, which

were given him with a little addition. When the heat of the sun lessened, we went on shore and drank tea at the school with all the children. When about to return on board, Alexander Simpson asked me if I would favour them with a few words to-morrow; meaning the sailors that might come on shore, the few white residents, and the school family. I said that I thought of being at the native meeting at nine o'clock, to which there was no objection; but he still urged my speaking to the English, after the native meeting was over. I told him I could not answer for that, even if there, as I had nothing, and was nothing; I said I intended to come in time for the native congregation, and then asked, if he would interpret for me, to which he at once assented. Thus my way is open and provided for upon this island, if it please my heavenly Father to qualify me for the work, and open my lips; that in the ability which He alone giveth, I may show forth His praise, and cause the thanksgiving of many to redound to His glory: for truly without Him we can do nothing as it should be done.

13th, first-day.—Although we landed apparently in ample time, we found Alexander Simpson's house shut up, and the family gone to meeting; and when we reached the place of worship, the singing had already commenced. We remained at the door until this was finished, then went in and sat down on a form. When the Tahitian exercises were all gone through, Alexander Simpson began reading my certificates; when these were finished, I went and stood by his side, to be ready; and when all was gathered into stillness, alluding to what they had heard read, I said,—they were now aware that I had left all that was near and dear to me on earth, to visit them; that I had sailed over the trackless ocean, during many moons for this purpose, in order that I might be found standing in the counsel of that most holy will, which is ever excellent; and that the desire of my heart was, that the gospel might not be to them an empty sound, or a mere outward declaration of good things, but that they might believe, repent, and obey it; and that it might be to them indeed "the power of God unto salvation." As I proceeded, I was strengthened as by "the mighty God of Jacob," by the extension of that love which enlargeth the heart, to declare to the people the unsearchable riches of Christ, and the necessity of their coming to the knowledge of Him in whom they believed, by the Holy Spirit: that nothing short of their being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by this Word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever, could make them members of His church, which is without spot,

\*This is an establishment for the children of missionaries.

† See Appendix C.

or wrinkle, or any such thing. That, unless they came to hear the voice of the true Shepherd, and know it for themselves, they could never be His sheep, nor be known of Him. "My sheep hear my voice," said Christ:—"I know them, and they follow me; and I give unto them eternal life; and they shall never perish, neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand. My Father, which gave them me, is greater than all; and no man is able to pluck them out of my Father's hand;"—turning their attention more and more to the Holy Spirit of the Lord Jesus, that great shepherd of the sheep, whose light shineth in every heart; that so they might come to sit under His teaching, and know the voice of the only true teacher of His people, who speaketh in righteousness, and is mighty to save His people from their sins, but never in them;—appealing to the islanders, if they had not heard his voice in their own hearts, reproving them when they had committed evil, &c. That they must be willing to hear it and obey it, and to bear the indignation of it for sin and for transgression; until their cause was pleaded, and judgment executed, and themselves brought forth to the light, the light of Christ Jesus,—“the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world,” in the secret of the heart;—the Holy Spirit of Him that speaketh in righteousness, mighty to save: that they might know Him experimentally to be the “Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world,” from having witnessed their sins and transgressions to be washed white in his blood, and remembered no more, &c., &c.

The people were very attentive in the general; and although the house is large, and was more filled than usual by natives from distant parts of the island, and others from Tahiti, I felt as if I could penetrate its most distant crevices with comparative ease.\* There might be twelve hundred persons present. A boat was waiting to convey us on board; but after having passed through the ceremony of shaking hands with a wholesale number, on retiring to the school, I did not feel altogether clear of the people; so concluded to send off the boat, and remained on shore to attend the afternoon meeting.

The meeting gathered again at three o'clock, and was well attended, though somewhat smaller than in the morning. An opportunity was afforded at this meeting for us to witness the ceremony of baptizing a new convert, who had applied for admittance into the church as a member. A child was also baptized, the off-

spring, it was said, of one believing parent, the mother being then present. When the proper moment seemed come, I placed myself by the side of Alexander Simpson; and when all was quiet, I began to inform the people, that a fear of not being clear of the blood of my fellow-creatures had induced me again to stand before them; but it was in that love, which would gather all mankind into the heavenly garner of rest and peace; testifying the endless duration of the Lord's mercy, and the unbounded extension of his love to all, by sending his only begotten Son into the world, that “who-soever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life.” My mouth was again opened to declare largely amongst the people the truths of the gospel, and in a pressing manner to urge the necessity of the hearts of the parents being more and more turned to their children, in order to bring them up in the fear of the Lord; or else all the privileges and advantages which they had witnessed to result from the attempts to introduce Christianity amongst them, would in all probability be totally lost to their children, when their own heads were laid low. Without this care, things would soon be as bad as they had been formerly, when there was no place of safety nor of security upon the island; when every man's hand was against his brother, and the way of peace unknown. I had much to say to them of an arousing, encouraging, and warning nature and tendency, with the same undiminished strength as had been vouchsafed me in the morning,—to the comfort, peace, and relief of my own mind, and I trust, with humble thankfulness, to my Maker's praise.

#### CHAPTER XXIV.

*Eimeo—meetings with the natives—a Marai—return to the Henry Freeling—native meeting and with the mission families—sail for Huahine—prohibition of spirits there—social meeting of the authorities—distribution of tracts—sail for Raiatea.*

Taloo Harbour, Island of Eimeo, ninth month 18th, 1835.—CALLED upon Alexander Simpson to consult about going to the other side of the island, to Afareaitu, of late called Griffin's Town; but as he had a serious sore throat, it was not prudent for him to undertake the journey on the following day. I now perceived, that if I had not given up to attend the afternoon meeting at Papetoai last first-day, when it opened upon my mind, that I must have waited a week longer for want of an interpreter, on account of Alexander Simpson's present indisposition. Truly it may be said, that the present moment is all we have to trust to, or depend upon; the future may,

\* It is an octagonal stone building, with lofts running entirely round it.



to us, never come; and time, once past, can never be recalled. Then may we be diligently seeking to improve the present, with thankfulness for being strengthened to yield obedience to every pointing of duty.

19th.—Finding my attention turned to the children at the school, it seemed that to-morrow at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, would be a suitable time to propose for our meeting together, if no difficulty should appear. I accordingly mentioned to Alexander Simpson and wife, that if it would not interfere with any of their arrangements, I thought of paying a visit to the children to-morrow morning, at eleven o'clock. They at once expressed satisfaction with the proposal, and said it would be very acceptable. I said, 'Then we will sit down together, and see what will be done for us.'

20th, first-day.—Landed in the morning, so as to have ample time to walk to the school, and afford an interval sufficiently long to allow us to cool before going into the meeting, the weather being extremely hot. When the time came we assembled, as proposed, the children and the family, at the school. I fully expected that we should sit down in silence before the Lord; but when all were seated, it was proposed that the children should read a chapter, and the first chapter of the epistle to the Romans was read accordingly. The children were then examined, by questions respecting the moral law, and the object of our Saviour's coming upon earth. After these were gone through, we were favoured to get into silence. Having sat for some time, I found my mind getting deeper and deeper under exercise, until the time came for me to rise, with the words, "We, through the Spirit, wait for the hope of righteousness by faith." Sitting in silence may seem a little strange to those unaccustomed to the work; but it has been the practice of the religious Society of which I have the privilege of being a member, from its earliest rise, to wait upon the Lord for the influence of the Holy Spirit; to be taught by the great Teacher of his people, Christ Jesus, the minister of the sanctuary and of the true tabernacle, "which the Lord pitched and not man." I had to tell them that there is no alteration in the Christian life; it is a continual warfare, but with the spiritual weapons of burning and fuel of fire, which, if patiently submitted to, would purify and prepare us for an incorruptible and never-fading inheritance. The universality of Divine grace was freely spoken of, and the necessity of watchfulness and prayer urged with earnestness, even unto "praying always, with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance." The dear young peo-

ple were tenderly invited to seek after that knowledge which is life eternal: to "commune with their own hearts and be still." I wanted them to witness the gospel to be glad tidings of great joy to themselves, not a mere outward declaration of good things to come, but "the power of God unto salvation," to every one of them. None could be insensible to the weight of solemnity which prevailed, and I had to acknowledge the condescending mercy of that Almighty power, which was pleased to own the work; and also to appeal to those present as witnesses to the circulation of that "life," which is "the light of men."

23rd.—With the exception of taking occasional exercise for the last three days, have been busily employed in preparing despatches for my beloved friends in England, information having been received that an English whaler, homeward bound, had arrived at Tahiti. On going on shore this evening, we found Alexander Simpson so much recruited, that it was concluded to set off to-morrow morning for the distant station of Afareaitu.

24th.—Rose early, and left the vessel at half-past six o'clock, in the Henry Freeling's long-boat, with a hired crew of natives. We took in Alexander Simpson opposite the settlement, at seven o'clock, and immediately proceeded towards Afareaitu. Some parts of this passage are hazardous, owing to immense masses of coral lying near the surface of the water, upon which boats are not unfrequently stove; but by keeping a good look-out, we were favoured to pass through the whole of these places, which extend several miles, without touching with much violence upon any of the rugged cones. About three P. M., we reached Afareaitu, and were kindly received and entertained by Thomas Blossom and his wife, the former originally came out of Yorkshire, and with some of his connexions I was acquainted in England. He came out in the Tuscan several years ago with Tyerman and Bennet, as an artisan belonging to the mission.

25th.—The bell for the sun-rise worship rung early, and when the people were collected, we went to the meeting. At a suitable opportunity my certificates were read by Alexander Simpson; after which I had a full opportunity to clear my mind amongst these people: and although I had had nearly a sleepless night, and felt in the morning sunk both in body and mind, below the usual level of depression in such cases, yet my Lord was to me in truth, strength in weakness, riches in poverty, and a present helper in the needful time; and I had largely to declare of his love, of his mercy, and of his Truth; and to show forth his salvation to the people, as it is wrought in the heart through faith in the

operation of the Holy Spirit. I had also close things to say amongst them, and to show them the dreadful consequences of drawing down the divine wrath, if their return for his love and mercy was only neglect, disobedience, and rebellion against his heavenly and righteous invitation, so largely extended towards them: and to point out the snare which had been laid by the great enemy, in the introduction of spirituous liquors amongst them, and how they had fallen under the temptation, from which, if they had obeyed the gospel, they would have been preserved.

Notwithstanding a messenger had been sent beforehand to invite the inhabitants of Matea, a distant village, said to be more populous than Afareaitu, yet I think it was reported that none had made their appearance at the meeting. On considering the subject, I thought that although they would not be at the trouble of coming to me, I should not fully discharge my duty without going to them. This circumstance seemed likely to bring upon us the sacrifice of another night's absence from Papetoi, which is by no means desirable on several accounts; yet I felt resigned to give up every selfish consideration, if I should only be found in the path of duty. It was at last concluded for us to proceed to Matea, about a league along the coast, but in a direction that our boat's crew did not approve, as they hoped we should have returned to Papetoi by a route several miles shorter, which may sometimes be taken with safety when the wind and weather are favourable. We got ready immediately, and set out, taking with us Thomas Blossom and wife, their little boy, and a daughter of George Bicknell's of Taunua on the island of Tahiti, about ten years of age; they intending to walk home again in the cool of the evening. Having reached Matea we landed, and soon met with the principal chief: some rather shuffling excuses were made on behalf of the people for not attending the meeting in the morning at Afareaitu; and upon being asked where the people were then, he first said, in the mountains, procuring food for the queen of Tahiti, who we knew had arrived at Papetoi: but when he found there was a disposition in us to go into the meeting-house and sit down, there being no seats in the house where we then were, he began to alter his tone. Whether he thought we intended to wait for the people, or from what other cause, I am not aware, unless he supposed the falsehood would afterwards be detected, but he then said, the people were all in their huts, and he would send round to them to meet us forthwith. They assembled in as short a time as could be expected, and when well settled, my certificates were read by

Alexander Simpson; who, when he had finished, and given ample information respecting me to the people, said, turning to me, 'if you have any thing to say to them, I am ready to interpret.' I drew towards him, and just stated that I hoped to have seen them in the morning at Afareaitu: but although this had not been the case, I was not willing to pass them by. I then told them, that I had brought nothing with me, and had neither store-house nor barn, but that whatever my great Master might be pleased to give me to speak, I hoped to do it faithfully amongst them. From this I went on step by step, until my heart was so enlarged, and my tongue loosed, that I declared the Truth amongst them for the space of an hour. I have since been comforted in believing, that although many slept at the time, yet there were many awake, unto whom my message belonged; and whose countenances bespoke that they were not only awake, but awakened to a sense (I humbly trust) of their situation;—that they had a soul to be saved, and that "no man can save his brother, or give to God a ransom for his soul." When I sat down, I thought I was clear, but had to rise again in a while, and tell them, under its contriving influence, that I had felt the love of God since I sat down, to fill my heart; and that I never knew an instance, where a message had been sent to any people, but that the love of God was still extended towards them; adding, that I was not about to multiply words, but merely to express a desire that the Lord might direct their hearts in this love, and into the patient waiting for Christ.

The wind was against us, and the boat's crew very sulky at their disappointment in not going the shortest way back, as they wanted, supposing they should have had less work in rowing if they had taken that course. Presently the breeze died away, and I made signs to them that we should soon have a favourable wind, but one of them said, 'No,' in an unpleasant tone. In a short time, the breeze sprung up fair for the boat, when they became more cheerful, and before we had got many miles farther, they said, it was well for them to go with these strangers, for they had brought a fair wind with them. They then remembered, that we had a favourable wind the preceding day when going in the opposite direction, which is regularly calculated upon; but that we should have it fair again to-day was much more remarkable, because directly opposite the point from which the trade-winds almost uniformly blow. We were favoured to get through the most intricate and dangerous parts before it became quite dark, although we several times touched upon the reef: after landing Alexander Simpson at the settlement, we



reached the vessel in safety, and I believe with thankful hearts, though from the lateness of the hour and darkness of the night, our return was not expected until the following morning.

On the passage from Papetoai to Afareaitu, we landed to examine the remains of the largest Marai (Orua) in the South Seas, and not so much dilapidated as many of them. Much of the hewn stone work is yet to be seen; and the upright stones are still remaining, placed in a position best adapted to accommodate the backs of the priests when praying, and from whence they could witness the sacrifices of the wretched human victims.

27th, first-day.—This morning awoke early, and on endeavouring to ascertain what path I should have to move in, I found that the openings which had yesterday floated before the view of my mind, were now altogether out of sight; so concluded that I must remain on board the Henry Freeling. Just as we were about to assemble together in the forenoon, — was seen on the shore: a boat was immediately despatched for him, when it appeared that he was coming on board on purpose to sit with us. In the course of the time of our being together, my mind was brought under exercise, and I had a short and encouraging testimony to bear to the faithfulness of our gracious Lord; standing up with words to the following effect:—although our company is small, and in a remote corner of the globe, yet we have the word of a King for it, even the “King of saints,” that “where two or three are gathered together in his name, (in His power,) there He is in the midst of them.” But it is only such as are gathered under a sense of this constraining power and with sincerity of desire, who will be benefited. “The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong.” “Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts.” “Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid; ye believe in God, believe also in me,”—was the language of the Saviour to his disciples formerly; and I trust, there are none among us but who believe in God and in his Son Jesus Christ. Then let us be willing to believe in the Holy Spirit of Christ Jesus. Let us believe his words—“It is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you: I will pray the Father, and He shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever,—even the Spirit of Truth;—He will guide you into all truth.” There is nothing like an interest in the Master of the storm; if we have Him on board with us, though in the hinder part of the ship, asleep on a pillow, it is enough; for nothing

then can harm us. In an earthly race, although many may run, but one obtaineth the prize, and that but a corruptible, perishing crown; but in the heavenly race it is not so, for all may run, and all may win a crown incorruptible, that will endure,—a prize immortal. “Then let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us; looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith: who for the joy that was set before Him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God;” where he ever liveth to make intercession for those who are willing to come unto God by him. Even so run that ye may obtain! Whilst we continued in silence after I had sat down, I believed it required of me to attend the native place of worship at three o’clock in the afternoon.

Before two o’clock, Charles and myself landed, and reached the school just as the children were moving off in train towards the meeting. The school principally consists of the children and grand-children of the missionaries. We followed, previously telling Alexander Simpson, that if I should have any thing to say, when he came down from the pulpit, I would come and stand by his side. I found that I had a heavy burden to throw off; but my trust was in the Lord Jehovah, in whom alone is everlasting strength. I sat while they were proceeding with the regular service, in much conflict of mind; but as has often if not always been the case, casting a thought towards my dear brethren and sisters in England, as if they were in degree sensible of my situation: and I cannot help thinking that such is the precious unity in spirit of the faithful, that petitions are constantly ascending from one or other, as a lamp that burneth and never goeth out, to the throne of the Majesty on high, on behalf of a poor weak brother, separated as an outcast, almost as far from them as the east is from the west. For, however distant from each other the members of the mystical body may be placed, nothing can separate them from the love of God, as it is in Christ Jesus, their crucified, risen and glorified Lord: and therefore, if one member suffer, all the members suffer; if one member be honoured, all the members rejoice in heavenly sympathy and joy, in which a stranger cannot intermeddle. When Alexander Simpson came down from the pulpit, I went and stood by him; and shortly after he had prepared my way, by telling the people to be still, I said,—“Verily there is a reward for the righteous: Verily He is a God that judgeth in the earth.”—“Righteousness exalteth

a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people." "The work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness, and assurance for ever." "I was not aware that my voice would be heard any more among you, but my Lord and Master hath put it into my heart to stand before you once again. As what I speak must be in faithfulness before my God, so I must be honest, and deal plainly with you. I am come to warn you to flee from the wrath to come; and to show you a snare which the grand enemy, both to God and to man, that old serpent the devil, has prepared for you: he has tried it before, and found it to answer. It is that of throwing strong drink or spirituous liquors in your way. You have it in your power to resist the temptation; for no temptation will be permitted to assail us without a way being made for our escape. Then "draw nigh to God, and He will draw nigh to you: resist the devil and he will flee from you." The scene of riot and confusion has already begun upon the sister island, Tahiti, and the poison will soon reach to this island: if you do not resist it, your destruction will be of yourselves. If those in authority do not know it, they ought to know it; and if the authorities do know it, and with those under them in power, are conniving at it or winking at it, or deriving emolument from it, most assuredly the Lord will punish these: He will visit for these things. "Shall I not visit for these things, shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?" was the language of the Lord through his faithful prophet to a rebellious people formerly. Yea, He will sweep them from the face of the earth as with the besom of destruction. Nothing is so calculated to destroy the happiness of the people as this curse of the human race, and to aggravate that awful disease which is now rapidly depopulating these islands. If you do no set shoulder to shoulder in resisting this evil, what will you do when the wrath of the Lord is appearing? "He will laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fear cometh;" and the denunciation of the prophet against a people that had revolted, and forsaken the Lord their God, will be applicable unto you: "Hast thou not procured this unto thyself, in that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God when he led thee by the way? And now what hast thou to do in the way of Egypt," in following the fashions and follies, and vanities of this world, and in drinking the dark and polluted "waters of Sihor," &c.—"Thine own wickedness shall correct thee,—thy backslidings shall reprove thee: know therefore, and see, that it is an evil thing and bitter, that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, and that my fear is not in

thee, saith the Lord of Hosts." Come, then, my beloved people, in the fear, and in the dread, and in the love, of the Lord Jehovah I warn you,—your only refuge is in Jesus: then turn inward, to his Holy Spirit in your hearts, to "Christ in you the hope of glory;" submit yourselves to Him as little children, and He will leaven all in you into his own pure and heavenly nature, and prepare you for a kingdom "consisting not in meats and drinks, but in righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost:" a kingdom into which it is declared that nothing that is unclean or impure, nothing that worketh an abomination, or that maketh a lie, must ever enter: there, the wicked cease from troubling, there, the weary are at rest; there, the morning stars sing together; there, the sons of God shout an endless anthem; there, all is love and joy, and peace, and that for evermore.'

Several of the people went out when strong drink was mentioned, but the queen and her party, with all the principal authorities and judges from Tahiti, as well as those of this island, were present, and remained to the last. Alexander Simpson told the people that they must not consider me their enemy, for it was in pure love that I had spoken to them: and after he had put up a prayer on the occasion, he dismissed the assembly. Only one man and one woman ventured to shake hands with me. I told A. S. that I had placed him in an awkward situation, but the truth must be spoken: it was not a time to withhold it. He expressed his satisfaction at what had been done, and said it was much better for it to come from a stranger. I certainly did not know that so many of the authorities were present from Tahiti. I was aware that Pomare V. was in the neighbourhood; but though in the meeting, I did not see her, or know she was there. I was afterwards informed, that Paofai, one of the principal chiefs, was desirous to have spoken to me in the meeting by way of reply, but was deterred through fear of giving offence. When the meeting broke up he attempted to get to me, but could not succeed for the crowd of people. He told Alexander Simpson, my informant, that he wished in reply to my testimony borne in the meeting, to have said, on behalf of the natives of these islands and himself, that "he hoped I would go to Britain, and beg the people to have mercy on them; and then go to America, and beg the people there also to have mercy on them; because it was these countries that sent the poison amongst them." A fact not less true than lamentable.

Tenth month 3rd.—Nothing suitable for recording, of a religious nature, has occurred since last first-day. In the course of the



past week our stock of wood and water has been completed, but it is very difficult to procure a supply of vegetables, owing to Pomare and her numerous attendants remaining so long upon this island; and we are told they will not depart until they have consumed all the food in the neighbourhood.

8th.—From the 4th instant employed chiefly in preparing letters for England. In the forenoon to-day, Charles and myself sat down together as usual. Much oppressed with heat and heaviness in the forepart of our sitting. Towards the end more lively, and strengthened to maintain the watch, even unto prayer at times. Had close conversation with the heads of a family, where we afterwards drank tea.

10th.—My mind for the last two or three days has been looking towards fixing a time for sailing for Huahine, but nothing could be clearly discovered. While on shore yesterday, spent some time at the school. To-day another opportunity with the children and family at that institution has come much before me, to take place to-morrow after the native meeting is over in the forenoon. After closing in with this prospect, the time appeared come for me to tell our captain, that if the deck of the vessel were all ready, and the spars secured in the course of the day, there would be no difficulty in being ready for sea on second-day; which he readily admitted, and gave orders accordingly.

11th, first-day.—Much rain fell during the night, but after day-break the clouds began to disperse, and the day became fine as it advanced. This being the case, I felt liberty to convene the two families aforesaid. We proceeded to the shore in good time, expecting to have to wait for the breaking up of the native meeting; but we found, soon after landing, that the meeting was over, and Alexander Simpson had returned home. After sitting awhile, I told him, that we expected to leave the island to-morrow, and queried whether we could not sit down together once more, to which he readily assented. We then settled down into comfortable and silent waiting: at length the time came for me to stand up, though under a sense of much weakness. After the silence was broken into with a short remark, I told them there might not be many words, but the desire of my heart was, that we might be sensible of the power which was before words were, and would remain when words shall be no more: for words shall cease, and declarations come to an end; but the "word of our God shall stand for ever." I had to urge the necessity of seeking to know for ourselves the Divine will, and then to do it: that this was the great business of life, &c.

But knowledge only makes our condemnation greater, without obedience keeps pace with it: and truly this knowledge can never be attained in the noise and bustle and mixture of this world; nor while we are living in conformity therewith. Nor can we expect to be entrusted with such great knowledge as the will of God, whilst in a carnal, unrenewed state of mind,—according to the testimony of the apostle to the Romans, when beseeching his brethren, "by the mercies of God, to present their bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God," as "their reasonable service," "And be not conformed to this world," said he, "but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God." I had to declare the blessed state of the inhabitants of Mount Zion, where every one appeareth before God: they go from strength to strength. God is in the midst of her; she can never be moved:—He is known in her palaces for a refuge. The stream of gospel love flowed freely and largely to all present, and great was the solemnity that prevailed over us; such was the condescending mercy and loving-kindness of the Lord to his poor unworthy creatures. We then took leave of the whole, not expecting to visit them again; and we returned on board to dinner, under feelings of gratitude and thankfulness, and in peaceful serenity of mind, not being conscious myself of having any further service to attend to in this island.

12th.—The Henry Freeling being ready for sea, and the pilot coming off at an early hour, at five o'clock A. M., began to weigh the anchor, and at half-past six o'clock she was safely outside of the reef. Having discharged the pilot, we bore up and made sail, with a fine fresh trade-wind, for the island of Huahine. At four o'clock, P. M., this island was discovered, but as some part of the land is very high, and may be seen many miles distant, it was considered impossible to reach it before dark; on this account, it was judged most prudent to shorten our canvass, and haul to the wind in good time under easy sail during the darkness, with plenty of room to drift until the dawn of the morning. At day-break we edged away towards the island, and by keeping a good look-out from the mast-head, we were favoured to distinguish the outermost point of the projecting reef, upon which the white foam of the breakers served as a beacon for us to steer by with safety. We beat safely through the narrowest part of the channel, and about eleven o'clock on the 13th instant we anchored in Fare Harbour, and moored with a chain-hawser made fast to a cocoa-nut tree upon the shore, there being

thirteen fathoms of water close in with the strand. Two American ships left this neighbourhood yesterday afternoon, one of them homeward bound: a sail had been seen by us the preceding evening before sun-down, probably the homeward bound vessel. The *Zone*, Captain Russel, only remained in the harbour.

Huahine.—Soon after anchoring in Fare Harbour, a well-dressed person came on board, as a constable, to prevent petty thefts and depredations being committed by the natives who came on board; but we did not consider such a person at all needful: and having never suffered any material inconvenience of the kind at the other islands, his attendance was declined; I thought it would look like distrust on our part, and might have an unpleasant, if not injurious, effect upon the people. In the afternoon, Charles Barff the missionary, came on board; he seemed very sociably inclined towards us, and disposed to render every assistance in his power, when I might feel inclined to see the people collected. He translated the queen of Tahiti's letter to two of the chiefs of the island of Huahine, then on board; who appeared glad at having an opportunity afforded to take off the port charges, saying, they should be sorry to have been worse thought of than the neighbouring islands. I told them it was a very trifling affair, but I thought it would not have been handsome treatment, if the option of choosing for themselves had not been afforded. At midnight there were tremendous gusts of wind from the mountains, with heavy showers of rain. We were informed, that a short time ago some of the principal persons who had given away to the temptation of strong drink, were the first to come forward to propose that its use should be entirely abolished; which eventually was unanimously agreed to by the inhabitants. The reason given for making this proposal, was the conviction, that it was taking away their lives. Captain Russel told us that there are no spirits to be found on shore. One part of his crew go daily for exercise, and return every evening in an orderly manner, which would not be the case if drink could be purchased. How I should rejoice to hear, that these islands are strengthened to stand firm against every thing of the kind being landed amongst them; which might easily be effected, by supplies being withheld from any vessel attempting to trade with it. Every Christian government ought to come forward for the protection of these defenceless islanders, from every cruel outrage of such vessels as might attempt to enforce by arms the exchange of supplies, for rum, muskets and gunpowder.

18th, first-day.—Last evening my certi-

icates in the Polynesian language were handed to Charles Barff, to read at the native meeting this morning, if nothing should prevent my attendance. May the Lord be pleased to exalt his ever excellent name, and magnify his power amongst us, until the blessed Truth shall rise into dominion, and reign over all, to his glory. After an anxious, restless night, in which little sleep could be obtained, we arose early, and went on shore in good time, to look into the children's school before the meeting took place. All our sailors accompanied us, leaving only the Spanish cook and the captain, to take care of the *Henry Freeling*. The meeting was large; but the building would have accommodated a much larger assembly. The whole population is said to be, by a census lately taken, seventeen hundred and sixty persons, including every description; but I cannot suppose that many more than one thousand were present. I sat in much conflict of mind: it was a low time with me; and when my certificates were read, and Charles Barff came down from his pulpit, there seemed little before me to stand up with; but after the attention of the people was attracted, and a general stillness prevailed throughout the assembly, I expressed a desire that "grace, mercy and peace might be multiplied," &c., upon all the inhabitants of this island; and then proceeded to declare, that for the sake of Christ and his gospel, I had been induced to leave all that is near and dear to me in this world, that "the fulness of its blessing" might be theirs;—desiring that they might not rest satisfied with making an empty profession of the religion of Jesus, but that they might come to the full possession of the Truth as it is in Him; that so they might be washed, sanctified, and justified by His power, in His name, and by the Spirit of our God: that Christ might dwell in their hearts by faith; that they, "being rooted and grounded in love, might be able to comprehend with all saints, what is the length, and breadth, and depth, and height;" and know for themselves, the "love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, and be filled with all the fulness of God;" and not be members of an outward and visible church only, but of the new Jerusalem church, the church triumphant of the first-born: regenerated and "born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever." I had to point out the inward purity of heart that must be attained, and is attainable by all, through the precious blood of sprinkling, which cleanseth from all sin; showing them, as ability was graciously afforded, the gradual and progressive work and nature of their being turned from darkness to light, and from



the power of Satan to the power of God in their own hearts; earnestly appealing to them, if they had not at seasons witnessed the workings of this power, and the in-shinings of this light, that reproves for sin, and makes manifest every deed of darkness. When the meeting broke up, the people flocked round us to shake hands, with much apparent warmth and sincerity, of which we partook in a large degree. On parting from Charles Barff, I told him, that if I was there in the afternoon, I would endeavour to be in time. We returned on board immediately. In the afternoon, saw no other way than that of going again to the native meeting, and went early on shore for that purpose. Before going into the meeting, I mentioned to Charles Barff, that if I found any thing on my mind to say to the people, I intended to come and stand by him, at a suitable time. During part of the meeting, it seemed as if I should have something to communicate, but this prospect eventually closed up altogether. When the meeting was about breaking up, I suspected that Charles Barff was telling the people to stop, taking it for granted that I should have something to say, and catching his eye, I desired that he would not detain them on my account: he had then to tell them they might retire. I sat as a fool among them, though with a calm and peaceful mind. Some smiled; others said, '*pou*,' i. e. 'it is over, there is no more.' I felt however, quite satisfied through all, and I trust that my apparent folly will be a subject long remembered and wondered at by many, and lead some to inquire into the cause.

22nd.—Early in the morning received a few lines from Charles Barff, accompanying a translated copy of a note, with the original, from Mauiui, our pilot through the reef, as follows:—

'As I know not the names of you two gentlemen, I address you thus generally.

'Dear friends,—All peace to you after *diving* through the waves all the way to Tahiti. This is my little word, to which I desire you two to agree. Compassionate me, and come to my little dinner, about one or two of the day—a little friendly meeting. May you two be saved by Jehovah.

'MAUIUI.'

An answer was returned to Charles Barff, that rather than disappoint the intended kindness of Mauiui, we proposed accepting the invitation.

It being fifth-day, we sat down together to wait upon the Lord. As regards myself, I thought I was sensible of something like a renewal of strength to struggle against the infirm-

ities of the flesh, in drawing nigh to the everlasting fountain. About the time fixed, we repaired to Mauiui's house, and found the company assembled, consisting of the lawful queen of the island and her husband, the young queen Maihara, (who is to have full possession of the island next week,) and her husband, brother to the husband of Pomare the queen of Tahiti, also Mahine the governing chief and his wife, and the two chiefs next in rank upon the island and their wives, the king of Raiatea's eldest daughter, and several younger branches of the chief families. A plentiful supply of provisions was set before us, with a variety of vegetables, such as yams, plantains, sweet potatoes, bread-fruit, taro, &c.; cocoa-nut milk, sweetened lime-juice and water, with plain water, were the beverages made use of, though several flasks of wine were on the table. The company appeared upon the same level; no distinction of persons was visible: harmony and good will were the prevalent feelings throughout. The host and his wife waited upon their guests with much delight and unwearied attention. It was afterwards ascertained that this female had been brought up in the family of Charles Barff.

23rd.—The authorities of this island are in the practice of meeting together occasionally, and they usually solicit the company of such strangers as may be among them, taking care to fix the day for collecting, when these can attend. Several days ago we were informed that such a meeting was in contemplation, and to-day being agreed upon for holding it, Charles and myself were invited. The children were collected in the forenoon at the meeting-house, and afterwards formed no insignificant part of the guests at the dinner-tables. We dined out of doors, under the shade of large trees adjoining the queen's apartments. More than one thousand persons were present, including lookers-on, and the festival altogether was highly interesting. The company was exhorted by several of the principal speakers, and the dear children were again and again reminded of the privileges enjoyed by these islands in their day and generation. They were told, that in the days of superstition and idolatry many of them would have been offered as human sacrifices; that some of the boys might have been permitted to live, if their parents were of high rank; but the girls were often sacrificed, and many of the boys thus preserved would be afterwards killed, being kept only for the purposes of war. But now look round, said one of these orators, at the comforts and blessings we enjoy; and how did they all come, but by the introduction of Christianity amongst us? It was all the goodness, and mercy, and love

of Jehovah, in sending the gospel among us. Several of these speakers, on beginning, addressed themselves to us in terms of welcome and approbation. One said, alluding to myself, 'Your address to us last sabbath-day in the chapel astonished us: I thought you had got the bible in your head. We are happy to have a teacher come among us; then we have two teachers, one within and one without. You told us, that a mere outward profession of religion was nothing; that it would not benefit us. The Holy Spirit of the Messiah in the heart is what we must learn to be acquainted with, and that all the work is within ourselves,' &c. He said, 'We have formerly been a very wicked people; our island has been worse than any other island in these seas. Captain Cook said so: he found us so; we were the greatest thieves he met with. Captain Cook shot several of us; and if we had provoked him further, he would have shot more of us.\* But your visit to us is not like his; yours is in love to our souls,' &c. In this manner the time was occupied for the space of two hours, when a hymn was sung, and afterwards a short prayer made by one of the chiefs; when the company dispersed with as much order and quietness, as the breaking up of a Friends' meeting in England. I could have said on the spot, "It is good for us to be here;" for the love of the blessed Master flowed through my heart, and softened the creature, as into clay fit for the potter's use.

25th, first-day.—For the last three days, at intervals, the prospect of attending the native meeting this morning has been heavy and humiliating; but there seemed no other way of clearing my mind, and of being at liberty to leave the island, than by standing resigned, and willing to be any thing or nothing; to go or to stay, according to the good pleasure of that holy will, in the counsel of which, I trust, it is my heart's desire to be found walking. Rose early to be in readiness, but for want of the means of keeping to any fixed time on shore, we found on landing, that the children were coming away from school, although half-an-hour before the proper time for the meeting to gather. We remained outside until Charles Barff and his wife came. He asked, if I wished to have the order of things any way altered. I told him, no, but that if I found it needful, I should come and stand near him at a proper time. I sat under much exercise until near the conclusion, when I began to see my

way sufficiently clear to encourage me to leave the seat, and go the table; which Charles Barff perceiving, exhorted the people to stillness and attention. A solemn silence prevailed, until broken by my saying, "Blessed are they which have not seen, and yet have believed" in the only begotten Son of God;—enlarging on the love unutterable of our heavenly Father in sending his Son into the world, that "whosoever believeth in him, should not perish, but have eternal life." I had largely to speak of the dear Redeemer's kingdom, and the necessity of every individual coming to the saving knowledge of it in his own heart; for it had been declared by the Saviour himself to be the thing above all others needful, and the righteousness thereof first to be sought for. He has also told us where it is to be found: the kingdom of God is within you: that all things needful should be added to those who obeyed this divine command of—"seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness." I had to set before them the gracious dealings of the Almighty, and the blessings and privileges by which they are surrounded, and the return that is called for at their hands. Before sitting down, I had to speak in a close manner to the heads of families, respecting the rising generation; that their offspring might be placed in a capacity, to inherit the privileges and advantages which they themselves enjoy: being confident that if they, the parents, were so favoured as to be permitted to enter the kingdom of heaven, none among them could be found who would not desire to have their dear children there also:—therefore it was their bounden duty to lay these things to heart, &c. The meeting concluded in a solemn manner.

26th.—The queen and her husband, with two of the principal chiefs, and several others, came to dinner; they remained until near five o'clock P. M., apparently well satisfied with their visit,—although to ourselves it seemed almost like a day lost; yet it is needful to bear and have patience with the childish behaviour of these people, however irksome it may be; it is more especially trying when much disposition to avarice is displayed.

27th.—Engaged on board until four o'clock, P. M.; many of the natives constantly with us, among them several young women and younger children of both sexes. They seem to enjoy themselves, and I like to see them so comfortable and unsuspecting, considering themselves quite safe on board. But I cannot help viewing their confidence with suspicion and fear, lest the treatment they meet with in our vessel, should induce them to venture on board of others at a future day, in the same unsuspecting and unprotected manner. In the

\* It was at this island that Captain Cook caused the ears of several of the natives to be cut off for committing petty thefts on board the ships, and in other respects used them very cruelly.



afternoon, took exercise on shore, and ascended a considerable height up one of the mountains; Charles Barff having joined us, we accompanied him home to tea. In the course of the time we were together at his house, the circumstance of the females coming so freely on board the Henry Freeling was mentioned, and the fears that I entertained on their account; but he said, 'Yours is called the "Praying ship;" which is the reason of their venturing on board as they do.' However pleasant and satisfactory it is to know the reason why our decks are so crowded with this description of female visitors, yet we find to our great regret, that the practice of others in going off to the shipping is carried on to a greater extent than their missionary is aware of; although things in many respects are much better regulated at Huahine than in other places which we have visited. What can be expected, while these poor islanders are exposed to the notorious crews of the shipping, the vicious practices of whom cannot fail to subvert and banish every virtuous feeling; they are like a swarm of destructive locusts, that eat up every green thing wherever they come.

Although I was favoured with an open relieving season in testimony at the forenoon native meeting, on first-day last, yet I did not feel myself at liberty to leave the island without attending one of their meetings, held on other days of the week. Although the number of persons who attend on those occasions, from various causes, is mostly very small; it appeared to me probable, that such as did get to them, might be considered the most valuable part of the community. Before leaving Charles Barff, I told him that I did not feel, as I had a little anticipated would be the case, at the conclusion of the meeting last first-day morning; and that I believed it best for me to be at the meeting to-morrow afternoon. Both he and his wife gave me to understand that the company would be very slender; yet it did not appear right for me to hesitate on that account.

28th.—We repaired to the meeting-house about the time that the people assembled; and although but few were collected when we got in, yet the whole number at last was far more considerable than had been looked for or expected. I had to revive the holy promise to them "that feared the Lord;" that "spake often one to another, and that thought upon his name." "They shall be mine, saith the Lord of Hosts, in that day when I make up my jewels; and I will spare them, as a man spareth his own son that serveth him." I expressed to the people my belief, that they who attend on all such occasions, are in general

desirous to serve the Lord in their day and generation; and although the number may be few, I would not have them discouraged. "The righteous shall hold on his way; and he that hath clean hands shall be stronger and stronger." That much depended on their conduct and circumspect walking through life; as they would be looked up to by others, and therefore they had the greater need to take heed unto themselves. On returning to the vessel, I told Captain Keen that I knew of nothing to prevent our sailing for Raiatea on sixth-day, the 30th instant. The American ship, Commodore Rodgers, arrived to-day, after a passage of six weeks, from Oahu, one of the Sandwich Isles; a full ship with spermaceti oil, homeward bound—she had been out thirty months from New Bedford.

29th.—After dinner Charles Barff came on board: and towards five o'clock, P. M., we went with him to the shore, to take leave of his family, in the prospect of leaving them to-morrow. Charles Barff purposes not only accompanying us to Raiatea, but also to Tahaa and Bolabola: without this provision, our touching at any of the islands to leeward of this place would have been wholly in vain, there being no missionaries residing upon them. The wife and children of George Platt are now living at Raiatea, during his absence at the Samoas, or Navigator Islands, whither he is gone with Samuel Wilson. The circumstance of Charles Barff going with us, I cannot but regard as a singular interposition of Divine providence in our favour; as it came about without any intervention or contrivance on our part, but originated entirely with himself,—not a hint having been given or desire expressed that this might be the case: it is however in full accordance with the many great and marvellous works which our eyes have seen of Him, "who causeth his wind to blow, and the waters flow." A large parcel of religious tracts, and several of the writings of Friends, were selected this evening for Charles Barff, to be distributed as opportunities may offer; as the shipping in general are eager to receive every thing of the kind while on these long and tedious voyages.

#### CHAPTER XXV.

*Raiatea—native meeting—a place of human sacrifice—Bolabola—desolating effects of intemperance—meeting with the natives—meeting with the rebel chief and his idolatrous party—wretchedness of the inhabitants—distribution of clothing—sail for the Sandwich Islands—Flint's Island—Oahu.*

Tenth month 30th.—At nine o'clock, A. M., Charles Barff having been summoned on board

by our making the signal for a pilot, the Henry Freeling weighed and made sail from Fare Harbour. When clear of the reef, we 'hove to,' discharged the pilot, took in our boat, then bore up, and made all sail for Raiatea. Soon after one o'clock, P. M., we passed between the islands which form the entrance to the roadstead; and at two o'clock anchored in eighteen fathoms water off Uturôa, the missionary establishment at the settlement on the north side of the island. Charles Barff went on shore to dinner, in order to announce our arrival, and be in readiness to attend a meeting which was to be held in due course that afternoon. As only a small portion of the people would be there, it was concluded best for me not to be present, so that the reading my certificates might not take place until the whole congregation was assembled, the day after to-morrow, first-day. Towards evening we landed, and went to the mission-house, where we were kindly received and entertained by Judith Platt in the absence of her husband: she had a son and daughter at home with her, and her eldest son was expected from Bolabola. A considerable number of the natives, with Tamatoa the king, or chief of the chiefs, with some of the governors of the island, soon made their appearance. All the seats in the room, which was large, were occupied, and many of the guests were seated on the floor: they came to greet us on our arrival, and bid us welcome; at the same time it served as a plausible pretext for some to gratify their curiosity, and to scrutinize the strangers. We were, however, gratified ourselves, to find that many of them seemed alive to inquiry, and apparently desirous to improve. We have again been favoured to pass in safety from one island to another, and I trust, I have not left any thing undone that should have been done. Although desirous to move on, yet I am anxious not to be found imprudently hastening forward in my own will, instead of patiently and resignedly abiding the Lord's time. We brought with us from Huahine the son of one of the principal chiefs, whose mother is now on a visit to this island, attending the death-bed of her father.

31st.—In the course of the day I have been a good deal depressed, at the prospect before me of the native meeting to-morrow morning; but my trust is in Him whom I have been favoured to know, in whom I have believed, and who said, "Counsel is mine, and sound wisdom: I am understanding, I have strength."

Eleventh month 1st, first-day.—Although half-past nine o'clock was the time fixed for the native meeting to begin, yet the people were observed moving along by the edge of the sea-coast, in small parties towards the

meeting-house, by half-past seven o'clock in the morning. On this account we landed earlier than the time agreed upon, that they might not have to wait long before our arrival, seeing they could not be blamed for not keeping near to the time appointed, not possessing the means of ascertaining the hour. On reaching the place we found the meeting nearly gathered, and Charles Barff at his post. Perhaps the number collected did not exceed materially one thousand persons. Charles Barff began at an early period of the meeting to read my certificates. I had been under a heavy load of exercise during the time we had been in the meeting-house, which indeed had been the case from an early hour in the morning: but now the cloud seemed, as it were, to rise from off the tabernacle, and my way seemed clear to stand up.

A profound silence reigned; when my soul saluted all present in the love of the everlasting gospel, in the apostolic language: "Now the God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work;" &c. A pause now followed, and when the attention of the people was firmly fixed, I proceeded with—"Launch out into the deep, and let down your nets for a draught;" showing the result of willing obedience to this, and every other command of our Lord, even though we may, as it were, have toiled all the night and taken nothing: such had been the case in reality formerly, as we may conclude from the reply of Simon Peter. That the blessing Divine might perhaps be witnessed amongst us this morning, if such a disposition was happily wrought in our hearts, and increase and extend, as from vessel to vessel, until all were filled. "I am the light of the world," said Christ; "he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life." To this I wish to turn the attention of all mankind, that Christ may dwell in their hearts by faith, which is in Him: then indeed would they be effectually turned "from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan" to the power of God; and witness for themselves the light of the knowledge of the glorious gospel of Christ so to shine in their hearts, as to be to them the power of God unto salvation. This was the most attentive audience that I have yet stood before as a spectacle: my heart was greatly enlarged, and utterance abundantly given me, far beyond what I can convey an idea of here; tending to turn the people more and more to the teachings of the Holy Spirit; of the great, heavenly, and only true Teacher in their own hearts; which would tell them all things that



ever they did, and by which they must be converted and born again, or they could not enter the kingdom of God. The solemnizing power of Truth with which we were highly favoured, and of which I trust there were many sensible witnesses, reigned over all: under the covering of which the meeting broke up, in great quiet and order.

When the people were fairly at liberty, many of all ages and both sexes crowded round us to shake hands, in numbers beyond all practicability of ascertaining. I scarcely remember any previous meeting after which I felt so much heated; and a long walk, exposed to the scorching rays of a vertical sun nearly at noon-day, helped not a little to increase this inconvenience. I told Charles Barff that I preferred remaining on shore, as I was looking forward to attend the afternoon meeting at three o'clock.

By keeping in the quiet, I was refreshed and ready when the meeting-time came. The people assembled early, and in number far exceeding what usually attend in an afternoon. I had again to turn them to that holy Word, which liveth and abideth for ever, by which they must be born again. This was the hope of David; he waited patiently for it: he said, he waited for the Lord more than they that watch for the morning. "My soul doth wait, and in his word do I hope." After the meeting broke up, we were spared the ceremony of shaking hands by a discussion which took place among the people. As this was in a tongue unknown to me, and no interpreter came forward, I felt myself at liberty quietly to retire.

It afterwards appeared that a proposition had been made to provide a 'feeding' for the strangers on the 5th instant. Upon inquiry, I found that it is a voluntary and free-will offering of the people themselves, and not arising from any constraint or order of the chiefs. This being ascertained, I feel a willingness to accept the kindness intended to be shown, at the same time hoping that good may come out of it. As regards the body of the people at large, this 'feeding,' as it is termed, amounts to little more than the great bulk of the company bringing their vegetable food with them, and eating it when collected together, by general consent at the same time. The seamen of the Henry Freeling attended both these meetings in an orderly manner. Returned on board to tea, under a feeling of poverty and unworthiness.

2nd.—In the morning, engaged on board. Charles Barff came off, bringing with him John Platt, the eldest son of the missionary; he had returned late the preceding evening from Bolabola, to which island he had been

with a small native-built schooner, to bring from thence a part of his father's cattle, many of which are still remaining there. The mission is entirely withdrawn from Bolabola, the people having generally given themselves up to intoxication, converting even their bread-fruit into spirit by distillation. In the afternoon, went on shore for exercise: met with Charles Barff; and after going with him to see a patient labouring under a dreadful attack of the elephantiasis, went to look at the grave of the late James Loxton, with whom I became acquainted when in London about two years ago; he was then a fine young man. In this comparatively short space of time, a fourth part of which had been expended on the passage out in the Tuscan, or thereabouts, he had arrived at this island, commenced his work, and finished his course: his widow has since become a mother, and returned to England with her infant charge.

3rd.—Visited the ancient and extensive Marais at the east end of the island, accounted the most celebrated in the South Seas, and upon which the sacrifice of human life has been witnessed to a horrible extent. One of these was styled sacred to the god of wars, another to the god of thieves, &c. A native not far advanced in years, who accompanied us, had himself been twice present at an exhibition of these dreadful realities: many human bones were lying about. To-morrow afternoon a meeting is appointed to be held on the island of Tahaa, not many miles distant from Raiatea, and sheltered within the same coral reef. It being the usual time for holding the native meeting, and notice having been sent yesterday of our intention to be there, it is hoped that those islanders will generally attend on the occasion. Tahaa is under the control of the government of Raiatea.

Tahaa, 4th.—After dinner set out in company with Charles Barff for Tahaa, in a whale-boat, with a fine breeze of wind. On landing, we stopped at the chief's house, while the people had time to collect. On reparing to the meeting-house but few had come; and for some time the prospect was discouraging, particularly to myself, as I felt much depressed, and in a state of more than usual desertion and barrenness. As the number of people increased, their general behaviour indicated them to be strangers to the important object for which they are in the common practice of assembling; a circumstance which may be readily conceived and for which allowance should be made, as they are seldom even visited by missionaries at the present day. Since the death of James Loxton, and the absence of George Platt on the Samoa mission, they have even been without a native teacher.—

After my certificates were read, I seemed to have little to communicate beyond remarking, that it would be understood by what they had heard, I had not come amongst them from any sinister or private motive of my own, but that I might be found standing in the counsel of the Divine will: that I sought not theirs but them, the welfare of the immortal part in them. That the special object of my coming was to turn their attention to the power of Divine grace in their own hearts. That they were not beyond the reach of that eye, which neither slumbereth nor sleepeth. "He that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep;" and although they were left without an outward teacher, yet if they turned to this light of Christ in their own hearts, in earnestness and sincerity, they would have a Teacher indeed, that teacheth as never man taught; which could never be taken away or removed; and which, if sought after and obeyed, would make them the Lord's children, "heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ" in his heavenly Father's kingdom. They would then be members of the Lord's church, because the Lord's children; all of whom, it is declared, "are taught of Him: in righteousness shall they be established, and great shall be their peace." I had largely to speak to them on the great and momentous work of regeneration, and the only blessed means by which this can be effected; that of obedience to the manifestation of the light of Christ, which shineth in every heart, through his Holy Spirit, by which we must all be born again.

I had also to speak on the incalculable value of the Holy Scriptures: that "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God; and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness," &c.; and they refer to the Saviour of the world from the earliest ages of time, as the "seed of the woman, that shall bruise the serpent's head." They show forth the gracious dealings of the Almighty, and testify his love to man, and are replete with heavenly precepts, examples, and parables: still the Holy Spirit that inspired the holy men, who in former ages gave them forth, is greater than the Scriptures. They are a blessed book, the book of books, setting forth the revealed will of God: but they point to the Holy Spirit, that takes of the things of Christ and shows them unto us. And truly there is nothing that can manifest and prove to the transformed and renewed mind, what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of God, but the power of the Spirit of the Lord Jesus, which "declareth unto man his thought." It is not every one that saith, "Lord, Lord, that shall enter into the kingdom of heaven," said Christ, "but they

that do the will of my Father which is in heaven;" and the will of the Father is, that we should believe in, hear, and obey the Son. "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him." The meeting at first seemed as if it would be unsettled, but it sunk down into quietness as I proceeded; and before it closed, was eminently owned by the divine Master. I think I never observed more attention and interest exhibited; and the countenances of many bespoke the solidity of their minds. After noticing several of the people, we proceeded towards our boat, which the natives had tolerably well loaded with food. After taking a final leave, we were favoured to reach Raiatea before dark, and drank tea at the mission-house.

5th.—This morning our decks were crowded with the Raiateans, who began to bring on board an abundant supply of pumpkins, pine-apples, fowls, &c., for which they bartered at a low rate. At noon, went on shore to partake of the feeding at Tamatoa's new house, which was opened, for the first time, on the occasion of this public dinner. The building, although extremely large, was well filled; and the whole affair was conducted throughout in an orderly manner. Many able speakers among the people enlarged in an impressive manner upon the privileges they now enjoy; contrasting their present state, however much below the Christian standard of morality and virtue, with the state they were once in, when heathenism reigned unmolested, and every man did what was right in his own eyes. When these had apparently finished, I told Charles Barff that I wished to speak to the people at a suitable time; this he communicated to them, and a general silence soon prevailed: my mouth was opened freely to declare the day of the Lord amongst them, to the great relief of my own mind; standing up with,— "behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!" &c., declaring the blessedness of those that believe the gospel, that repent and obey it. Such find it not to be a mere outward declaration of good things to come; but the power of God unto salvation, from sin here, and to their everlasting comfort hereafter: it proved a solemn opportunity. May it long be remembered, to the Lord's glory and praise, by the humble thanksgiving of many. Under a peaceful feeling took leave of the people and the chiefs, and returned forthwith to the vessel.

Found a canoe from Tahaa, with the native school teacher and family, who paid us a short visit, and to whom some trifling presents were made. The natives on shore perceiving our return on board, came off with every kind of supply in their power to offer, and kept us



very busily employed until it was time again to go on shore to pay a farewell visit to Judith Platt and family, whose uniform kindness could not well be exceeded. At eight o'clock P. M., we took leave, and on reaching the Henry Freeling, prepared for sailing in the morning, if nothing arose to prevent. The natives were on board at an early hour of the morning on the 6th; and I felt desirous to accommodate them by taking their different articles that were at all likely to be of use to the ship. As soon as the signal was made for sailing, Charles Barff came on board, when all our payments were nicely arranged with the bartering parties; and having taken in the pilot, the anchor was weighed, and we proceeded from Uturoa towards the western passage through the reef. For several hours we were baffled between the two islands of Raiatea and Tahaa, the wind often light, and shifting from side to side every few minutes. At length a fresh breeze sprung up, and after making a few tacks we got clear of every shoal, and into the open passage; discharged the pilot, and made sail to the westward, with a fine trade-wind for the island of Bolabola, at half-past one o'clock A. M. Soon after five o'clock we entered a fine opening in the reef which encircles this island, and worked up into a beautiful and well-sheltered haven, sufficiently extensive to contain a great part of the British navy. Anchored in fourteen fathoms water, opposite the once flourishing missionary settlement at Vaitape, in latitude  $16^{\circ} 27'$  south,  $152^{\circ} 8'$  west longitude.

Bolabola, 6th.—It was ascertained, after anchoring in the haven of Teavanui, that there is a pilot for the accommodation of such ships as may incline to enter; but as it seldom happens that this place is visited at the present day, he was engaged in fishing on the other side of the island when we arrived. One of the principal chiefs and many of the people have relapsed into their former idolatrous practices, and the intoxicated state of the people has latterly deterred ships from calling here, not only from a fear of receiving damage, but on account of the few supplies to be obtained. Such vessels as do come are mostly American, and they generally 'stand off and on,' at a distance, to dispose of rum, in exchange for what the islanders can furnish. There is, however, at present but little to be had, as the thoughtless part of the community (and these unhappily are in power) have converted even their bread-fruit into ardent spirits by distillation, and many families are now in an unclothed and famishing condition. Charles Barff has no doubt that they will be kindly disposed towards us; and I do not feel the least hesitation in coming amongst them.

VOL. VII.—No. 5.

We found here John Platt, son of the missionary family at Raiatea, who has brought over a small cargo of plantains, as food for the people. In the schooner with this young man, our kind friend and interpreter, Charles Barff, looks forward to return to his family at Huahine, after doing all he can for us: he is now on shore endeavouring to collect the scattered people at the meeting to-morrow. There is a little remnant of serious natives yet remaining, who have hitherto stood firmly against the practices of those in authority; and several of them are nearly allied to the notorious chief whose name is Mai, to which the letter O is often prefixed: this little band there will be no difficulty in convening. We could not have arrived here at a more favourable moment, as the stock of spirits is exhausted, and the growing crops are not yet ready for the process of distillation. May the Lord work amongst them, to the exaltation of his own great and adorable name: may now be the accepted time,—may now be the day of salvation to these poor people,—saith all that is within me! In the afternoon landed with Charles Barff for exercise. Saw the relics of several Marias, where human sacrifices were formerly offered: continued our walk until a bay opened on the other side of the island. Passed by one of the dancing-houses, which has been established since the introduction of strong drink amongst them. A message was despatched in the course of the day to the head of the rebellious party, who has been their leader into every mischief and distress that has overtaken them of late, to invite him and his company to attend the meeting to-morrow. These people have now taken up a position in a distant valley, for the purpose of carrying on their abominable practices more free from restraint: the invitation was stated to be at the request of two strangers just arrived from the island of Raiatea. They returned for answer that they could not come to-morrow, but would certainly attend on the following day. By this it was understood that they are in such a reduced, impoverished, and suffering state, from their evil habits and ruinous practices, as to be for the most part without clothing, and their resources exhausted by purchasing rum and other strong drink.

8th, first-day.—From appearances upon the shore this morning, considerable hopes were entertained that the people in the neighbourhood of the settlement, would generally collect to attend the meeting. By nine o'clock went on shore, and on reaching the meeting-house, (a large and commodious building,) we found that the children were in school, and singing a hymn before separating. When they had finished, we went into the meeting-

house, where about five hundred of the natives were soon assembled, but none of the rebel party were there. When Charles Barff had finished and come down from the pulpit into the reading-desk, I took a station at his left hand. The house being very large, and the people seated in a straggling manner, I suggested their drawing nearer together and to us; which was immediately complied with in a very rough and disorderly manner, and as they continued unsettled, and talking pretty loud, I said a few words, which produced a general silence. My certificates having been read, after a pause it was with me to say:—Let us humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God this morning,—let us prostrate our minds before Him, as a people conscious that to us belong only blushing and confusion of face: peradventure He may condescend to lift up the light of His countenance upon us, and bless us together; for “God is love.” “As an eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her wings,” so the Lord is with his people. I told them, that I had passed over many miles of trackless ocean to visit them; that I had come among them in the fear and in the love of God: in that love which embraces all, and would gather every son and daughter of the human race into the heavenly garner of rest and peace: that this love constraineth us, “because we thus judge that if one died for all, then were all dead; and that He died for all, that they which live might not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto Him, who died for them, and rose again.” The burden which rested upon me was to turn them from darkness unto the Holy Spirit of Christ Jesus in themselves, to “that light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world;” the same that the apostle John so fully mentions in his first chapter. That this light would show them where they are, and make manifest the state of their hearts, setting their sins in order before them; that so they might repent of them, and forsake them. That nothing short of “repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ,” will be availing. That this light is Christ: and if they believe in Him, and have faith in His power, they should not walk in darkness, but should have the light of life, according to His word; “I am the light of the world,” said He; “he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.” Have you not heard the voice of the Holy Spirit in the secret of your hearts? I know you have! I am sure you have! Which of you that has come to years capable of reflecting upon your past and present life, can say that you have not heard this

in-speaking voice, striving with you, and reproving you, when about to commit sin, and for sin committed,—reminding of sin after sin, committed perhaps many years ago? This light not only discovereth unto man his sins, but as he turneth to it, and followeth it in obedience and heartfelt repentance, his sins are remembered no more against him; they are taken away and forgiven, and though once of the darkest hue, are now made white in the blood of “the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world.” And those who thus turn to hear and obey the voice of the Son of God in spirit, although dead in sins and trespasses, yet shall they live, and have a Teacher that cannot be set aside, or be removed into a corner; but their eyes shall see their teacher, and their ears shall hear a voice behind them, when about to turn to the right hand or to the left, saying in effect, “this is the way, walk ye in it:” such shall no longer walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life, &c. Although poor and low enough before standing up, yet now my tongue was loosed, and my heart expanded in that love and strength, which alone clothe with authority to set the truth over all, and cause even the earthly tabernacle to rejoice in the midst of the tribulations of the gospel; because its consolations are known and felt to abound, and create renewed sensations of gratitude and praise, to the glory of God the Father. It was a blessed meeting. When it broke up, the people crowded round about us in their usual way to greet the strangers. When going to the afternoon meeting, I told Charles Barff from present feeling, that I believed I should have nothing to say to the people; and so it proved, for I sat as a sign amongst them; but peace and resignation to the Divine will were my dwelling-place. Our captain and seamen attended both these meetings.

9th.—A messenger was despatched early this morning to ascertain whether the rebel chief and his party were likely to keep their word and come to us; as I had concluded, if they failed in fulfilling their promise, to visit them in their own valley. The messenger however reported, on returning, that the chief would come to us in the forenoon. By ten o'clock A. M., information was received that he was near at hand; when we, accompanied by Charles Barff, landed to meet the party. They soon arrived, and knowing that the chief had objected to go into the meeting-house, this was not urged; but we took up our station immediately under the shade of an immense tree, under the wide-spreading branches of which, several hundred persons could be sheltered from the scorching heat of the sun. The chief, at the head of a large



banditti of females, first made his appearance; and on coming near to us, said, 'You are come at a good time, and I hope that one or both of you will remain with us and be our teachers.' I told him we were not at our own disposal; that we must go wherever it is the will of the Lord, and that I believed we had many places to go to beside that island: we then shook hands with him and all his followers. The females were decorated in the true ancient heathen style, with garlands of flowers upon their heads, and were persons employed to perform for their chief's amusement, those disgraceful and abominable dances practised in these islands before the introduction of the missionaries. A body of men then followed, each of them throwing one or more cocoa-nuts at our feet as they came up; and those couples which had them suspended from a pole, threw them upon the ground in a ludicrous manner, which kept the whole assembly, and the rabble that attended on the occasion, in constant laughter and confusion. Upon the chief beginning to ask some questions about us, I proposed that my certificates should be read, which Charles Barff at once assented to, when silence was immediately proclaimed. Before the reading was finished, these wild, thoughtless people were measureably changed into an attentive audience. When the reading was finished, all remained silent; and after a pause, I exhorted them to let the Lord God be their fear, and let him be their dread.—“He is not far from every one of us,” said I; “for in him we live, and move, and have our being:” adding, that I had hoped to see their faces yesterday with the rest of the inhabitants of the island, who gave me their company; but as this was not the case, it was my intention to-day to have visited them where they dwelt, as I could not think of leaving the island without seeing them; for the Lord God, whom I serve, is a God of love and of mercy, and willett not the death of a sinner, but rather that all should repent, return, and live. For this he sent His only begotten Son into the world, “that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.” It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God; for if the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the sinner and the ungodly appear. That for the sake of Christ and his gospel, I was come amongst them; for His inheritance is still the heathen, and the uttermost parts of the earth His possession. That I was a stranger, and knew nothing of the existing differences amongst them, and desired to know nothing amongst them, but “Jesus Christ and him crucified;” but this I do know, that you have not obeyed the gospel: “for if ye live after the

flesh, ye shall die; but if ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live.”—“Be not deceived; God is not mocked; for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap. For he that soweth to his flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting.”—“Turn ye, turn ye, why will you die?” Your only refuge is in Jesus; a measure or manifestation of His Holy Spirit is given to every man to profit withal; this is the light of Christ in your hearts, which if taken heed to, will place your sins in order before you, in matchless love and mercy, that you may repent of them, and be saved from them. But if you continue to disregard this light, and to rebel against it, it will be your condemnation; and the wrath of God will overtake you. He will laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fear cometh: “the wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God.” I warned them, in the fear, and in the dread, and in the love of God, to flee from the wrath to come,—to repent, believe, and obey the gospel,—to seek the Lord while he may be found, to call upon him while he is near. “Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts: and let him return unto the Lord, and He will have mercy upon him, and to our God, for He will abundantly pardon.” They were warned of the judgments of the Lord that would overtake them if they continued in their wicked practices, and entreated to turn unto the Lord; to acquaint themselves with Him and be at peace, &c. All was chained down and laid low; their haughty and airy looks were changed into those of serious thoughtfulness by that Almighty power, which controlleth the hearts of all men.

When we separated, the chief came to Charles Barff and told him, that old thoughts had been brought into his mind, and seemed kindly disposed towards us. We remained on shore while some medicines were prepared and administered to the sick, and on returning to the vessel, found the chief had got there before us, with two of his sons-in-law of the solid party, who stayed dinner. One of the females had the audacity to make her appearance in the cabin at dinner-time; but Charles Barff knowing the vileness of her character, she was forthwith dismissed. The visit of this man was far from satisfactory, but it was submitted to, in the hope that hereafter good might arise out of it. Our decks were crowded in the afternoon by the natives, but we were favoured to pass through it without any unpleasant occurrence. They are a proud, haughty people, that delight in war; and since the introduction of strong drink amongst them,

and the practice of distillation, the missionary George Platt deemed it no longer safe to reside upon the island, and removed with his family to Raiatea, as before-mentioned. It is affecting to witness the degraded and miserable appearance they now make for want of clothes, &c. Fowls, hogs, cocoa-nuts, pine-apples, &c., were brought on board by the solid party in tolerable abundance. Towards evening we went on shore, and called with Charles Barff to see several of the sick people.

10th.—To-day our deck has again swarmed with the natives, and although the principal part of our crew with our captain are engaged on shore procuring water, (a scarce article here,) yet there was nothing to apprehend from their numbers. Perhaps the treatment met with in our vessel is such as they never witnessed before, and we were far from entertaining a thought of danger, although the average number on board was ten of them to one of us; but their deportment has hitherto been uniformly gentle and harmless. They are naturally a ferocious people, and when not at war with their neighbours, are frequently engaged in broils amongst themselves. Great is the love I feel for them, as a stream in my heart, and particularly towards the poor neglected children. To-morrow morning a meeting is to be held, to which I have been looking at times since last first-day afternoon. All my springs are in the Lord Most High: when He is pleased to shut, who can open? Unto whom shall I look, or whither shall I go? for the words of eternal life are only with the Lord Jesus—the crucified, risen and glorified Saviour.

11th.—Attended the meeting held at the settlement at nine o'clock this morning; but the persons present were few in comparison with those at meeting last first-day. I was strengthened to declare amongst them, that one hour in the Lord's presence is better than a thousand elsewhere:—"I had rather be a door-keeper in the house of my God, than to dwell in the tents of wickedness;" for in His presence only there is life, and at his right hand are pleasures, durable as the days of heaven. I felt much for the upright-hearted little remnant amongst them, who are desirous to serve the Lord in their day and generation. I wished them to be encouraged to hold on their way, for in due time they will assuredly reap if they faint not; although they must expect many temptations and snares to be laid for them by the great enemy of God and man, and also by their brother islanders; for those that live godly in Christ Jesus, ever suffer persecution. The invitation of the Saviour, given when on earth, is still extended for us to come unto Him in spirit: it is there we

must learn of Him.—"Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me," said he, "for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light." We shall be taught how to pray to the holy Father in faith, believing in the name of the Son; and what we ask, when thus qualified and influenced, we shall most assuredly receive for Christ's sake; and we shall know from living experience, that peaceful and easy is his yoke, light the burden, sweet the rest. The watch tower is the Christian's only safe retreat, his only refuge from the enemy. It is the place where prayer is wont to be made, appointed in love to man by Him who said, "What I say unto you I say unto all, watch. Watch and pray, lest ye enter into temptation." I had much more to express amongst them: it was to my own relief, and peace, and comfort; and I humbly trust, if none were benefited, that none would be hurt, for it was the Lord's doing, and to Him alone belongs the praise; man is altogether shut out and excluded.

Busily employed on board until evening, then landed and explored the neighbourhood for exercise. In the course of our travel, drank some excellent juice of a cocoa-nut, taken from a tree in our sight, which with three others, were planted about twelve years ago by George Bennet.

12th.—This morning our deck again teemed with the natives: they are so eager to obtain some article or other from us, that they bring with them for sale the very utensils out of their huts; useful to themselves, but to us of no value whatever. The poverty, disease, and wretchedness of many of them is truly affecting, and although mostly of their own bringing on, yet they are deeply to be felt for. It being fifth-day, we sat down together in the cabin, as usual; and although there was much noise upon the deck with these people, it served to make us sensible of our own weakness, and to awaken feelings of humility in commiserating the sufferings of others, in contritenedness before the Lord. It would have afforded great satisfaction to clothe the poor naked children of this island, had I possessed the means; but the number is too great for my resources: it would have been a difficult matter to effect, without creating jealousy or envy between the two parties. The children of the most unworthy parents were the most destitute, as might be expected; and yet more seemed due to the children of those parents who are struggling to stem the torrent of iniquity and dissipation, so alarmingly threatening totally to lay waste the already much decreased and emaciated population. I was in great hopes that the children of sober parents would fur-



nish a plausible pretext for being rewarded, by having learned to read and write; but this did not prove to be the case with such as came on board the vessel, except in one instance of a little girl, who came with her father to sell her own fowl; on trial, it was found she could write very well with a pencil on a slate. After having fitted her with a child's robe, she brought me the fowl as all she had in her power to make me recompense; but to her increased delight, I then bought the fowl for a thimble, two or three needles, and some thread. Dresses were also fitted upon two other children, the next deserving; but in order to select more objects suitable for our purpose, Charles Barff was employed, who readily undertook to procure a list of the most diligent scholars from a native teacher: forty-four garments were appropriated in this manner. In the evening visited the shore for the last time. Charles Barff being anxious to return to his family at Huahine, any further stay at this island would have been useless on my part without our interpreter: but its suffering inhabitants will not be easily effaced from my memory; for whose welfare my heart is deeply interested, and for whom I must long mourn in secret, not having at any time felt a greater drawing of love for any people, amongst whom my lot has been cast in this southern hemisphere, than for those of Bolabola. As we passed along the skirts of the harbour, we were followed by groups of the scarcely clad, famishing, dear children, who from their eagerness to get near enough to us, might have known that the time of our departure drew nigh: their pallid though quick and intelligent countenances met us in every direction. We returned on board at the close of day-light, and made some preparation towards sailing.

13th.—After breakfast, a chapter in the Testament was read, as usual; and having spent a short interval in retirement together, Charles Barff and John Platt prepared to leave us. As soon as the anchor was weighed, our kind friends pushed off for the shore; and, quitting the well-sheltered haven of Te-avanui, we stretched through the opening of the reef, and once more committed ourselves to Him, at whose command the vast Pacific rolls. After getting from under the lee of the island, the weather proved rugged, and the wind scant: this day two years ago, we embarked from London to join the Henry Freeling at the Lower Hope, about seven miles below Gravesend. Many have been our tossings, and buffetings, and provings, since that time; but through that loving-kindness which is better than life, we have been delivered out of them all; and are still left to acknowledge, in

the grateful language of the Psalmist, that "the goodness of God endureth continually," and his love and his mercy unceasingly flow, "from the river to the ends of the earth."

14th.—To-day at noon the island of Bolabola seventy-six miles distant. Strong breezes against us, with squalls and heavy showers of rain. The best hog in our stock was so tired of his situation, that he sprang overboard and was lost; there being too much sea running for a boat to attempt to save him. Towards evening strong squalls, with much thunder, lightning, and heavy rain. The foot-rope of our jib gave way, but was discovered in time to save the sail.

16th.—Yesterday the roughness of the weather and the harassed state of our people, (several of them still sea-sick,) compelled us to relinquish meeting together in our customary manner on first-days. To-day the weather boisterous, and the wind contrary; after dark, frequent flashes of lightning from east to west. Birds of two kinds settled on the mast and suffered themselves to be taken, apparently nearly exhausted with fatigue. The very unsettled state of the weather, the opposing blast, debility of body, and poverty of mind, seem to unite in producing fresh trials of our faith and patience; but I trust it will be seen hereafter, that all things have been working together for good. Had we known what awaited us, it is probable we should have still clung to the shelter of Bolabola, although for want of Charles Barff our situation would have been far from pleasant there. It is not long ago since an attempt was made by the rebellious party to seize a vessel, which had put into the harbour for supplies: this, however, was frustrated by the sober part of the community, who armed themselves, and came forward in time to prevent its success. While we were there, the natives came on board without restriction by forty or fifty at a time: they were received in full confidence; our boarding nettings were entirely kept out of sight, and we felt perfectly safe among them. Some trifling thefts were committed, not worth noticing, although a good look-out was kept by our men. The three chiefs next in authority to the present vicious ruler, Mai, are all his sons-in-law by marriage, and stand opposed to his shameful conduct; they are at present the means of preserving the degree of moral order still existing upon the island: they have been applied to, to destroy their father-in-law, and rule themselves; but they say, 'He is our father; we cannot do that: we must bear with him.'

18th.—Yesterday the strength of the wind abated, but it remains still contrary with a heavy swell. At noon our latitude by obser-

vation,  $12^{\circ} 54'$  south. To-day the weather fine; but the wind still northerly. The Magellan clouds about the South Pole are seen every night, but visibly getting lower and lower. We hope soon to get in sight again of the North Pole star, which has for many months been hidden from us.

19th.—The wind still contrary. Endeavoured to commit my cause to Him who knows the depth of the motive that induced our steps being directed to the Sandwich Islands. The protracted adverse winds and humiliating state of mind at present my portion, could not fail prompting to a strict examination of the foundation cause of this movement. I had, previously to finishing our visit to the Georgian and Society Isles, looked different ways as to the next route to be pursued: Rarotonga, Tongataboo, and New Holland, seemed the places in regular course and succession in the nature of things; but the Sandwich Islands were often before me. However undesirable to the natural inclination of flesh and blood in this the evening of my day, the prospect might be, of adding several thousand miles to our already lengthened distance from home, which must be the result of our going thither; yet, no light or brightness shone upon any other track: and therefore, without hesitating, as the time of finishing at the southern islands drew nigh, I took care that the vessel was provided with water, hogs, and vegetables, to be in readiness to proceed, as the way should open; and at length left Bolabola with a peaceful mind, under a belief that to proceed to the Sandwich Islands was the only safe path for me to pursue, and therefore we at once shaped a course towards the equator. This being fifth-day, it was a great comfort to have the privilege of sitting down to wait upon the Lord, who knoweth the secret exercises of my mind on the present occasion. After our sitting was over, I felt relieved; and, I trust, resigned to the dealings of our heavenly Father.

20th.—Last evening, being in about the latitude of Flint's Island, mentioned in *Norie's List*, a good look-out was kept for it during the night. This afternoon, just before sun-setting, the appearance of land was announced. Upon examining the latitude by observation at noon, and the course of the vessel since made good, there is no room to doubt that the land in sight is Flint's Island, in latitude  $11^{\circ} 30'$  south, and may be considered as accurately laid down. After dark, edged away to give this land a wide berth, it being uncertain how far its coral crags may extend from the main body of it. This island bore from us, when last seen, east by north, about ten miles distant; and appeared in the form of three

small islands close together. It is cause of humble thankfulness that we have not met with it in the dark, or under circumstances unfavourable and dangerous. To-day abiding through favour in the low and peaceful valley; although under more than ordinary circumstances of discouragement, by reason of the increased swelling of the lower part of my legs and ankles, from the great and constant heat to which we are subjected, together with the want of exercise, which the incessant motion of the vessel almost precludes the possibility of obtaining: but in my straits and difficulties, I am endeavouring to "set the Lord always before me;" believing He will not permit me to be greatly moved at what he may be pleased to dispense to a "worm and no man," as is often my state of feeling and condition.

23rd.—The weather much the same since the 20th instant. Yesterday very wet and squally, and although the first-day of the week, we were forced to let it pass over without assembling the people. As regards myself, poor and low; endeavoured to keep my mind staid, watching unto prayer towards the Lord. At our evening reading, my understanding was renewedly opened to comprehend in a spiritual sense some texts of Scripture which were read, to my comfort and edification, and I hope to my Maker's praise. To-day fair weather, which afforded our people an opportunity of drying most of their wet clothes.

26th.—Latitude  $9^{\circ} 44'$  south. Since second-day many changes have taken place; but we have only altered the latitude about two degrees. This forenoon we held our little meeting, and notwithstanding previously to sitting down I felt hemmed in outwardly and inwardly by discouraging circumstances; yet as the struggle was maintained, a gleam of comfort seemed to shine as from the Sun of Righteousness, which alone can avail and cheer the drooping traveller in the Christian course, and strengthen him more and more to walk by faith and not by sight; and less and less to look for support and comfort from the perishing "things that are seen" and only "temporal;" whilst the blessed realities which endure, are "not seen," but are "eternal."

27th.—We were favoured this morning, soon after breakfast, with a sight of Caroline Island, about three leagues under our lee. Although from the present wind and relative positions both of the vessel and this island, we could never have touched it; yet it is comforting and relieving when permitted to have a distinct view of such lurking neighbours, as it at once places all risk of running upon them in the darkness of the night be-



yond the shadow of a doubt. Caroline Island, like many others of those beautiful spots which stud the capacious bosom of this vast ocean, is so low that nothing was apparent but the tops of the trees that grew upon its coral foundation: it is said to be uninhabited. This day my sixty-fourth year is completed; and when I look at the lateness of life's hour, and consider my present situation, contending with winds and waves on this side the globe, and my hands ready to hang down under a sense of weakness and increasing infirmities, it is truly appalling. I feel at times ready to faint at the magnitude of the prospect still widely spread before me, and certainly I should have fainted long ago, if I had not believed to see, and also been permitted to see, to my finite admiration, the mercy, the goodness, and the faithfulness "of the Lord in the land of the living." He beareth up my often drooping and helpless head above the strife of the mighty waters: He sustaineth and upholdeth me by the word of His power, for His great name's sake.

29th.—The weather still rough and unsettled. This is the third first-day in succession that we have been prevented from meeting together in the usual way; a circumstance that did not occur during the long and stormy outward-bound passage from England. In this climate, such is the closeness and heat of the cabin below, that our toiling sailors soon become drowsy, which renders almost useless our assembling any where but on the deck, which the weather of late has not permitted.

Twelfth month 4th.—Since the 29th nothing to record, (excepting those mercies that are new every morning,) besides a series of rough and unsettled weather; on the 2nd instant a sight of the sun was obtained, and our true latitude found to be  $11^{\circ} 46'$  south, having drifted about two degrees to the southward, owing to the prevalence of strong northerly winds, and the swell of the sea against the vessel.

Yesterday the weather and wind more favourable, which was succeeded by a calm. It being fifth-day, we held our usual meeting in thankfulness for the quiet opportunity afforded by the more gentle movement of the vessel. Supported in humble resignation to Divine disposal. In the afternoon a shark was taken, about seven feet long.

10th.—No material alteration in the weather since the 4th instant, although some progress has been made. On first-day, the 6th, portions of Scripture were read to the crew in the forenoon; in the afternoon, this was prevented by the state of the weather. To-day we sat down together in the morning, and I was favoured to feel refreshed. We have

now a steady trade-wind from the eastward, sufficient to allow our making a north course good against an opposing swell; but we are greatly annoyed by another swell more heavy upon the quarter, which makes the motion uneasy, and at times violent.

14th.—Steady wind from the east and fine weather. Yesterday, assembled the crew twice in the day for devotional purposes. About eleven in the forenoon, the *Henry Freeling* entered the North Pacific. At noon our latitude  $0^{\circ} 6'$  north of the equator; longitude about  $147^{\circ}$  west. This morning we have got through a strong current which in the course of a few hours had swept us twenty-eight miles to the westward, as indicated by the chronometers.

For more than three weeks after leaving Bolabola, our progress was greatly impeded by an almost constant succession of contrary winds and rugged weather; and yet I could never see my way to bear up and run back to the islands for shelter. I believed on setting out that the track towards the Sandwich Islands was the right one for me to pursue; and yet every thing combined to obstruct and frustrate our best attempts to persevere. Winds from quarters whence they are seldom known to blow in these seas, were permitted to buffet us at times strongly, with considerable sea: these, together with a succession of drenching heavy thunder rains, made the prospect additionally discouraging and gloomy to some on board. Although I never hinted it to any one, yet I had pretty much concluded that, on reaching the equator, if the northerly blast should then appear to be fairly established strongly against us, I should be satisfied to bear away before it for the nearest port; rather than any longer persist in beating our little vessel to pieces, by contending against its overwhelming force, as having done all I could to endeavour to follow the line of apprehended duty cast up before me; not doubting that the will would be accepted for the deed, by Him who knows the integrity of all hearts, and who had witnessed our faithful striving, week after week, to accomplish its fulfilment: but, on reaching the utmost bound of south latitude, yesterday, instead of boisterous and contrary winds, we were favoured to cross into the northern hemisphere with a leading breeze, and as beautiful weather as could be imagined: and such has been our progress through the night, that at noon this day, our latitude is  $2^{\circ} 28'$  north, and  $146^{\circ} 59'$  west longitude by lunar observation. This change in a prospect so lately and so darkly clouded, has brought with it comfort and strength, and caused gratitude and thanksgiving to spring in my heart to our all-merciful and faithful Creator and Preserver.

17th.—Continued to make rapid progress, since the 14th instant, to the northward with a side-wind. Yesterday the appearance of the weather became very threatening, and the swellings of the ocean much increased. A considerable quantity of rain fell in the course of the day; but the clouds most heavily charged rode past us altogether unbroken. Charles and myself sat down in the forenoon, and towards the latter end of our sitting a small portion of strength was felt, to draw nearer to the Fountain of life.

21st.—The wind rather more in our favour. Our progress somewhat retarded by changing several of our sails, being too old and thin to trust to, when exposed to heavy gusts from mountainous land. Yesterday the assembling of the crew for devotional purposes was not omitted. At ten o'clock P. M., last night shortened sail, for fear of a supposed island being in our route, called Hirst's Island. This island is mentioned by Norie, in a chart published in 1833, belonging to our mate; whilst our own private chart, and the ship's atlas are silent on the subject. It is probable this island may exist, but certainly not in the place laid down; for we must have passed in the dark, nearly over the spot where it is said to be, and met with nothing. This circumstance cost us several hours of a beautiful wind, without the satisfaction of being able to establish the fact of there being such an island or its true position, for the benefit of other wandering pilgrims on this expansive watery waste.

On the 19th, did not fail, and, I trust, allowably so, to remember the mercifully-bestowed, and long-entrusted and beloved partner of my bosom;—a bosom friend indeed, guileless and faithful; whose loss to me was indeed great and irreparable, but her gain eternal:—humble resignation to the Divine will is as a canopy of peace around me, although the loss was such, that even time does not lessen its extent.

23rd.—Yesterday the wind fresh and favourable: we got on rapidly also through the night, and to-day are still hastening onward with a following sea. At noon the latitude  $19^{\circ} 41'$  north; at four o'clock P. M., longitude  $153^{\circ} 18'$  west. This morning hauled a little more to the westward, to endeavour to make the land. Just before sun-set, the sight of land was announced from the mast-head; but the haze about the water's edge made it very indistinct, and not visible from the deck to myself, until the sun had sunk below the horizon; when not only the stupendous mountain of Mouna Kea, with its snow-clad top, which is more than 13,000 feet above the level of the sea; but the lower land towards the

north cape of the island of Hawaii could be plainly distinguished, at the distance of more than eighty miles. Here is a renewed call for thankfulness, after such a winding and intricate passage of six weeks, thus to be favoured with such a defined, and decidedly excellent land-fall before the night closed upon us,—which is now long and dark, the shortest day, in this region, being just over, and the moon but in an infant state at present. The mercies of the Lord are indeed from everlasting to everlasting, and blessed for ever is He, the Lord God of Israel, who only doeth wondrous things; blessed be his glorious name for ever, and let the whole earth be filled with his glory: and who can refrain from saying with David, "Amen and Amen?"

24th.—This sight of the land enabled us to run through the dark under whole canvass without fear, thus making great progress; and this morning the lofty mountain upon Hawaii, from our having approached at least fifty miles nearer to it, appeared twice as high as it did last evening. Before noon the island of Maui was discernible from the deck, and at sun-down Tauroa was plainly to be seen. At eight o'clock P. M., off the west end of Maui; reduced the canvass for the night. Our getting into Oahu to-morrow is at present uncertain; the day must declare it: at four o'clock P. M., this afternoon, we were one hundred and thirty miles distant.

In a note subsequently written, D. W. adds; some of my beloved friends may be at a loss for the reason of our passing by some of the largest islands in the Sandwich group, (particularly Hawaii, formerly considered as the chief of the cluster,) and aiming directly at one, not one-third its size, and much less than Maui. This decision seemed to arise from the circumstance of Captain Keen's being a stranger to the other islands, and from the information obtained, that there was no safe anchorage for a vessel in the winter season, except at Honolulu, in the island of Oahu, where there is safety at every season of the year. It occurred to me at the same time, that if we should be favoured to reach Oahu in safety, and then find it necessary to proceed to the other islands, some person might be found well acquainted with their different bays, roads, coves, creeks, &c., and be easily obtained to accompany us on such a visit. These were my motives for what might seem, and did seem to some people, beginning at the wrong end of the work, by going to leeward, and having to come back again against the trade-wind, which is no easy matter. But I have since found, that I should have been wrong altogether if I had stopped short of Oahu; for here I found the seat of the go-



vernment of the islands; and also the head quarters of the American missionary establishment: in short, here was the only means of access to the authorities of the other islands, and to the missionary stations; and, in some instances, we could not have procured supplies for the vessel without an order from the government, or an agent of theirs sent along with us. I mention the missionary stations as needful to have access to, because it is only at them that I can look for an interpreter, and through him that I can speak to the native tribes. We therefore passed by Hawaii, Maui, and Morakai, at all of which are several missionary stations, except the last mentioned, where there is only one. And it now fully appears that the step of coming in the first place to Oahu, has opened the way in a most satisfactory manner in every respect for a visit to the other islands.

I feel it no light thing to be, as it were, upon the eve of again landing upon shores by myself as yet untrodden, amongst thousands and thousands of my fellow-creatures, in whose sight I must unquestionably appear, "as one born out of due time;" but when I trace the motive of my coming to its utmost source, I am favoured to find a foundation firm enough to bear me out: and the prospect of another opportunity being afforded me, for the exaltation of the dear Redeemer's kingdom, at seasons warm and gladdens the heart, rekindling a measure of that love which desires the welfare of all mankind the world over; many of whom have long since heard of the name of Jesus, the Messiah, at a distance, but know him not as a Saviour nigh in the heart, to save them from their sins.

25th.—The breeze continued until midnight, after which it gradually lessened, and at four o'clock A. M., we were becalmed. In the forenoon made some progress with light winds, and before noon got sight of Oahu; but the prospect of our getting in is now doubtful, the wind having become variable. Towards evening the breeze freshened, and enabled us to get considerably nearer to the island. The whole of the Sandwich group in sight, except Tauai, or Atooi, which lies ninety-four miles to leeward of Oahu. Before dark, a sail hove in sight from the westward, the first and only vessel we have seen at sea for the last eight weeks, or since leaving Huahine.

#### CHAPTER XXVI.

*Sandwich Islands—anchor in the harbour of Honolulu—native meeting—visit from the king—meeting at the mariners' chapel—distribution of tracts, etc.—native meeting—visit of the*  
VOL. VII.—No. 5.

*governor of Hawaii—Half-caste girls' school—meeting at the chapel—native marriages—meeting at the chapel—native girls' school.*

Oahu, twelfth month 26th.—**PLYED** to and fro during the darkness to windward of the island, and at the earliest dawn of day bore up for Diamond Hill. As we neared the entrance, several boats were seen coming out. The first brought two or three of the resident traders, the second brought the pilot and some others, and in the third came the British and American Consuls; the former bringing us a packet of letters from our beloved family, as might be expected, all of old date, but new to us, and truly welcome; and afresh claiming a grateful tribute of thankfulness to Him whose tender mercies extend to all His poor unworthy creatures, however widely separated. The wind, which at first was likely to prevent our getting in, now changed, and bore us quickly through the winding narrow channel, into the still harbour of Honolulu. The anchor was but just dropped, when Hiram Bingham, the senior missionary of the establishment at this place, came on board, and offered his services in whatever way we could accept them; at the same time inviting us to become his guests while here. We had on board a large packet of letters and parcels for him and his colleagues on these islands. It appeared that information of our being at the Georgian Islands had long since reached this place; and as soon as our vessel came in sight, there was no doubt, from her strange and novel figure in these seas, but that we were arrived: this was evidently the case, for the British Consul, Richard Charlton, brought off our letters without hesitation. The natives here being much accustomed to see shipping, in general take but little notice of them, and seldom visit them; but they soon swarmed upon our deck, attracted by the odd appearance of the Henry Freeling; and we afterwards understood that they gave her the name of the 'Mast-and-a-half.' We now find it needful to make an alteration in the day of the month and of the week, to accommodate the time in these islands. Yesterday was with us what is commonly called Christmas-day: but we find that to-day, (with us the 26th,) is here only the 25th, and is observed accordingly. To prevent confusion, we purpose adopting the day considered the sabbath here, instead of our own, whilst we remain among the Sandwich Isles; but the ship's log-book will still retain the dates and days as when we left England, and in it the change will never be observable.

27th.—In the afternoon landed and made our way to Hiram Bingham's habitation; but not finding him at home, we called upon the

British Consul, who kindly accompanied us to obtain some exercise on foot, it being forty-five days since we had had an opportunity of walking more than a few paces at a time on the Freeling's deck. Returned to Hiram Bingham's about the time his return home was expected, and found him accordingly. Believing it safest for me not to miss an opportunity, if one could be obtained, of seeing a body of the natives collected together to-morrow, at their own place of worship, I mentioned the matter to Hiram Bingham, who readily made way for my accommodation, kindly offering his services to interpret if I wished to address the people. After partaking of an early tea with the family, we returned on board, at ten o'clock P. M. Mercifully supported to look forward towards to-morrow in humble confidence and hope of that help and strength which is almighty, and which has never yet failed to deliver me out of every trouble and distress. My trust is in the Lord, who alone can bless and cause his own works to praise his ever great and adorable name.

28th, first-day.—At nine A. M., repaired to the house of Hiram Bingham, who accompanied us to the native meeting. As the branch of the mission here consists of several families from America,\* who understand the native language but in a small degree, and as some other white people attending the meeting are labouring under the same disadvantage, Hiram Bingham proposed that my certificates should be first read in English, and then to the people in the native tongue; and this plan afterwards appeared more eligible, when it was observed that other persons came into the meeting (probably induced by curiosity) who do not attend on other occasions, such as the foreign Consuls and others from the town. The service performed here by the missionary, somewhat differed from what we had seen among the Southern Islands. It commenced with a very short prayer, which we had previously been told was for a blessing on what was about to follow; a portion of the Scriptures was then read, and afterwards a hymn was sung. When this was finished, the principal prayer, as before explained to us, was offered at considerable length, and then another hymn was sung, after which the reading of my certificates commenced. I had sat under a great weight of exercise, from a belief that I should have to stand up when the reading of them was gone through, and not without a humiliating feeling of weakness and fear at my own insufficiency. Not having

for perhaps a year and a half heard my certificates read, except in the Polynesian language, I felt quite struck on hearing them in English; but I think the unity and sympathy of my dear brethren and sisters at home, never at any time felt so truly precious and strengthening to my bowed-down mind: and the expressions which they contain of my beloved family's concurrence with my leaving them, to attend to the call of apprehended duty, were so unexpectedly sounded in my ears, that the weakness of human nature could not be repressed, nor the tear of parental affection restrained. "Deep called unto deep;" the waves and the billows passed over, leaving me in a state of nothingness and emptiness; but, perhaps, never more fit to declare of the goodness and mercy of my Lord, in the ability he was graciously pleased to bestow. When Hiram Bingham had finished reading and explaining my certificates to the people, I went and stood by his side, as "a reed shaken with the wind." A solemn silence now prevailed over us, until it was with me to say—"It is more than probable that the greater part of the company now assembled, never before heard of the existence of a Society under the denomination of Friends, (alluding to my certificates :) but my beloved people, all such as love the Lord Jesus Christ and keep his commandments, are friends,—friends universally to God, friends to one another, and friends to all mankind. "Ye are my friends," said Christ, "if ye do whatsoever I command you." All such are members of the same society the world over.' Then, charging the people to endeavour to draw near unto God, that under the sanctifying influence of His power and life-giving presence, our meeting together might be rendered a blessing, I was largely opened to declare the everlasting Truth amongst them, and to turn them to its light in their own hearts,—to the Holy Spirit of Him, who is "the true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world;" in whom only there is life, and who is the only way to God the Father, as declared by himself:—"I am the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh to the Father but by me." That a mere outward profession of religion would prove altogether unavailing to them; the great work of regeneration must be witnessed: that to be members of the true church they must be redeemed with judgment from sin and transgression, and be converted unto God by the righteousness of Christ Jesus, believed in and submitted to through faith in the operation of the Spirit of God; who raised Him from the dead, with whom also they must be raised from death unto life. That we cannot worship God in the manner He requires, while

\* The missionaries stationed in the Sandwich Islands are exclusively from the American board of missions.



we continue in sin and wickedness; for the prayers of the wicked are not heard,—they cannot pray acceptably in that state; their sacrifice is an abomination. The true and living worshippers of the only true and living God, are no longer dead in sins and trespasses; they are redeemed from these by the righteousness of Christ Jesus, who came to save his people from their sins, and never while they continue in them. That we must fear God, and in thought, word, and deed, give glory unto Him, before we can worship Him in spirit and in truth. For considerably more than an hour my heart was enlarged in the flowings of gospel love, as a stream bearing down every thing before it. A more attentive audience can scarcely be conceived, than certain classes of this people, both natives and foreigners. The Lord's power had the dominion, and reigned pre-eminently, until the breaking up of the meeting. Every class and variety of the people flocked round us, scarcely affording us an opportunity of speaking to the members of the missionary establishment. Some of the natives endeavoured to thank me through the medium of Hiram Bingham; but I requested him to refer such to the great Creator, and not the creature. One said I had brought them a blessing. A number of serious-looking women came round us, whose countenances bespoke the love that was in their hearts. Troops of the dear children gathered in their turn, and seemed delighted to find that they also might shake hands with the strangers: some of them would come again and again until they found their faces were recognized. We seemed to need more hands than we possessed, as frequent attempts would fail to shake hands with those that held theirs out to us, by others reaching forward and taking hold of ours before them in quick succession. Thus hath my gracious Lord been pleased to deal with a poor, unprofitable creature, but who is a living monument of His everlasting love and mercy; although he is unworthy of being numbered among the least of His servants. Truly His judgments are a great deep; but His love who can declare? It is unutterable, unfathomable, and unbounded as His mercy; whose is the kingdom, and to whom all power and glory belong for ever. When we got into the open road, Hiram Bingham told us the bell was then ringing at the Mariners' Chapel, where the English and other foreigners meet, if I wished to go to it. I replied, that I believed I must go on board to my little family there.

31st.—Engaged on board during the forepart of each day, preparing despatches for England, and by the numerous callers to look at the vessel, and see the newly-arrived stran-

gers: the governor of the fort, and some of the principal chiefs, with the governor of the island of Maui, were amongst them. In the afternoon took exercise on shore, and called upon some of the inhabitants; engaged in writing till late at night. This evening spent some time with the seaman's chaplain, a young man appointed and sent out by the Seamen's Friend Society in America, to preach at the Mariners' Chapel. While we were together, some interesting conversation took place on important subjects.

First month 1st, 1836.—This morning a deputation of chiefs of the highest order came on board, bringing a letter, addressed to me, as follows:—

‘Honolulu, January 1st, 1836.

‘As an expression of friendly regard of Kinau and her associate chiefs to Mr. Wheeler, the friendly visitant, they beg his acceptance of a few supplies. They are the following:—five barrels of potatoes, five turkeys, five fowls, and one hog.

‘NA’

‘KINAU.’

Finding upon inquiry that to refuse this present, would create much dissatisfaction, because entirely intended as a good-will offering, the following acknowledgment was returned:

‘Highly sensible of the kindness and hospitable intention of Kinau, the governing chief of the Sandwich Islands, and the constituted authorities of the same, I assure them of my Christian regard in the love of the everlasting gospel, which has induced me to visit these isles afar off.

‘I feel and value this token of good-will, in their act of generosity, and I do freely accept the supplies so gratuitously furnished.

‘With best desires for their present and eternal welfare, and that of every age and every class over whom they preside, I am her and their sincere friend.

‘DANIEL WHEELER.’

‘Henry Freeling, in the harbour of Honolulu,  
First month 1st, 1836.

‘To KINAU, the governing chief of the Sandwich Islands,’ &c.

Before the business was fully arranged, and the parties gone from the cabin, the young king Kauikeaouli arrived, with several of his principal attendants.\* He was escorted on board by the English Consul, accompanied by two other foreigners. It appears that the king, although the lawful ruler of these islands, has

\* Kauikeaouli is said to mean in the Sandwich Island dialect, ‘to hang upon the dark blue sky.’

delivered up the executive power into the hands of Kinau, and takes no part whatever in the administration of public affairs. He is surrounded by a set of evil advisers, and there is every reason to apprehend, he leads a very unsteady, dissipated life, but is said to possess good abilities and an amiable disposition: he talks some English and understands much of what is said. He examined every part of our vessel very minutely, and might possibly have gone to the mast-head, (a common thing with him;) but our rigging being fresh tarred, deterred him from attempting it. An intelligent person, a native of Dundee, was on board at the time, though not one of the palace party. To this man I mentioned what I thought of the islanders; and as the king, who sat next him, appeared to listen attentively, I spoke freely and plainly of the ruin that awaited these islands, if the importation of spirits and the use of them were allowed to continue; and unless the private property of the poor inhabitants is protected by wholesome laws, firmly executed without partiality. At present these people are groaning under an arbitrary feudal system, kept up with shameful tyranny on the part of the chiefs. I may mention a recent instance that has come within our knowledge, which is only a fair specimen of the actual state of things here: an industrious native had grown a small plot of sugar cane, and when its produce was ascertained, his chief who had permitted him to cultivate the land, ordered the whole of it to be brought to him, except a portion of the molasses. This summons was duly obeyed, and the chief afterwards informed him by message, that the next year he should take the whole, both sugar and molasses. This however so damped the exertion of the poor man, that he did not attempt to grow any more; though, if his chief had insisted on it, he durst not have refused, as things now stand. This mercenary chief has been one of our visitors on board.

2nd.—In the evening called upon Hiram Bingham and Richard Charlton. On our way to the habitation of the latter, accidentally met with the seaman's chaplain, who accompanied us thither. While together, I felt best satisfied to make inquiry as to the probability of the inhabitants being willing to attend a religious meeting held on a first-day evening; and being assured that the foreigners would come more freely in the evening than in the morning, I believed it best for me to agree, that public notice should be given at the close of the morning meeting, that a meeting for worship after the manner of the Society of Friends, was intended to be held there in the evening of next first-day, at the usual hour of the

place being open: the use of the Mariners' Chapel having been previously offered at any time I might be ready to accept it, with every assistance that could be suggested, as likely to facilitate my object.

3rd.—Having prepared a number of written notices of the intended public meeting, we landed and took measures for their circulation. Called at the reading-rooms, and looked into the chapel, which is over them. Captain Keen was employed to spread the information of the meeting both on the shore and amongst the shipping in the harbour. "The Lord is my defence, and my God is the rock of my refuge."

5th.—Yesterday, as our people were left at their liberty to attend a place of worship on shore, Charles and myself sat down together in the forenoon: with the weight of the prospect before me of the appointed meeting to be held in the evening with the public, the quiet season we were favoured with was both refreshing and strengthening. We landed soon after dark to be in readiness for the time appointed, and repaired to the place of worship. The time no sooner arrived, than the people poured in from every direction, and soon filled nearly all the seats. The novelty of a 'Quaker's meeting,' and the first ever held on a Sandwich Island, might induce many to come out of curiosity, who at other times never think of attending a place of worship; and it is probable, that the whole of the white residents were present, besides those who came from the shipping, and a considerable number of the natives and half-castes, with several of the highest authorities in the place; so that the house was crowded, we were informed, as it had never been before. Sitting in silence seemed quite incomprehensible to nearly all that were there. The first part of the time was unsettled by many whispering and talking, and an individual or two not quite sober, were a little troublesome and annoying; but I think I have witnessed in lands accounted civilized, a meeting, from one or other cause quite as unsettled, though altogether free from the disadvantages under which this was labouring. Having sat a considerable time in silence after the meeting was fully gathered, it was with me to say, that as the disciples formerly were incapable of feeding a hungry multitude, until the great Master had blessed and broken the bread, so it is at this day. Without Him we can do nothing as it should be done; and it is only when He is pleased to qualify any of his servants to proclaim his Truth, that the people can be availingly benefited. "Without me ye can do nothing," was our Lord's declaration; true it is,—for without Him we can do nothing, not even think



a good thought, nor restrain an evil one; the spirit truly is willing, but the flesh is weak. That the Society of which I have the privilege of being a member, has always borne a faithful testimony to the excellency of waiting upon the Lord, as the all-sufficient and only true Teacher of his people. After recommending that we should endeavour to wait for the influence of the Holy Spirit to solemnize our minds together, I sat down. The meeting became much more settled after this, though doubtless the patience of many was tried before the silence was again broken. When the time was come, I stood up with these expressions: "I am no prophet, nor a prophet's son," but in me you may behold a living monument of the Lord's everlasting mercy; and although, in my own estimation, less than the least child that is alive in the Truth, yet to me, even unto me is this grace given, that I should declare unto others the unsearchable riches of Christ. I have no sinister motive in thus coming among you; the comprehensive principle of the gospel, which would gather and embrace all mankind, enables me to call every country my country, and every man my brother. It is this that has induced me to leave a delightful home, and a numerous and endeared family, and every thing besides which a mortal need possess, and more,—to visit these "isles afar off;" well knowing, that whosoever loseth his life for Christ's sake and the gospel's, "the same shall save it." I have no new doctrine to preach; the way to the kingdom is the same that it ever was; the foundation is the same, "Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone;"—"for other foundation can no man lay than is laid." But although the foundation be from everlasting to everlasting, yet if the superstructure is not raised upon it, what will it avail? It is, then, of the greatest importance for each of us seriously to examine, upon what we are really building our hope of salvation; for a day of trial will come upon every man's work: the day will declare it, and the fire of the Lord will try of what sort it is; when nothing will stand and endure the trial, but what is built upon the same sure, immutable foundation, which the righteous in all ages and generations of the world have built upon,—even Christ Jesus the righteous, that tried corner-stone, elect of God, and precious indeed to them that believe and obey His gospel. I had largely to declare of the universality of Divine grace,—that none are left short of a measure of it: it hath appeared unto all men, and its teaching, if regarded, would bring salvation to all men. That "a manifestation of the Spirit," which is no other than "the Spirit of grace," "is given to every man to profit withal." This precious gift was

not limited to a few individual members of the church only, but extended to all men universally. When our holy Redeemer had suffered without the gates of Jerusalem on Calvary's mount, "He ascended up on high, led captivity captive, and received gifts for men;" not for an elect, chosen few only, to the exclusion of others, but "for the rebellious also; that the Lord God might dwell among them," as by holy writ declared. So that every man hath "a manifestation of the Spirit bestowed on him to profit withal;" however widely this Divine gift may be diversified in its operations, or its administrations may differ, it was obtained through the shedding of His blood, "who died for us, and rose again," "the just for the unjust, that he might bring us unto God." All men have an opportunity of becoming members of the mystical body of Christ, the true church, if but willing to turn to the light of the Holy Spirit of the Lord Jesus, that shineth in every heart,—"the true light, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world." Although many may think themselves dwelling securely, and spending their precious time, days without number, in dissipation, folly, and utter forgetfulness of God, rejoicing as in the days of thoughtless youth; yet they will be overtaken at last, when least expecting it, in the midst of their sinful course, and brought under judgment. "Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth, and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the ways of thine heart, and in the sight of thine eyes: but know thou, that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment." Ask the votaries of dissipation and folly, after a dark season of sinful pleasure, or rather of wretchedness, if they have not felt horror, remorse, shame, and fear, the certain and constant attendants upon guilt, which are nothing less than the effects of the strivings of the Holy Spirit, discovering unto them their deeds of death and darkness; and which, if attended to, would deliver them out of this miserable bondage of Satan, and lead them to the knowledge of the Holy Spirit of Him, who is the life and light of men. It is true that this light would make manifest all their evil deeds; it would set their sins in order before their guilty minds, in tenderest mercy and redeeming love; that they might forsake them and repent, return unto God and live. But, alas! how many turn away from these faithful reproofs of instruction, and join in fresh scenes of vice and wickedness; or with large draughts of strong and poisonous drink, endeavour to smother and drown the voice of this heavenly witness against sin. But this light will search them out at last, although but for their condemnation. To those

who turn inward unto it, and are willing to bring their deeds to its shining, the exceeding sinfulness of sin will be discovered: that sorrow of heart will then be begotten, which never faileth to work true and unfeigned "repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ." It was the desire of my heart that all might be encouraged to repent, return, and live, by embracing the means so amply provided in wondrous love and compassion, for the salvation of all mankind. So great was the solemnity that continued to be spread over us, that I had to call the attention of the people to it, as beyond the reach and power of man to produce. The Lord alone was exalted; His own arm brought him the victory and the praise.

8th.—Since the 5th instant, our time has been filled up in preparing letters for England, and in making a large selection of Friends' tracts, with several of their standard works, illustrating the principles of the Society; also numerous other tracts for depositing in the reading rooms, fitted up by the 'Seaman's Friend Society in America.' Some of the tracts were for general distribution, the others to lend out for perusal; a copy of each of the standard works to remain stationary at the rooms: the total number of the above was 1099. There is a large field open for the circulation of publications amongst the shipping, which touch here for supplies, &c.; there are at present twelve sail in the harbour. This morning furnished some Spaniards on board the *Rasselas*, (which sailed for China in the afternoon,) with two Testaments, and some other religious works in the Spanish language. English Testaments were given to two half-white girls, who had learnt to read in English.

10th.—I have several times throughout the week had to look towards the approaching first-day, as if I might have again to go to the natives' place of worship, and, probably, hold another public meeting with the foreigners in the evening at the Mariners' Chapel; but I could not arrive at sufficient clearness, to warrant the necessary steps being taken to bring these things about. This afternoon, it seemed best for me to go on shore to Hiram Bingham, and say, that if I should come to the native meeting in the morning, I would endeavour to be at his house in time: this matter, though in degree arranged, was still left open. It was afterwards agreed with the minister of the Mariners' Chapel, that if I should have to hold another meeting with the foreigners to-morrow evening, care would be taken to inform him in time, that public notice of it might be given, at the breaking up of the morning meeting at his place. Satisfied with

the steps thus far taken, I returned on board before dark, leaving the following morning to decide the work of the day; taking care to have a written notice ready, of the intended public meeting to be held after the manner of the Society of Friends, if the way should be clear to make use of it; but I was not satisfied that it should be forwarded, until after the native meeting, if I should have to be there.

11th, first-day.—Awaking at an early hour with the prospect of the native meeting full before me, I made no hesitation about setting off to attend it. My Charles, who for some days past had had considerable irritation about his throat and lungs, was too unwell to accompany me, and it was rather a relief than otherwise, that he was prevailed upon to remain quietly on board. On reaching Hiram Bingham's, I found him also unwell with a similar attack of cold, and unable to act the part of interpreter for me; but he had provided Doctor Judd, the physician to the mission, who had studied the language, and at one time was intended for an ordained preacher in the establishment: on this head I was satisfied, if I should find occasion for an interpreter. A missionary from Hawaii, now here, was to supply the place of Hiram Bingham. When going into the meeting, I felt a poor creature indeed, now entirely companionless, and in the midst of strangers: I was bowed down before the Lord, who comforted and strengthened my heart; and I felt resigned and willing, and in degree prepared, when the first proper interval offered, to stand up. I had not spoken to the stranger about to officiate for Hiram Bingham, previously to the meeting; but just at the time when he was about to commence his sermon, I got up, and with some difficulty waded through a dense body of the natives, who were seated or squatted so thickly on the floor in front of me, that I could scarcely avoid treading on some of them: I took a station in front of the pulpit upon the ground floor; and Doctor Judd observing this movement, came and stood beside me. We remained in silence, with the eyes of more than two thousand five hundred people fixed upon us, until my mouth was opened to declare the cause of my again standing before them; which was, that I might be found in the counsel of the Divine will, in order that the fulness of the blessing of the gospel might be theirs. That "Christ might dwell in their hearts by faith; that they being rooted and grounded in love, might be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height; and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge; that they might be filled with all the fulness of God." That it was not to the high



and the mighty that the gospel message was sent formerly, neither is it now; but to the "poor in spirit" the gospel was, and is still preached;—and blessed are they;—"blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven:"—these shall be satisfied with favour; they shall be filled with good things, but the rich and the full are sent empty away. For upwards of an hour I had to declare the glad tidings of the glorious gospel among them; the people were very solid and attentive: they were encouraged "to press towards the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus:"—the Lord's love flowed richly in my heart towards these people. The meeting was unusually large, owing, perhaps, to the governors of three distant islands being there, viz., of Hawaii, Maui, and Tauai. A number of strangers came about me when the meeting separated; Kuakini, the governor of Hawaii, (well known by the name of John Adams, who speaks tolerable English, wanted to know when I should come to his island. I could only say that I was not my own master; but it was not improbable that I should visit Hawaii before leaving the group. I got off from them as soon as I could with propriety, as the way seemed now fully open before me to appoint a public meeting for the whites and half-castes, to be held at the Mariners' Chapel in the evening. Repaired to the shore before dark, in time to be in readiness for the meeting; but the approach of a storm, the thunder and lightning having commenced, it is probable prevented some from being there, as it was not so large as the one held the preceding week, but not the less comfortable on that account. After sitting long in silence, I had to express a desire, which had quickened upon my mind shortly after taking my seat, that it might not be said of us as of a people formerly,—“This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me;” and to explain the necessity of drawing nigh and waiting upon the Lord, and of persevering to wrestle for that spiritual blessing, which makes truly rich, and whereunto no sorrow is added. We again dropped into silence, during which, only one person went out. In a short time afterwards, I stood up with those expressions of the apostle, “We through the Spirit wait for the hope of righteousness by faith;” by which we are justified, and have peace with God the Father, through the Son, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; even that peace, which the world, with all its delusions cannot give; and, blessed be the name of the Lord, of Israel's God, neither can it take one particle of it away. I had largely to speak of the beauty of true spiritual

worship, and also of the life and immortality which are brought to light by the gospel; and of the possibility of the day of visitation passing over unheeded, and the things which belong to the soul's eternal peace being for ever hidden from our eyes, for want of walking in the light of the Lord Jesus: it was a solemn, comfortable meeting, yielding peace. When it broke up the rain fell in torrents, and the streets, in some places, were literally running in sheets of water: but for the friendly assistance of a stranger, who procured a lantern, we could not easily have found our way to the sea-side, so dark was the night. The rain fell in such quantities, that the water was about our feet in the boat, although she had been once emptied out after leaving the vessel. The captain only was with me; and I was thankful that my Charles had not ventured on shore that night.

12th.—In the morning, a native teacher called on board, named Tootee, (*i. e.* Cookee,) after Captain Cook. He was born at Huahine, and with another teacher since deceased, was sent to these islands several years ago: there was something agreeable about him; and we find that he is well spoken of by those who knew him.

13th.—This forenoon, Kuakini, the governor of the island of Hawaii, came on board; he was proceeding homeward in his own schooner, but having to convey the princess Harrietta Nāhienaēna, the king's sister, to the island of Maui, was detained until her arrival on board his vessel, which was standing off and on, while he paid us a visit during the interval, to invite us to the shores of Hawaii. We had a good opportunity to show him what must inevitably be the dreadful result, if measures are not speedily taken to check the desolating scourge of rum, with which the American ships are deluging these much to be pitied islanders. He is an intelligent person, and speaks very fair English, considering it has been acquired only by intercourse with the crews of the British and American whaling vessels. He said that the use of rum was prohibited at Hawaii among the natives, and that it was only in the hands of foreigners. We told him that the foreigners would be the certain ruin of these islands, if the government did not lay such a tax upon all spirit dealers, as would place this curse of the human race beyond the reach of the natives, and render it not worth any person's while to continue the sale of it. They have tried, he said, to abolish it here, (Oahu,) but could not do it,—adding, ‘the king is fond of it;’—at the same time intimating that the princess not being ready this morning, was owing to the king's being intoxicated last

night. He said, the merchants here, (who are all Americans,) take good care to supply the king with money, and every other thing that he wants: by this plan they have him so completely in their hands, as to succeed in persuading him, that it is to the interest of the islands to allow the free use of spirits. Kua-kini is about the largest man we have met with; but he seems to possess very little bodily strength in proportion to his ponderous bulk, and has very little use of his limbs: he is forty-five years of age. He could not climb up our little vessel's side without the assistance of two men, and a descent into the cabin was quite a serious fatigue: the passage down was certainly not sufficiently wide to allow him to make use of his unwieldy legs and arms. He told us his sight was failing, asking for a pair of spectacles, which were immediately handed to him: although very coarse articles and rusty from the dampness of the vessel, he seemed glad to have them. He would have stopped while some fish was prepared; but the arrival of his passenger summoned him away as quickly as he was capable of moving.

Yesterday, arrived the Thetis schooner, from Ascension Island. This vessel has had a mutiny on board: her captain and several of the crew were murdered by one man in the night, a Bengalee; who himself sprung overboard at last, and was shot by one of the surviving sailors. They suffered much from the natives, or rather from the runaway sailors, at Strong's Island, one of the Pescadores.

14th.—In the evening met with an interesting young Spaniard and his sister, the wife of an English merchant of California. This young man had been in the United States, and spoke good English; but his sister knew only the Spanish language. In the course of conversation, I mentioned having some books on board in Spanish, and proposed to furnish some of them; at which they seemed grateful and gladly accepted the offer.

17th.—Yesterday visited the school for half-white girls, it being the anniversary of its establishment three years ago. To teach this class of children is a laudable undertaking, and highly needful on their behalf. They are of a description calculated to do either much good or much harm upon these islands, from their knowledge of the native language, derived from the mother's side: this, in conjunction with a moral education, would tend to assist in the civilization of the people at large; at the same time there is much reason to fear their assuming a superiority over the natives, from their nearness of kin to Europeans or Americans from whom they have sprung. Although little to be proud of on this account, yet it mostly happens that they

abound in pride and haughtiness; and the fathers of such being for the most part runaway sailors, rum-sellers, or other profligate characters, their offspring, from earliest age, are accustomed to scenes of vice and wickedness; the effects of which are not likely to be shaken off as they grow up, but rather to render them highly injurious to the natives around them, by their unrestrained, immoral, and base conduct and example. Not the least difficulty to be surmounted, is that of finding suitable employment to keep them out of mischief, having been trained in habits of sloth and idleness, and ignorance of every domestic and useful occupation whatever. We have had a visit from the surgeon of the British Whaler Corsair, lately arrived from Ascension Isle. The Corsair was lost upon the Nautilus Reef, near one of the Kingsmill group. This young man, with five seamen, was saved in a whale-boat: after enduring great hardship for want of food, they were favoured at last to reach the isle of Ascension, in the North Pacific. The Corsair was fitting out in the West India dock, at the time the Henry Freeling was equipping in the City Canal, in 1833.

18th, first-day.—Having no engagement on shore, the day was spent on board with our own people. In the afternoon, two seamen from the Ganymede, of London, on her way to the Hudson's Bay Company's settlement on the Columbia River, north-west coast of America, attended with our men. I had a few words to utter in testimony to the light of Christ Jesus, which shines in every heart: and the necessity of bringing our thoughts, words, and actions to it. Before leaving our vessel, these men were furnished with tracts of different kinds.

24th.—In the course of the week, a prospect of holding another public meeting with the foreigners and half-whites in the Mariners' Chapel, has at intervals crossed my mind; and yesterday afternoon, accidentally meeting with the missionary from the Columbia River, (at present here on a visit,) who occasionally officiates as pastor, he asked me in plain terms, if I would occupy the Mariners' Chapel next first-day, either in the morning, afternoon, or evening. I told him that I had thought a little about it; but it seemed to pass away at the moment, and nothing was fixed, although I was not quite clear of the subject. To-day it seemed best for me to see this young man again, and to tell him, if right for me to do so, I would send him a written notice to be read at the close of the morning meeting, which would serve as an invitation to all present to attend a meeting in the evening, held according to the practice of Friends.



26th.—On seventh-day evening, having prepared written notices of the intended meeting before-mentioned, in readiness for distribution on first-day morning, and finding freedom to circulate them when the day opened, Captain Keen was commissioned to do the needful, in order to spread the information that a meeting for worship would be held in the evening, after the usual manner of our Society. In the course of the day our crew assembled for devotional purposes. The weight of the prospect spread upon my mind, was as a heavy burden through the day, raising in me strong cries to Him from whom only cometh help and strength, for ability to do his will, and to exalt His ever great and excellent name. We repaired in time to the shore, and were the first that took seats in the meeting. The people gathered slowly, but with quietness; and the number was probably as large as at any time previously. After a considerable time of silence, beyond all expectation solid, I had to supplicate Him who only hath immortality, and dwelling in the light;—that every thing in us that stood opposed to His righteous principle of light, life, and love, might be shaken and removed out of the way; that that only which cannot be shaken may remain,—to the exaltation of His own great name, and the establishment of the kingdom of Christ Jesus, which shall never have an end. Afterwards the people sat as if accustomed to silence. The first expressions with which the silence was broken, were;—As “no man can save his brother, or give to God a ransom for his soul;” so no man can perform for another the solemn act of worshipping the Almighty Creator. If I were to speak to you, or read to you for an hour, it would only be an act between a man and his fellow-creatures, and not worship; for worship can only be performed between a man and his Maker, who is a Spirit. “God is a Spirit: and they that worship Him, must worship Him in spirit and in truth.”—“The Father seeketh such to worship Him.” “Our fathers worshipped in this mountain;” said the woman of Samaria to our condescending Lord; “and ye say, that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship. Jesus saith unto her, Woman, believe me, the hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. Ye worship ye know not what: we know what we worship; for salvation is of the Jews. But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth; for the Father seeketh such to worship Him.” This is the will of the Father, that we should hear His beloved Son, Christ Jesus:—“I am the light of the world,” said He, “he that followeth

me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.” The same eternal Power who said, “Let there be light, and there was light;”—even God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give us the light of the knowledge of His own glory, in the face of Christ Jesus: it is to this light that all men must be turned, and to which all men must come if they are saved. This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men are not willing to believe in it, because it makes manifest their dark and sinful state: they love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil. “For every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to it, lest his deeds should be reproved.”—Such continue under the power of Satan; “but he that doeth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest, that they are wrought in God;” he is turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God:—he receiveth forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith which is in Christ Jesus, the life and light of men. The people were very attentive, and such a solemn stillness prevailed the greatest part of the time, that if they could not have been seen upon their seats, it would have been difficult to ascertain whether any persons were present. It was the Lord’s doing; and as is His name, so is His praise for ever!

27th.—Yesterday had a satisfactory visit from the Canadian missionary stationed on the Columbia river, north-west coast of America. He was desirous of information respecting the principles of our religious Society, and of possessing a Book of Extracts; from having only one on board the Henry Freeling of the new edition, a copy of the old edition was given him, with a copy of the *Doctrines of Friends*, &c. I look forward to furnishing him with some religious tracts, which may be useful to the North American Indians, amongst whom a mission is established; although the result is hopeless indeed, as these poor people are too often paid in rum by the trading vessels, both American and British, for their beaver skins, &c.; which, with other causes, is fast sweeping from the face of the earth this injured race of mankind. Muskets and gunpowder are among the principal articles of barter goods taken to them.

This afternoon I received a letter from the senior missionary here, of which the following extract is part:—

“I am happy to inform you that to-day we commence a series of meetings with the people for their spiritual benefit. The hours of service for five days will be sun-rise, ten

o'clock A. M., two o'clock P. M., four o'clock P. M., in the natives' chapel; and a meeting at one of our houses at half-past seven o'clock P. M. Probably there will be present some hundreds of the people more than usual, possibly a thousand: perhaps our chapel will be filled: several of my brethren will be present from the other stations on this island. If you will favour us with your assistance to-morrow at ten, or at four o'clock, I will gladly interpret for you, Providence permitting. Shall be happy to see you and your son at any of our meetings,—the field is white.'

I called the same evening at the writer's house; and having considered the subject, acknowledged the receipt of his letter, and told him that I had felt nothing upon my mind towards the meetings to-morrow, which he had mentioned. All that seemed safe for me to say was, that I had a desire to be present when the largest body of the people was collected together. It appeared to me that the forenoon of the following first-day would be the right time for me to be there, which was at last fully agreed upon. Whilst at this house, five marriages were solemnized at seven o'clock P. M., in the room where we sat. This ceremony to four couples was performed in the native language, and in English to the fifth, the man being an American negro. One thousand five hundred and forty-six marriages have taken place upon these islands within the last year. It is hoped that the institution of regular marriage will be of use to this people; but it is greatly to be feared, from what the missionary himself said, that their solemn vows and promises are soon forgotten.

30th.—On fifth-day our meeting was held as usual. Yesterday employed in selecting various books and lessons for the use of schools. For the last two or three days, the prospect before me of attending the native meeting has been more formidable than usual, from the apprehension, lest I should be found running, if not altogether unsent, without an evidence sufficiently strong, that it is my duty to be there. I have endeavoured to keep close to the exercise, though in much conflict of mind.

31st, first-day.—Had an almost sleepless night, but towards morning the way seemed to open with relieving clearness for me to attend the native meeting: landed in due time, and called upon the missionary, who accompanied us to the meeting. When on the way, Hiram Bingham asked whether I would prefer speaking to the people before the service began, or after it was over. This question was so unexpected, that I replied without proper consideration, that I had rather wait, I meant

in silence before the Lord; but he supposed until their service was gone through, and of course matters went on in their usual way. I felt regret afterwards that I had not more fully entered into explanation at the moment. It was afterwards proposed by Hiram Bingham, that I should go into the pulpit with himself and another missionary, saying, that the crowd would be so great that he should not be heard if he interpreted from the floor. This proposal was declined at first; but on getting into the place, I was convinced that if I did not go then, it would scarcely be possible afterwards should it be needful, as the floor was already almost a solid mass of people; so we proceeded accordingly without delay. I sat as one who had the sentence of death in himself, and felt so much depressed, that at one time I thought of telling Hiram Bingham that I did not expect to have any thing to say to the people, but was withheld from doing so. In addition to their usual services on these occasions, a child was baptized, and it seemed long before all was finished, and general silence prevailed. After a short interval I stood up, when Hiram Bingham exhorted the people to stillness. I remarked on taking up the time of the meeting, which had already sat long; but that I was induced to stand before them once more to communicate whatever might be given me on the occasion. The attention of the people seemed now fully arrested, and after a solemn pause it was with me to express the encouraging language of the Lord's prophet,—“Arise, shine; thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee. For behold, the darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people: but the Lord shall arise upon thee and his glory shall be seen upon thee.” Thus was announced by holy inspiration, the light of that glorious gospel morning, then preparing to dawn upon the benighted regions of the earth, to dispel the mists of darkness from the mind of man; that sin should no longer have dominion over the human race, but that mercy and truth should meet together, and love, and joy, and peace through righteousness, should prevail from the river to the uttermost parts of the earth: that as sin hath reigned unto death, so now might grace reign through righteousness, unto eternal life, by Jesus Christ our Lord. There is no other way by which mankind can participate in the life and immortality that are brought to light by the gospel, than that of believing in Christ Jesus, and turning to the light of His Holy Spirit, which shineth in every heart. I was sure that these beloved people (telling them so) were no strangers to the name of Christ: but that the bare name is not enough; I wanted them to become



acquainted with His power, to save them from their sins: without this He would be no Saviour of theirs. The number of people present was computed at four thousand and upwards, and being placed above them, the heat was almost insupportable: they stood in crowds outside of the six double doors, and about a window that was open at the back of the pulpit. The building is one hundred and ninety-six feet long, and sixty-eight feet wide, and was, to all appearance, as full as the people could pack together. The mercy of the Lord is from everlasting to everlasting, and His truth to all generations of them that fear and love Him. We sat a few minutes with Hiram Bingham's family after the meeting concluded; and then returned on board to our own crew, who were assembled in the cabin in the afternoon.

Second month 9th.—Whilst at the Consul's yesterday evening, with eight or nine other persons, and a general conversation going forward in which I had taken little or no share, I felt my heart attracted by that power, at whose approach the earth is silent; and abiding under it, I thought that something might arise towards the company present, but in that was mistaken. Remaining for some time under sensible weakness and fear, a public meeting next first-day forenoon, at the Mariners' Chapel was presented to the view of my mind; to which I was favoured to feel resigned and willing, keeping the matter closely to myself.

13th.—Not able to take any exercise on shore since last second-day, until yesterday evening, on account of the extreme wetness of the weather, it being the rainy season in this region. In the course of our walk, called upon one of the missionaries for the translation of an article relative to the arrival of the Henry Freeling at Oahu, that had appeared in the *Hawaiian Teacher*, a semi-monthly periodical, printed at the mission press, and edited by a regularly ordained minister. When coming away, without any previous hint on my part, he kindly proposed that I should have the Mariners' Chapel to-morrow, (first-day,) either in the forenoon or evening, or both. I parted from him with saying, I should turn the matter over and let him know, in order that timely notice might be given, if the meeting was of my appointing, so that the people might be fully aware of its being held according to the established practice of Friends: but I thought it well to wait a further time before giving a decided answer, lest it should not come to pass; although the prospect had been again and again before me early and late, at intervals, since I first got sight of it.

This morning, being seventh-day, it seemed best for me to move forward by having no-

tices prepared, that information might be well spread in good time, both on the shore and on board of the shipping. While these were preparing, I went on shore to the missionary, and told him that I believed it safest for me to hold a meeting to-morrow in the forenoon: the way was now thoroughly cleared for the distribution of the notices; and I endeavoured to dwell under the weight of the responsibility of this important engagement, which seemed fastened upon me, as a knot not easily untied. My mind is often turned to the Lord with secret cries for help: greatly do I desire that the noble cause of Truth may not be tarnished in my hands; but that His ever great and adorable name may be exalted, and the people turned to the power of the Holy Spirit of the Lord Jesus, and the creature laid low and kept in dependence on Him alone; that the work and praise may be His, unto whom the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever belong. In the afternoon spent some time with the manager of the book-binding department of the American printing establishment: his wife superintends a school of the native children, and with her husband appears to move in much plainness and simplicity.

15th.—After a restless night, landed in good time yesterday morning in readiness for the appointed meeting; which was well attended by the residents and strangers from the shipping. After a time of silence, it was with me to revive among them the Divine command, "Be still, and know that I am God;" and that this command must be obeyed before we can come to the blessed knowledge of the only true God, and his Son Jesus Christ, whom to know is life eternal:—desiring that we might humble ourselves before Him, and in the silence of all flesh "be still:" peradventure He would graciously condescend to overshadow us with his heavenly presence. After recommending that we should endeavour to settle down in stillness of mind before the God of the spirits of all flesh, I again resumed my seat. A comforting solemnity soon spread over us, under the precious covering of which we sat, until the time was come for my standing up again, when it seemed increasingly to prevail. I reminded them of the expressions of those formerly, who were struck with the display of the Divine power of the Saviour of the world, when personally upon earth,—“What manner of man is this, that even the winds and the sea obey Him?” and that the solemnity then so evident was not at our command, but came from Him, unto whom all power in heaven and earth is given. Man cannot cause it: hath he “commanded the morning since his days, or caused the day-

spring to know his place?" Nay, verily, no more than the leopard can change his spots, or the Ethiopian his skin;—it is in the power of Him only, who "declareth unto man what is his thought," to do this. We must all pass through the great work of regeneration, before the kingdom can be entered; it is wrought in the heart through the faith of the operation of God, who raised from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep; by whom, and with whom, we must also rise from death unto life: but before we can rise with Him, we must be willing to suffer with Him; we must know what it is to be crucified with Him,—the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, totally disregarded and set at naught. But these things, which war against the soul, must be removed, before we can know and be admitted into the fellowship of His sufferings; and we must witness the power of his resurrection, before we can adopt for ourselves, from heart-felt living knowledge, the apostolic language of—"I am crucified with Christ; nevertheless I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me." There is no obtaining and wearing the crown, but by the way of the cross: we must be willing to suffer with our suffering Lord; and it is only such as suffer with him, that shall reign with Him in glory. We must be willing to bring our deeds to the light of the Holy Spirit of the Lord Jesus, which shineth in every heart, and to bear the indignation of the Lord, because we have sinned against him;—to sit alone and keep silence, ashamed and confounded, as in the dust, because of the reproach of our youth: and it is only while we have the light, that we can thus bring our deeds to it, and walk in it. He that walketh in darkness knoweth not whither he goeth: and if by neglect and disobedience, the light in us be darkness, how great is that darkness! We may sin out the day of our visitation; then the candle of the Lord is withdrawn, or put out; for He hath declared, "My Spirit shall not always strive with man." These visitations are the merciful tokens of the Father's love, to draw man to the Holy Spirit of His beloved Son in the heart, "the life and light of men;" unto whom, although shining in all, none of us can come in our own will and strength, or by any inherent righteousness of our own. "No man cometh unto me," said Christ, "except my Father which hath sent me draw him; and I will raise him up at the last day." As no man cometh to the Son but by the Father, so no man cometh to the Father but by the Son; according to his word, "No man cometh to the Father

but by me." By grace are we saved, and that not of ourselves; it is through the boundless mercy and everlasting love of God in Jesus Christ. After this manner was I strengthened to declare that loving-kindness which is better than life, and to testify of that grace, which comes by Jesus Christ. The meeting held longer than usual, but ended well: I trust the Lord magnified his own power in the hearts of some; who is blessed and worthy, and God over all for ever. Most of the missionary families were present.

16th.—Visited the school for native girls, under the superintendence of a missionary's wife; which, for good order and general quietness, is the best conducted establishment of the kind we have yet seen. For some time after the formation of this school, the children could not be prevailed upon to go forward with the regular duties, without an adopted child of the queen's led the way, and had the preference shown to her. When ordered to break up at noon, or in the afternoon, they would all retain their seats; and when the reason was asked for this, would say, 'Let the queen go first;' although she was a mere shrimp, in size, compared with many of the other children, and not more than six years old. The school-mistress has taken much pains to abolish such an unnecessary and invidious distinction, and has not hesitated to punish this child when in fault, like the other children, without showing any partiality because of her patronage; for a time this gave great offence, but by firmness and steady perseverance the difficulty was at last completely surmounted. Most of the children have now got the better of yielding such undue servility, although it is said that some of the timid still consider this child's word as law.

#### CHAPTER XXVII.

*Interview with the queen—public meeting—half-caste boys' school—address to the rulers of the Sandwich Islands—visit from the mission families—meeting at the chapel—an infidel ship's company—appointed meeting—departure from Honolulu—Hawaii—anchor in Kalakakua Bay—public meeting—interesting opportunity with the mission family—proceed to Kailua—native meetings—visit of the king—departure for Waimea.*

Second month 17th, 1836.—THIS evening repaired to Hiram Bingham's by appointment to meet Kinau, the reigning chiefess, or queen. Her husband Kekuanōa was there, and Kana'ina another principal chief and his wife, a woman of higher rank than Kinau on her father's side. It proved an interesting season;



they were desirous of being instructed in the best mode of governing the islands, and benefiting the people. I told them, there is but one way to effect this, and that is upon the principles of the gospel; nothing else will stand. Kinau has long been desirous of prohibiting the importation and use of ardent spirits altogether, and requested some advice upon this head. It would require caution, I said; but that the first step would be to stop all further importation; and that they themselves had better become purchasers of the stock on hand, and empty the rum into the river, than that the people should be destroyed by its effects; the dealers would then have no cause to complain: that best wisdom should be sought for to direct, and that all these things should be conducted throughout in a Christian spirit. It is high time something was done to remove this evil from amongst the people. They expressed satisfaction with the interview, and suggested that we should meet again for the further consideration of this important subject, viz. the best manner of governing the islands and benefiting the people. Both these females are tall, portly women, of shrewd understanding, and have a gentleness in their demeanour not usually possessed by others of the same rank, though on first appearing they assume much reserve and austerity.

18th.—Some time back my mind was attracted towards preparing something like an address, to be left with those that bear rule over the inhabitants of these islands; which might serve to remind them at a future day, that I had not omitted to warn them of those evils, which, if suffered to continue, will undermine every effort to improve their condition, both civil and religious. The conversation which took place last evening seems to have opened the way for something further, and confirmed me in believing myself required, as ability may be afforded, to draw up and leave some written document for the clearance of myself towards them.

20th.—Before retiring to rest, I began to feel a little towards the evening meeting at the Mariners' chapel to-morrow, and the love of the gospel flowed in my heart so encouragingly, that a willingness was at once begotten, to give up to a meeting being appointed on my account.

21st, first-day.—This morning I received a note written at seven o'clock A. M. from the American preacher, offering his place of worship for an evening meeting. On solidly considering the subject, I believe, with an honest desire to do the will of my gracious Master, I did not feel easy to let the opportunity pass away without availing myself of it; and there-

fore, in due time sent written information, in order to insure its being held as a Friends' meeting. In the course of the day our sailors were assembled twice for devotional purposes; and in the evening they attended the public meeting at a quarter past seven o'clock, an hour best adapted to the climate and the people. The meeting was larger than looked for, as the weather was showery; a number of strangers were present, who had arrived two days previously from Boston, also the most seriously inclined of the residents, several branches of the missionary establishment, with an increased number of sailors, and many of the islanders. We sat long in silence, but under a feeling, solemn beyond expression, which chained down opposing spirits. When the time came for me to stand up, I had to contrast the worship of Almighty God under the Jewish dispensation in the outward temple, with that of the gospel in the inner temple of the heart; the latter altogether spiritual, because "God is a spirit, and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth." How can we so expressively manifest our fear and love in approaching the presence of infinite purity, as in solemn, awful silence, in humble watchfulness of mind, endeavouring to detect and suppress every creaturely desire? Words are inadequate, and not essential in the performance of worship to Him who is a Spirit, for his Holy Spirit searcheth all things; the most hidden and secret thought is known to this all-penetrating, all-searching Power. No offering is acceptable to Him, but what He himself prepares; for "the preparation of the heart in man, and the answer of the tongue, is of the Lord;" and the entire prostration of the will of the creature, under the preparing, sanctifying influence of his Almighty power, constitutes the pure, unadulterated offering; which, free from human contrivance and performance, rises a spiritual sacrifice, acceptable to God, through the Holy Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ, the great and everlasting high priest of our profession. The people were called upon to behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon his creature man, that we should become his sons: for who can comprehend the greatness of that love, wherewith "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life:" who can contemplate the fulness and extent of love like this, and not feel a grateful tribute to arise, of "thanks be unto God for his unspeakable gift!" My soul longeth that all mankind may become acquainted with the preciousness of this costly gift. It is the same [mentioned in the] memorable and instructive conference of the blessed Saviour with the

Samaritan woman, when He condescended to answer her question, "How is it that thou, being a Jew, askest drink of me, who am a woman of Samaria? for the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans." "If thou knewest the gift of God," our Lord replied, "and who it is that saith unto thee, Give me to drink; thou wouldest have asked of Him, and he would have given thee living water." "The woman saith unto him, Sir, thou hast nothing to draw with, and the well is deep; from whence then hast thou that living water? Art thou greater than our father Jacob, who gave us the well, and drank thereof himself, and his children, and his cattle? Jesus answered and said unto her, Whosoever drinketh of this water shall thirst again; but whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him, shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him, shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life." The poor woman perceiving the great advantage of possessing water, of which "he that drinketh shall never thirst," said, "Sir, give me this water that I thirst not, neither come hither to draw." Her expectation was thus raised, and her understanding opened more and more to discern, from what followed, that she had met with one, from whom nothing was hidden, and who knew all that was in her heart; and perceiving that he was a prophet, and by inquiry having elicited for the lasting benefit of all mankind, the declaration, that the hour was come, "that the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth;"—confounded and self-convicted, she concluded by saying, "I know that Messiah cometh, which is called Christ; when he is come, he will tell us all things." Then the Lord of life and glory was pleased to reveal himself, telling her, "I that speak unto thee am he." From what she had heard and felt, she could not for a moment doubt; and leaving her water-pot, went her way into the city to proclaim his power, and declare Him to her brethren;—"Come see a man which told me all things that ever I did; is not this the Christ?" I was strengthened to make a solemn and confident appeal to all present, who had attained to years capable of serious thought and reflection, if they had not at seasons heard the voice of this "unspeakable gift,"—bringing to their remembrance "all things that ever they did," in order that they might repent, return unto God, and live for ever. This is the grace that brings salvation,—in this we must all believe,—to this we must all come, and hearken and obey its teachings. The above is the substance of what was declared amongst them: the people were very attentive, as has been uniformly the case at every meeting.

24th.—This afternoon the Columbia barque and Beaver steam-vessel prepared to proceed to the Columbia river. Before sailing, they were furnished with a supply of tracts, viz. those printed for Friends, for the Religious Tract Society, and a number of temperance tracts, which were received with apparent kindness. The crews of these vessels are amongst the most profligate that have visited the port of Honolulu since our arrival; they are both in the employ of the London Hudson's Bay Company.

Whilst on shore this evening in the direction of Diamond Hill, I was suddenly attracted by an appearance of light over the hills, which I supposed to be the rising moon; but I soon found it was a beautiful meteor, appearing like two splendid bars of light, parallel to each other, travelling towards the north. The natives shouted on seeing it, considering it a forerunner of the death of one of their principal chiefs.

25th.—Held our week-day meeting as usual, which proved a low, stripped and barren season; but we must be content to suffer with a suffering Lord; and truly the state of the people in this place is affectingly dark,—the prince of darkness reigns unmasked,—the lives and conduct of the major part of the white residents declare it openly, to whom these remarks principally refer.

26th.—To-day visited the school of half-white boys. As our calling was altogether unexpected, there could have been no contrivance whatever to show off to the best advantage. Sixteen boys were present: we heard them read, spell, and answer a variety of questions, and saw specimens of their writing. This school has been established rather more than three years, and although no great progress has been made by any of the scholars; yet when we consider the habits in which they have been trained, and the baneful examples to which they are daily and almost hourly exposed when at home, of drinking, swearing, gambling, and every evil that can well be imagined, it is surprising that they are as they are. Several of the parents are grog-sellers, and keepers of gambling-houses. Some of the children are the offspring of the principal inhabitants, American or English, on the father's side, who live with native women, but unmarried. In point of intellect these children are equal to any in the world, and some of them particularly quick and intelligent; but none more so than one true-born native boy, adopted by a white resident, from supposed motives of policy. On hearing them read some manuscript verses on 'a little boy that never told a lie,' also a paper against committing sin, I perceived something gathering upon my



mind, and told the master that I wished to say a few words before we separated, as we might never meet together again. I wished them fully to understand, that the knowledge they were acquiring would in reality be of no benefit, but render their condemnation greater, unless obedience kept pace with it; reviving the Saviour's words,—“If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them.” That those verses on ‘a little boy that never told a lie,’ or those ‘against committing sin,’ even if they had them by heart, would be of no avail to them, if they gave way to telling lies, or to committing any other sin: for “nothing that is unclean, nothing that is impure, that worketh an abomination, or maketh a lie,” shall enter the kingdom of heaven. That the only way to escape falling into temptation, is at all times, as much as may be, to consider ourselves in the presence of Almighty God; who sees and knows all our actions, and the most secret thoughts of the heart, by His Holy Spirit, which searcheth all things, even the deep things of God; every imagination of our thoughts is known to Him, nothing can be hid. That some of them were old enough to know when they did wrong, either in telling untruths, or when in any other way they committed sin; they then felt uncomfortable and unhappy in themselves: that these are the reproofs of the Holy Spirit for sin and disobedience, and if attended to would lead to life; and to these I wished them to take heed. That the Lord loveth an early sacrifice: He delighteth to regard it: that they must have heard what the voice of wisdom saith in the Holy Scriptures; “I love them that love me, and they that seek me early shall find me.” That they could not begin too soon to seek an acquaintance with the Lord's Holy Spirit in their hearts, that so they might become truly wise. That the great end and object of all teaching and all learning, should be to make wise unto salvation. The boys were very attentive, and behaved in a solid manner. We remained until the school was dismissed, and then returned on board. In the evening we were again on shore, and were detained there until after nine o'clock, by a violent storm of thunder, lightning, and rain.

29th.—Yesterday, first-day, collected the crew twice in the cabin for devotional purposes: our intervals of silence were solid and consoling. This afternoon came in the Gryphon, from (St.) Blas, bringing intelligence from America, via Panama, in sixty-eight days, of the destruction by fire of a large portion of the city of New-York.

Third month 1st.—Having completed an address to those who bear rule over the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands, it seemed

best to consult the senior missionary on the subject of getting it translated into their language. After having perused it, he very kindly undertook to translate it, in readiness to lay before the king and chiefs when convened for the occasion, in the course of a day or two.

11th.—This morning Hiram Bingham came on board to say we were expected this evening at his house, as Kinau the governing chief, with her associates, and the king himself, would be there; and that my address would probably be read. May the Lord incline their hearts to render unto him His due.

12th.—Soon after sunset last evening, we repaired to Hiram Bingham's, where the whole of the expected company assembled, with some others. After tea the address was introduced, and read in the native language: the greatest attention was manifested by the principals present, and a solemn feeling prevailed over us. Shortly after the reading was finished, one of the females proposed that it should be printed, which was confirmed by Kinau, and it appeared to be the mind of all the parties concerned: unless this were done, it is scarcely probable that the end intended would be answered, as to the future rulers of these islands. Kinau remarked, that it was very easy to be understood. Having done what I believed to be my part, I can peacefully leave the result to Him, who alone can make it subservient to any purpose for his own praise and glory, and the well-being of the workmanship of his hands.

The following is a copy of the address:—

#### ADDRESS TO THE RULERS OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

‘As the present and eternal well-being of the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands, is often the fervent and ardent desire of my heart, my attention has of late been arrested by the belief, that it will be best for me to leave behind a written memorial; which, under the blessing of the Almighty parent of the whole human family, “the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,” may have a tendency to remind the governing chief and her associates in authority, or those into whose hands the government of these island may be entrusted at a future day, of their great responsibility, and indispensable duty to God, to themselves, and to the people over whom they preside.

‘In order to draw down the Divine blessing both upon prince and people, or upon rulers and people, let it never be forgotten, that “he that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God.” The fear of God is the foundation-stone, upon which every Christian government ought to be erected: upon this

only it can stand secure and prosper. This fear at once makes it safe and permanent, because it "is clean, enduring for ever;" for where the true fear of God prevails over every other consideration, the heart is kept clean and watchful against every temptation to let self-interest or partiality bear sway, either in the case of ourselves or others, when decrees or laws are made or enacted, or when judgment is called for between man and man. Impartiality is the life of justice, as justice is of government.

When every thing is conducted in this fear in the sight of God, divested of partiality and every sinister motive, without feeling any painful sense or evidence of condemnation after a decision of importance is come to, (and every case is important because it demands strict justice;) then have we confidence towards Him, inasmuch as our duty is performed towards Him, and justice has assuredly prevailed; and having done our duty towards God in this decision, it is done also to ourselves and to the people. "But if our heart condemn us, God, who knoweth all things, is greater than our hearts;" and we may rest assured, that such a decision is not in righteous judgment: it hath not been come to in His fear, nor in that love which is first of all due to Him, and then to our neighbour or brother, as unto ourselves. This love would not fail to prompt us to do unto others, as we would that others should do unto us; and for want of this, an unjust decision has been made, for which we are condemned by the Lord's holy and pure witness in our hearts; it has been made contrary to the commandment in the old law, and also to the benign principle and precept of the glorious gospel, both which are distinguished by the heaven-born characteristic of love to God, and love to man. "God is love, and he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him." Such are the excellent of the earth, and they compose the blessed in heaven: they are come "to the spirits of just men made perfect," and are fit to rule over men: their judgment is just and righteous; they rule "in the fear of God." The religion of Jesus at once qualifies a man for every station of life, in which it pleases Almighty God to place him; but it is the ever-blessed truth in possession, in the inward parts, which alone can safely guide out of all error into all truth, and make us to know wisdom. A mere profession only will avail us nothing, if we are destitute of the true fear and love of God, demonstrated by good works: and faith is the root of all, for without this we cannot please God; nor can we fear and love that, in which we do not believe. The Saviour of the world was holy, harmless, humble,

meek, and lowly, just, merciful, and full of love; yea, love itself personified, when among us, to teach what we should do when He was gone. But He is amongst us still, and in us too, an ever-living and perpetual preacher of the same grace by His Holy Spirit, in our consciences; and by this alone kings and others, whose province it is to rule over men, are qualified to promote amongst the people whatsoever things are true, honest, just, pure, lovely, and of good report; and where these are the fruit and works produced, such a government and such a people must be lovely indeed to every beholder. But now let us examine whether our justice is complete in the fear and love of God, and to our fellow-men, lest we should be deceiving ourselves, and endangering the well-being of our immortal souls; while those we are ruling over, shall be finally admitted, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, into the kingdom of God, and ourselves thrust out: "For whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, is guilty of all:" in like manner, "he that is unjust in a little," is at once upon a level with him who is unjust in much. And although we may be faithful and strictly just in the administration of the laws themselves, without partiality or respect of persons; yet, if these laws are such as to sanction covetousness on the part of rulers, and to allow them to grind the faces of the poor by unwarrantable oppression and extortion, or to uphold and support themselves in vice, luxury, and extravagance; then this calculation may be safely made, that sooner or later the oppressed people will take the reins of such a government into their own hands, and rule in their turn after the example of injustice and oppression, which has been set before their eyes, and under which they have so long groaned and suffered, unheeded and unregarded; unless the merciful and righteous Lord should please, in wonted compassion, to gather them to Himself from the face of the earth, and permit strangers and foreigners to possess these fruitful islands, who for want of firmness and justice on the part of the rulers, towards God, to themselves, and to the greatly injured aborigines of the soil, are rapidly establishing themselves upon it, and prosecuting commerce, some branches of which are obviously pernicious. Therefore, they who rule over men, must be just, ruling in the fear of God: and where they are happily thus ruling, they will be truly great, and their reign glorious; every act of injustice will be avoided: love, joy, peace, and comfort will prevail in the land; the population, instead of diminishing, will increase and multiply abundantly, and the blessing of the Lord will rest upon it.



“Happy those rulers,” said a wise man, “who are great by justice, and that people which is free by obedience: and they who are just to the people in great things, and humour them oftentimes in small ones, are sure to have and keep them from all the world. The members of an obedient well-regulated family, treated with every act of affectionate kindness, never meet with any home so sweet as their own; besides, long experience and holy example tell us, that goodness raises a nobler passion in the soul, and begets and gives a more exalted sense of duty, than cruelty, oppression, and severity.” Sore and heavy judgments are denounced by the Most High, in the Scriptures of truth, against oppression, and oppressors of the poor and of him that hath no helper,—“He that oppresseth the poor is a reproach to his Maker; but he that honour-eth Him hath mercy on the poor:” and the justice and mercy of rulers should shine conspicuously in all their actions. The wicked and unjust man and his oppressor, have their portion and inheritance appointed of the Lord, and it is declared, “they shall receive it of the Almighty: if his children be multiplied, it is for the sword, and his offspring shall not be satisfied with bread; those that remain of him shall be buried in death, and his widows shall not weep: though he heap up silver as the dust, and prepare raiment as the clay; he may prepare it, but the just shall put it on, and the innocent shall divide the silver.” The Israelites were sorely oppressed in their day, but what was the result? the destruction of Pharaoh and all his followers. If the poor people of this island and the surrounding ones are grievously oppressed, either by burdensome claims or taxation, they that rule over them cannot be just, ruling in the fear of God; and however they may reconcile these things to their own consciences for a time, the Lord’s righteous judgments will assuredly overtake them: He will plead the cause of the poor and of the oppressed with a mighty hand and stretched out arm; and will rid them of their oppressors, for His great name’s sake. Now, that justice and judgment in which the Lord delighteth, would at once loose the bands of wickedness, undo the heavy burdens, let the oppressed go free, and break every yoke of exaction and extortion. The people would then enjoy the comforts and blessings, which the Lord in mercy hath bountifully showered down upon them; they would then feel an interest in the welfare of their neighbours, and in their country at large: but if afflicted by the pressure of heavy burdens, every feeling of sympathy and social interest is benumbed; they have nothing to lose and nothing to gain, and it matters little to them who are their

rulers; they can scarcely be worse off than they are. If their privileges as men and brethren be not consulted and respected, the profession of Christianity is but mockery; instruction only serves to show them, that their rulers are not just, nor ruling in the fear of God: and the pretensions of such rulers to religion are vain, more calculated to produce disgust and abhorrence at its restraints, than piety, virtue, and holiness.

‘Although much has been said, and might still be said, yet it all centres in one point at last;—“He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God.” Such as are desirous of ruling in His fear, can only be advised to take counsel of Him on every occasion, by invariably consulting the holy witness in their own hearts, which will neither flatter nor deceive. If we are truly desirous of obeying the royal law, of doing to others as we would ourselves be done unto, let us endeavour to place ourselves in the situation of others, and act for them as if acting for ourselves, in all cases and at all times, without partiality, or respect of persons, whether rich or poor, high or low, bond or free, old or young, stranger or friend;—for the same justice is due to all. It would be as presumptuous and assuming, as it would be altogether in vain, for any individual to take upon himself to advise in a matter, which involves so great a responsibility as that of ruling over men;—beyond simply referring all parties to the righteous and only true and safe principle of justice in the fear of God. To fear God and keep his commandments, is the whole duty of man in every station upon earth, from the loftiest prince to the humblest peasant; and the way to fear Him is, for all of us to bring every thought, word and deed, to the light of his Holy Spirit in the secret of the soul; and to watch and pray, and wait in this light, to know His holy will, which would clearly discover whether the action or transaction we are about to undertake or engage in, or decide upon, (whether we be rulers or people, for the question bears on all, and the light shines in all,) is done or committed in the fear of God, and in obedience to His commandments,—which are, that we should love Him above and before all, and our neighbour as ourselves. If we do not act upon these manifestations, in faithfulness and truth, our heart will condemn us; because what we do, is not done in the fear of God, who is greater than our heart, and knoweth all things. But if our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence toward Him; and whatsoever we ask we receive of Him, because we are walking in His fear, and keeping His commandments, and doing those things which

are pleasing in His Divine sight. From the best observation I have been able to make, whilst hearing the sentiments of persons high in authority over these islands, in addition to an evidence upon my own mind abidingly sealed, I am thoroughly convinced by their own remarks upon things of the highest concernment, that they know [what is right] well enough: "for that which may be known of God is manifest in them, God hath showed it unto them," to the praise and glory of his grace. All that is wanting on their part, is a constant dwelling near to this precious gift of God in their own hearts, watching unto prayer; "praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance." Then their councils and deliberations will be blessed: they will be qualified to judge righteous judgment at all times and in all cases, against every false tongue, even to the giving "the living child to its own mother;" and no weapon formed against them by Satan or his agents, shall be suffered to prosper; for the Lord Most High will be their "shield, and their exceeding great reward."

"It is an evident sign of a corrupt and unchristian government, when any of its subjects are permitted to suffer persecution, either directly or indirectly, on the score of religious dissent from any particular established form, so long as the public peace is undisturbed; as the "sword of the magistrate should be a terror only to evil-doers, but for the praise of them that do well:"—"by their fruits ye shall know them." To persecute others, because they do not see or think as ourselves, is the sure and hateful mark, which can never be mistaken, of the false church, over which the devil presides in full power: but the true church, whose holy head is the Lord Jesus Christ, never persecuted any; but "suffereth long, and is kind; beareth all things; believeth all things; hopeth all things; endureth all things; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the Truth," its sure and immovable foundation: love and mercy being the chief corner-stone, upon which no other principle shall ever be displayed, than that of "doing to others as we would that men should do unto us."

"Let none consider me an enemy, because I have spoken the truth. I pray that the foregoing hints may be accepted in a measure of the same love in which they are written, by one who desires the eternal salvation of all mankind.

‘DANIEL WHEELER.’

‘On board the *Henry Freeling*, in the harbour of Honolulu, the 1st of Third month, 1836. Sandwich Isle, Oahu.’

13th, first-day.—Remained on board through the day with our own people. Strippedness and poverty of mind are my present portion, and perhaps, food of all others the most needful for me.

18th.—It having been a subject of consideration, whether there would not be a propriety in our showing kind attention to the American mission, by inviting some of each family on board the *Henry Freeling*, as best suited their convenience, lest by an apparent non-intercourse of a social kind betwixt us, malicious reports might get circulated by the white residents, calculated to injure them in the estimation of the natives;—and also, in the hope of setting aside some false impressions detrimental to their interest, of which there had been already no slight indication; it was concluded to adopt such a measure: we therefore called yesterday evening upon the two oldest families, who readily accepted an invitation to visit us. When leaving the senior missionary's habitation, a newspaper was put into my hand, said to contain the great 'Missionary Question,' accompanied with a desire that our sentiments might be given on the subject. On examining the paragraph alluded to, when returned on board, I found this question had been propounded by the said missionary himself to the American board, in these words: 'We are often led to inquire (can you tell us?) why it is that so few who hear the gospel in Christian countries, and in the fields of missionary labour, are savingly converted to Christ?' querying, if the cause of this acknowledged and deplored evil arose from such and such circumstances as he enumerates at full length. Both, or parts of both families came on board the 19th instant, as invited. The weather boisterous, with frequent heavy rains.

22nd.—Yesterday and to-day some of the members of the missions, both male and female, came on board, but the roughness of the weather necessarily shortened their visit. In the evening attempted to take exercise on shore, and although we reached the landing place, the rain fell so heavily, that we did not quit the boat, but returned to the vessel again. In the night heavy gusts of wind from the mountains; at one o'clock A. M., the brig *Bolivar* drove down upon us, but no injury was sustained. Two vessels from Boston are now at anchor outside the reef; this is the third day of their being in this exposed situation, and the wind is still so strongly opposed that they cannot enter the harbour.

26th.—But little communication with the shore since the 22nd instant, owing to the state of the weather. By a news-paper brought out by one of the vessels just arrived from Ame-



rica, we are furnished with the Epistle of the yearly meeting, held in London in 1835, of which a present has been made to us in great kindness: it was a treat no less welcome for not having been anticipated, and to myself particularly consoling, being replete with explanation of the principles and views of our religious Society, as held by our worthy predecessors when they first came forth; and declaring them to remain unalterably the same at this day. I trust the pure mind will be stirred up in many of our members to a serious consideration, whether we are endeavouring to uphold them, in their original purity and simplicity, to the eyes of the world, and in faithfulness and gratitude to Him, who called and separated those ancient worthies from the many "Lo heres," and "Lo theres" of their day and generation, to be a people to His praise. We also obtained a copy of an article contained in a late Petersburg Journal of Agriculture, in which our own name is mentioned in connexion with the improvement of the lands in the neighbourhood of that capital, &c. To hear of my beloved family being still there, at least when the account was printed, which was much later than any tidings we had ourselves received, although nothing could possibly be gleaned of their present state and welfare, yielded a satisfaction, which those only can appreciate, who have been long and distantly separated from all most dear on earth to memory and life.

27th, first-day.—The weather still very boisterous. Assembled the crew in the cabin twice in the day. In the forenoon it was a dull, heavy season; in the afternoon more lively. I have been much cast down of late by several discouraging circumstances. The continuance of heavy rain not only confines us more on board, but within the narrow limits of our little heated cabin below deck. In addition to this, I do not see my way clear for leaving the island of Oahu; while most persons around are impatient to be gone, and cannot exactly enter into my feelings. The Lord alone knoweth, and to Him I commit my cause, and desire to bow in humble resignation to His holy will: if only now and then favoured with a glimpse of His heavenly, life-giving presence, (however short, if certain,) it will be enough.

Fourth month 21st.—Received a visit to-day, by invitation, from a white resident and his wife; whom we were desirous of noticing, on account of the good example they hold forth to the other white residents, their neighbours: his wife is a native of the island, and of good character. They have been regularly married, a very rare occurrence here in such cases; and what is still more rare,

they are in repute for their moral and orderly conduct, whilst most of the white residents are a disgrace to a skin of any colour, and frequently have three or four native women as wives. Of course I do not include the mission families in these remarks.

23rd.—In the afternoon the king came on board to take leave of us, being about to sail for the island of Maui, and his vessel at the time waiting with her canvass spread, in readiness to convey him away. He gave me a pressing invitation to visit him at Waiaruku on the other island: the shores were crowded with natives to witness the departure of their king. The artillery of the fort announced his final embarkation; whilst the shipping in the harbour, and his own brig, kept up an occasional firing, as she passed through the channel between the coral reefs. One hundred and fifty persons accompanied him as retinue. No exhibition equal to this, we are told, has occurred since the departure of Rio Rio for England.

24th, first-day.—In the morning wrote a note to John Deill, enclosing a written notice, which he was requested to read to the people at the breaking up of the forenoon meeting; that a public meeting for worship, after the manner of the Society of Friends, would be held in the Mariners' chapel that evening, at the usual hour; to which the company of all persons who inclined to attend was requested. Our captain delivered this note to John Deill, and no difficulty appearing on his part, notice was then personally given in such directions as seemed most likely to insure full publicity. Read portions of Scripture to our seamen twice in the course of the day. At the time appointed, landed to attend the meeting: it gathered slowly, but in the end was well attended. After sitting a while in silence, it was with me to point out the desirableness of our endeavouring to get into a quiet state of mind; that we might be sensible of the influence of the Holy Spirit, to solemnize our minds together, if He should be graciously pleased to lift up the light of His heavenly countenance upon us, and bless us therewith: we then settled down into silence before Him. After a time, one or two persons went out, but stillness generally prevailed over the company. When the time came for me to stand up, I told them that I had had no expectation of my voice being heard again among them; that my mouth had for several weeks been closed up, and that a heavy burden had rested upon my mind;—to what shall I compare it, but to "the roll that was written within and without, with lamentation, and mourning, and woe," for the inhabitants of that place; who are crucifying to themselves the Son of God

afresh, and by their example putting him to open shame, in the face of the benighted islanders among whom they dwell. It was probable that those who were the principal causes of this travail of soul, were not among that company; but I could do no less for the clearance of my own mind, than publicly advert to this lamentable state of things; lest I should be found short of doing my own duty, though the cause of suffering might not be removed: but the disciples of Christ must be willing to suffer with their suffering Lord, and to fill up that which is behind,—that which remains of the afflictions of Christ in the flesh, for his body's sake, which is the church. Notwithstanding the extent to which sin and iniquity abound, such is the wondrous love of God to his creature man, that he willeth not the death of a sinner, but that all should repent, return unto Him, and live for ever: for this, He gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but have everlasting life; and blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed in the only begotten Son of God. I trusted that there were many such believers then before me, who profess to be His followers; but a bare profession only of Christ would do little for any of us; nothing short of the possession of the unspeakable gift of His Holy Spirit, will avail us. It is no matter under what denomination of religion we are walking before men, or to what outward and visible body of professing Christians we may belong, if we are not members of the mystical body, of which Christ Jesus is the holy Head and everlasting High Priest,—the church triumphant, whose names are written in heaven: and there is no other way of attaining to this, but by and through Christ Jesus,—by receiving Him in the way of his coming. We must be willing to take His yoke upon us, and learn of Him meekness and lowliness; we must be willing to submit to the restraining yoke of His Holy Spirit upon us, and to bring our deeds to its light, which will show us our sins, and our exceeding sinfulness, and cause us to feel our miserable condition. As this yoke is patiently abode under, the effect will be godly sorrow unto repentance, never to be repented of: the glories of eternity will be gradually opened to our view, and we shall be permitted to behold the blessedness of those, who have found rest in Jesus. Our sins will be removed from us as far as the east is from the west, and blotted out for ever for His sake; and we shall be numbered among those who have returned, “and come to Zion, with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads,”—ransomed and redeemed from our sins by the blood of Jesus, the new and living way, and the only

way of initiation into membership, with those whose names are written in heaven. Unless we witness this for ourselves, and know from heart-felt experience Christ Jesus to save us from our sins, He is no Saviour of ours: and if we die in our sins, where He is, we can never come.

I stood long among them: and although in the forepart of the time it seemed heavy getting on, yet towards the end, the life spread over us in an eminent manner, and reigned over all. The people seemed as if riveted to their seats, instead of rising up and hasting away, when I sat down. After this I had to appeal to themselves as witnesses of the power which prevailed over us. They still remained stationary after I again sat down, until informed that the meeting was over. Such was the renewed goodness and mercy of Him, to His poor unworthy creatures: but He is “God over all, blessed for ever.” Amen.

25th.—The way seemed now clear for me to direct that the vessel should be completely furnished with wood and water, and prepared for sea. In the evening, I went to Hiram Bingham, to say that I wished to see the people once again collected; at the same time querying, whether, if the meeting in the middle of the week was held in the evening, there would not be a fuller attendance, especially if the occasion was made known. He immediately proposed, that as their week-day meeting consisted principally of Church members only, they should come together as usual on the fourth-day; and that he would then give notice of a meeting to be held on the fifth-day evening, at half-past seven o'clock. This proposal was gratefully accepted on my part.

On observing the —— of Boston preparing for sea, our mate was despatched with a parcel of tracts, &c., for the use of the ship's company; when he got upon her deck, the chief mate came forward, and seeing what he had in his hand, said, ‘We do not receive any of those things; we are all infidels: we do not want any thing connected with the Bible: but if you will bring us any of the writings of Voltaire, Tom Paine or Rousseau, we shall thank you for them: give Captain ——’s compliments to Mr. Wheeler, and say we don't want any thing of the kind; and if you persist in leaving them, they shall be thrown overboard.’ Our mate returned on board quite disconcerted, having never before met with such a reception in the Pacific. There is great reason to fear that there are many of this description in these parts; but such an open avowal is rarely to be found. Upon inquiry, it appeared that no sailors are admitted on board this ship, but such as deny the existence of an Almighty Being.



26th.—Receiving stone-ballast, to supply the weight of iron, hardware, tin, and nails, disposed of from time to time. As soon as our wants were communicated to the government, without waiting for an arrangement being made by our captain for the stone, and its transport, eight canoes of large dimensions were loaded and despatched to our vessel. Writing-paper and nails were sent in return for this accommodation, to the full extent of its value; it had been previously ascertained that writing-paper was very scarce with those in authority.

27th.—Until now, every thing like a present to any of the parties with whom we have been connected, was studiously avoided on our part, as gifts often open a door to blindness and perversion; but the time of our departure being at hand, several articles likely to be useful were selected and presented to Kinau, and her associate chiefs, as a token of esteem and gratitude for the uniform kindness shown us while in the port of Honolulu; these were courteously received. With the assistance of the British Consul, a pilot well acquainted with all the principal bays, coves, and creeks of the islands was procured to accompany us. He could talk a little bad English, was a native of Oahu, and went by the name of ‘Sugar-Cane.’ Being an elderly man, and very asthmatical, one of his sons was brought to assist in caring for him, and to take his share of duty with our crew.

28th.—Felt much depressed at the weight of the prospect of meeting with the natives in the evening, as before appointed; but endeavoured to bear up in humble reliance on the everlasting Arm of strength; which is magnified in proportion as the creature is laid low, and made sensible of its helpless condition and utter inability.

Sat down together in the forenoon as usual; in the afternoon a native schooner, through mismanagement, ran directly against our vessel. Serious injury was anticipated on all sides, but it was so ordered, that the violence of the shock was broken by first one rope giving way and then another, as the pressure increased; until her stem came in contact with one of our main shrouds, which made such a powerful resistance before breaking, as materially to check her progress, when about to strike our hull; so that the whole damage was comparatively trifling. Her commander came on board immediately, with tears in his eyes, in great fear lest any on board of us should have been killed. This man and his people so fully expected that one or both of the vessels must be sunk, that he despatched a man to the shore for boats to save the crews; this messenger immediately sprung

overboard, and swam so quickly, as to reach the shore before the two vessels began to show signs that they were not seriously injured. The spectators could scarcely believe that we had sustained so little harm.

After taking tea at Hiram Bingham’s, we proceeded to the meeting appointed the preceding evening, and found a large concourse of people assembled in readiness. As this was an extra meeting appointed on my account, the people were informed that it would commence with silent waiting, and were exhorted to stillness. Although it is probable more than three thousand persons were present, and many of them strangers to the practices of Friends; yet such was the solemn feeling graciously vouchsafed on the occasion, that the greatest order and quietness prevailed. However long the interval of silence might seem to others, to myself it was remarkably short; before I was strengthened to set forth the necessity of silent waiting upon God for the sanctifying influence of His Holy Spirit, to enable us to worship Him acceptably, “in spirit and in truth.” I had also to bear testimony to the all-sufficiency of that “grace which bringeth salvation, and hath appeared unto all men; teaching us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world; looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works.” I was enlarged and strengthened to testify the gospel of this grace of my good and gracious God, which bringeth salvation, and hath appeared unto all men; a word of encouragement was strong in my heart to the dear people, and I had to remind them, that it was not the rich, nor the mighty, nor the noble to whom the call was limited; not many of these were called,—nor many that were wise; but the poor, simple-hearted and unlearned, and fishermen like themselves; and that they were the people unto whom the call is still extended. After having sat down awhile, it was with me to endeavour to make them sensible of the power that so eminently reigned over all; recommending them to keep close to it, and it would be with them for ever; because it is “the power of an endless life.” None attempted to rise up when the meeting was over: I requested Hiram Bingham to dismiss them, but they still kept their seats, and the same precious solemnity prevailed. When we left our seats they began to draw round us to shake hands, and bid us ‘farewell.’ Most of the missionary families were present, and five of their preachers.

29th.—Believing myself clear of the island, every exertion was made to be in readiness to leave the harbour on the morrow; and although much impeded by persons coming on board, we persevered in making the attempt. Towards noon, Kinau, the reigning chiefess, sent on board, to ascertain what supplies we were most in need of; and her husband, the commander of the fort, seemed a little disappointed, on finding that hogs and goats were already purchased. They provided us, however, with eggs, cabbages, water-melons, onions, turkeys, and fowls, sending them off in good time. In the afternoon, saw all our accounts settled: drank tea at the Consul's, and called upon the whole of the mission, to take leave of them.

30th.—Made the signal for a pilot, according to the rules of the port, and at eleven o'clock A. M., slipped off under easy sail. The morning had been cloudy and squally, but the trade-wind was now steady, though strong and scant for our purpose. The motion of the vessel was soon sufficiently violent to make almost all on board sea-sick: for my own part, although not sick, I was otherwise unwell. Towards evening the wind forsook us, when we had Ranai Point, and the islands of Morakai, Maui, and Tauroa in sight. Calm most of the night, but we had the mortification to find that our vessel required much pumping to keep her clear of water, owing to her having been so long in a heated and dry atmosphere, although almost constantly covered with awnings.

Fifth month 1st, first-day.—Early in the morning a strong trade-wind set upon us, and soon raised a heavy sea. From the state of the crew and other circumstances, the usual practice of assembling together was necessarily abandoned; the vessel still continued to require considerable pumping.

2nd.—Strong gales all the day, with a heavy breaking sea, which kept our decks in a constant wash, and rendered it impossible to secure and preserve the things in the cabin from the salt water. Towards nightfall, we had an indistinct view of the island of Owhyee, now called Hawaii.

3rd.—Notwithstanding the scantiness of the trade-wind, we had the satisfaction to find, soon after day-light this morning, that there was a probability of our fetching into the neighbourhood of Kalakakua Bay. About three o'clock P. M., we dropped an anchor in ten fathoms water, close in with the shore, and near the place where the affray occurred, in which the British commander, James Cook, was killed. This bay is exposed to the sweep of the Pacific, from south to west: but there is a marvellous provision for the safety of vessels

which touch here, and for enabling the natives to procure a plentiful supply of fish. A sea-breeze sets in almost as regularly as the day revolves; but before the swell of the sea has time to rise to any material height, the land-breeze comes off the mountains, and restores order again upon the ruffled surface: at some seasons of the year, it would, however, be very unsafe for a vessel to anchor here; a few hours are generally sufficient for those which do come, to obtain a supply of hogs, goats, &c. No canoe came near us for a considerable time after the anchor was down, and then they came off very sparingly; but when the first adventurers had had time to return to the shore, and report that they had been invited on board, and that we had articles for barter, our deck was presently crowded with almost all ages and sizes, of the male natives, bringing with them pine-apples, pigeons, bananas, ninitas, &c., with the different varieties of shells which this part of the coast furnishes. They remained with us until sundown, and seemed well satisfied with their visit. It appeared that it would be best to visit the missionary station without delay, and to request that a meeting of the islanders might be convened purposely, without waiting for their usual meeting-day, as a few yards of cotton print would be an ample reward for those who took an active part in this business, for the extra fatigue it would occasion. By this step a much larger attendance would be secured, besides the saving of time, which was now particularly important, as the missionaries were shortly to leave all the stations upon this island, to attend their annual meeting at Oahu, which holds three weeks or more; and generally, from one or other circumstance, nearly two months are required to restore the parties to their respective stations again.

4th.—Our deck was crowded in good time this morning by the natives, bringing with them abundance of their simple varieties for barter. In the forenoon we landed, and ascended a steep more than two miles in length, and by places almost inaccessible. The great heat of the sun, reflected from a nearly black surface of volcanic rock, smooth and glassy, was almost insupportable. The native boys and girls were very desirous to help me up the hill: some pulled me forward by the arms, and others pushing behind, contributed to lessen the fatigue; although this had a ludicrous appearance, I could not well reject their kindness. On reaching the mission-house, we were welcomed in a friendly manner by Cochran Forbes and his wife, who occupy this secluded habitation. As the native meeting was to be held in regular course in the afternoon, it was concluded that notice should be



given of a public meeting to be held to-morrow morning, for our accommodation, in the hope of collecting a large number of the people together; but a chief woman who sat by, stated, that as the king and his large retinue were at Kailua, (the next station,) the people who were now at home, in their huts, would be engaged in procuring a supply of food, and in transporting it to these visitors both to-morrow and the next day also. On this account it seemed best to hold the meeting this afternoon, and to take measures to spread the report of our being come to attend it. A considerable number of the people were collected at the hour appointed, and in due time my certificates were read and translated by the missionary; and after calling their attention to the importance of the object for which we were assembled, ability was afforded me to declare the Truth amongst them, fully and freely, for the space of an hour; directing them to the light of the Holy Spirit of the Lord Jesus, which shineth in every heart; which would not only show them their sins, but would, if taken heed to, save from them, with an everlasting salvation. That as no sin is committed without the thought of the heart for its origin, it is the heart that must be watched over; because every thing that defileth a man cometh from thence. First of all, before wickedness is committed, proceed "evil thoughts," and if these are cherished, then sin followeth, and darkness and death reign; but if the watch is faithfully maintained, it will lead unto prayer, and that light which is "the true light, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world," will make manifest the tendency of every thought, from what root in us it springs, whether good or evil; and as we choose the good and refuse the evil, we shall be strengthened more and more to watch and to pray, even always, "with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance;"—the light will shine brighter and brighter,—we shall no longer walk in death and darkness, but shall have "the light of life." In this way the glad tidings of salvation were proclaimed amongst them in gospel love. Nothing could exceed the attention and solidity manifested by these Hawaiians, I humbly trust to the glory of Him who wrought and crowned the work by his solemnizing presence. On the left of the ascent to the missionary station, about half a mile from the rocky margin of the sea, stands a rough but substantial monument, erected to the memory of the late James Cook, with the following inscription. 'In memory of Captain James Cook, R. N., who discovered these islands in the year of our Lord 1778; this humble

monument is erected by his fellow-countrymen, in the year 1825.'

5th.—This morning the natives thronged the deck of our little vessel. We had agreed to visit the missionary station again this afternoon; but the violent exertion of yesterday, rendered my dear Charles unfit to risk another such fatigue in the heat of the day; and I thought it best, in order to prevent suffering myself from the same cause, to submit to being conveyed upon the shoulders of the people, in the same manner as they are accustomed to transport their chiefs on particular occasions. Having landed by myself, and procured some willing natives, upon promise of rewarding each of them with some blue cotton print, I proceeded on my journey. On reaching a very steep part of the road, and making signs that I wished to walk, they at length consented to set me down; but they seemed quite uneasy until permitted to resume their toil. This I did principally on their account, to make the work lighter; but I found it very difficult to persuade them to do it a second time at the next steep, until a determination was manifested to get down, when I was reluctantly permitted to alight: they then would not allow me to climb the hill, without some of them pushing behind to help me along. I succeeded in getting set down four times: at last my entreaties were altogether disregarded, and they persisted in hurrying along, until we reached the missionary door. My labour was richly rewarded by a truly interesting opportunity with these newly-acquired acquaintances, whose minds were open to receive all that I found in my heart to communicate to them. They expressed a desire to understand the principles of our Society, and inquired if we had any writings of the Society in our possession: they were satisfied on this head, with a promise of being well supplied, before we left the Bay. The evening proved very wet; but several serious women came and took their stations on the floor in the usual way.

6th.—To-day the natives seemed to bring on board, to all appearance, all that they possessed, in their eagerness to obtain some of our useful articles: their poverty and want of clothing are extreme. I purchased many things from them of no use whatever to myself or the vessel, rather than send them away empty-handed. The missionary family came on board about noon, and were furnished with some of our books. A variety of things calculated to be useful for childrens' wearing apparel, &c., were presented at the same time, and gratefully received. May the Lord direct their hearts into the love of God, and into the

patient waiting for the Lord of life and glory, until they know him indeed for themselves to be in them, the blessed hope. After they returned to the shore, the number of natives began to diminish. In the evening we got all secure to be ready to avail ourselves of the land-breeze in the night, to enable us if permitted, to stretch along the coast towards the Bay of Kailua, the next missionary station. Various specimens of native cloth were procured to-day: even the frames and implements used in making it were brought off, in the hope of their being accepted in barter.

As the king, Kauikeaouli has arrived in Kailua Bay, the body of the people will be necessarily attracted towards that neighbourhood from hence, and many of them engaged in keeping up a supply of food and transporting it thither, for his large establishment; on which account several hundreds will assemble at the place of worship next first-day, on the occasion of his being there: my mind is bending towards that spot, in the anticipation of being strengthened to declare the mercy and goodness of my Lord amongst them; and it is my soul's desire that His heavenly presence may be with us.

At nine o'clock, P. M., got under weigh with a fresh land-breeze, and stood off from the coast to secure an offing sufficient to warrant our steering with safety shore-ward in the dark, clear of all crags. Heavy rain fell just after leaving the bay of Kalakakua: but the rising of the moon soon after midnight dispelled every cloud, and the weather continuing beautifully clear, favoured our design. About eight o'clock A. M., on the morning of the 7th instant, we anchored near the king's brig, which with three native schooners, was lying in the roads of Kailua. This anchorage is more exposed to the swells of the ocean than that of Kalakakua, having twelve points of the compass without a sheltering point of land. In the forenoon, the resident missionary, Artemas Bishop, came on board, to welcome us on our arrival; we returned with him to the shore, and on reaching the mission-station were kindly received by the family. Here we found a Dr<sup>r</sup> Gardner, in a declining state of health, who had been in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company, on the Columbia river, but had retired in the hope of being benefited by the mildness of the air at Hawaii. In the afternoon we called at the residence of John Adams, alias Kuakini, the governor of the island, with whom I became acquainted at Oahu; but he had not returned from his favourite employment of fishing, at which he is considered very expert. On our way back we sat some time on the floor with a chief's widow, who was sick. On the fort established

by Tamehameha are yet remaining two enormous idols, which were formerly worshipped by these people. They have been evidently cut out of the solid part of two immensely large trees, and carved into forms hideous and disgusting, and truly gigantic: they must have cost excessive labour. Several pieces of heavy cannon were lying about, with G. R. upon them, which could only be viewed with regret. While together, Artemas Bishop very kindly tendered his services, placing every thing, as regards the meeting to-morrow, at my disposal, and declaring his willingness to act as interpreter.

On the passage from Honolulu, although our little vessel became more leaky than at any time since leaving New South Wales, (excepting during the heavy tempest encountered on the voyage from Sydney to Tahiti,) we were in hopes that the leaks would close up in a few days, but it was discouraging to find it still necessary to have recourse to our pumps. Whether the Henry Freeling was more injured than appeared at the time when the schooner ran into her, before leaving Honolulu, or whether the leaking had been occasioned by a seam just above the margin of the copper, which may have opened from long exposure to the sun in still water, is uncertain; we cannot however, take any measure to ascertain this, until again sheltered from the never-ceasing swells of the Pacific; but our hope and trust are in the Lord alone. It was remarked this morning, although riding in about thirteen fathoms water, that the rocky bottom might be plainly distinguished, intermingled with patches of what was to all appearance hard, solid, white sand, supposed to have coral underneath: our anchor had fallen upon one of these white places, and as it could be seen plainly that the bill had made scarcely any impression, nor perceptibly sunk, they were thought to be beds of white coral, free from sand.

8th, first-day.—Reached the shore in good time, and accompanied the missionary and his family to the meeting; it was held in a large temporary building close to the sea-shore, open on all sides, and widened for the purpose, with rows of pillars on the longest sides, supporting the thatched roofs of this extra skirting. Large as it was and well packed, it could not accommodate the people, and dense bodies were ranged quite without the shelter of the roofs; but being open on all sides, those without could hear almost as well as those within. When all seemed gathered, the people were informed by Artemas Bishop, that if we should remain silent, they were to keep themselves quite still and quiet. As I have uniformly witnessed the beneficial effects



of my certificates being read, I had previously handed them to the missionary, who read them audibly in English, as many of our nation were present, and afterwards translated them, I believe very ably to the islanders, who were very attentive. A salutation in the love of the everlasting gospel was in my heart to every individual present, when I stood up; desiring that the dew of heaven might rest upon them, even unto life, and that for evermore. After declaring the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ Jesus, if they turned to its light and obeyed it, I had to speak of the nature of that true, spiritual worship, which only is acceptable in the Divine sight. Vain is the attempt of any to draw nigh unto God in praise and prayer with the lips, if the heart is not prepared by the Holy Spirit; pointing out the necessity of our waiting for this preparation, in humble, reverential silence before Him, who is a Spirit, and discerneth the thoughts and intents of every heart, before we can "worship Him in spirit and in truth;" this He requires in this gospel day, which long since dawned upon benighted man. It was the travail of my soul that they should all come unto Christ, who is "the true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world; and is given for God's salvation unto the ends of the earth." We had a highly favoured season together, and the language of "peace be unto you," flowed in my heart richly towards these dear people. When the meeting was well gathered, the king and some of his followers came in, and stayed the whole time, behaving in an orderly manner. When the meeting broke up, those with whom we had been previously acquainted at Oahu flocked about us, and many others followed their example of shaking hands. Being informed that a bible-class was about to assemble in the same building, we resumed our seats again: it was conducted on the system of learning one verse each day, through the week, the whole to be repeated on the first-day of the week. The children and adults repeated the same words aloud at the same time. After this, questions were asked by the teacher, to which all the parties answered with one voice.

Not feeling any warrant to request that the afternoon meeting should be held exclusively on my account, it took its usual course, although it did not seem safe for me to omit attending it. I sat near the missionary, and when the usual services were gone through, I told him that I wished to say a few words; on standing up, he rose to be ready to interpret, which arrested the attention of the people. After a pause, the way opened for me to declare the necessity for "every one that nameth the name of Christ, to depart from iniquity,"

without which the highest profession of the Christian religion is in vain; and that nothing short of the regenerating power of the Spirit of the Lord Jesus in the heart of man, can cleanse and purify, and prepare him for that kingdom which shall never have an end. It is in the heart that sin hath its origin and root; and where the disease is seated, there the remedy must be applied. Out of the heart of man proceed "evil thoughts;" and it is these that must be watched for and detected in the light of the Holy Spirit. I stood up in much weakness, but was greatly strengthened, and largely opened before sitting down, to testify the gospel of the grace of my God, and to ascribe all to the Lord God and to the Lamb, who sitteth upon the throne; who loved us, and washed us from sin in his own precious blood, to whom dominion, and glory and praise belong for ever.

9th.—This morning Kauikeaouli, the king, came on board, and fixed to come again in the afternoon to dinner; this he did to our great satisfaction, bringing with him a confidential person of respectability. Every opportunity that could be desired was afforded to put the king in full possession of our opinion as to the real state of things upon the islands, and to apprise him of the artful designs of those persons who are constantly endeavouring to prejudice him against the missionaries, by raising evil reports against them on every trifling occasion, under pretence of being his best friends; while they are at the same time his worst enemies, and those of his people. They would rejoice to see the missionaries banished from the islands, the latter being the only persons capable of counteracting their desire to reduce the people to a state of slavery: by introducing an extensive growth of sugar-cane, and permitting the chiefs to share in the profit with them, they would at once compel the natives to labour for them, or in other words, to be slaves to their sordid avarice, while a set of mercenary foreigners would be enriched, altogether regardless of the waste of life they occasion. The king listened with great attention, and from the questions he asked, there is no doubt, but that he thoroughly understood the substance of the whole matter. Although Kauikeaouli does not speak English with facility, yet he understands it tolerably well; and the young man who accompanied him, having had a good education, was able to give every explanation required.

In the evening we drank tea at the mission-house, where again Kauikeaouli was one of the company. I sat next to him, but he was now like another person, and took no interest in any thing that went forward, seeming quite

absorbed in thought. During the day, the natives were bartering their shells, fowls, and vegetables upon the deck, for our knives, handkerchiefs, needles, and fish-hooks. The weather was very hot, and the incessant tumbling about of our little vessel, from the swell of the ocean unceasingly rolling into this exposed bay, contributed to render it very exhausting and fatiguing to attend to the wants of the natives; upon whose well-oiled skins the heat seemed to make no impression. The number assembled at the meeting yesterday was more than 2000; but many of them had come from the neighbourhood of Kalakakua Bay.

A large stone building, for a place of worship, is nearly ready for roofing at Kailua: on my remarking the very great thickness of the walls, I was told, that unless this was the case it could not stand, on account of the violent shocks which earthquakes frequently occasion: at times the tables and chairs rattle on the floors of the missionary dwelling.

10th.—Our deck again crowded with the natives. The missionary with his wife and two children, accompanied by Kuakini, the governor of the island, paid us a visit in the forenoon, and stayed dinner on board. In the evening went on shore; and seeing nothing to prevent our proceeding to the eastward, took leave of those we knew, and returned on board after dark. Preparation being made for sailing, and the land-breeze springing up, we left the bay of Kailua about midnight, and stretched off under easy canvass, not having the advantage of moon-light. In the morning of the 11th instant, the weather clear and hot, with light breezes, but not from a favourable quarter. Low in mind, but in the enjoyment of peaceful poverty, trusting in Him who only knoweth the extent of what is before me. My desire is, to be found in the way cast up for me, and that I may leave nothing undone, and no place unvisited where it is His will that the ever-blessed Truth, by the power of the Holy Spirit, should be proclaimed, though it be in weakness and in fear, by such an one as myself, frail indeed, and my days fast numbering to a close: but the strength of Israel is sufficient for all things required at our hands; and if we are faithful, I am persuaded, that as our day is, so shall our strength be.

12th.—From the lightness of the wind, and the adverse set of the current, at sun-set last evening we had nearly drifted to the bay of Kailua. The wind having freshened and become more favourable, we are this morning in sight of Kowaihai Bay. In the forenoon we anchored as near the coast as seemed prudent, with a heavy swell setting into the bay. With the help of 'Sugar-Cane,' our pilot, a native

was despatched to the missionary station at Waimea, with a letter to make arrangements with Dwight Baldwin and Lorenzo Lyons, the resident missionaries, for collecting the people together as early as might be, in order to expedite us on our way to Hilo, in Byron's Bay, situated at the eastern extremity of the island of Hawaii; and that our vessel might be no longer exposed than was absolutely needful, to the risk of encountering, what are called by the islanders, Moomookoo. These are furious blasts which run between the two lofty mountains, with irresistible force, turning the surface of the sea into a white foam, and blowing a vessel entirely away from the coast; and though perhaps not producing any serious results, yet it may require several days to get her back into the place from whence she was driven. As the distance over the mountains from the coast to Waimea is more than fourteen miles, the return of our messenger cannot be looked for till to-morrow morning. On reaching Kalakakua Bay, several days ago, we were informed that the station of Waimea, near which we now are, was vacant, the missionaries having sailed away for their annual meeting; so that there seemed a probability we should have to pass by it: but at Kairua we learned, that the vessel they were in, had met with such boisterous weather, that she was compelled to put back again; and the indisposition of one of the parties prevented their making a second attempt at that time. On inquiring of a native this morning through the pilot, this report was found correct; and that the two families, had again returned to their station at Waimea, and were now there. This evening the master of the Missionary Packet came on board, and said he was to proceed towards Hilo to-morrow, to bring away the missionaries: that he was to call here on his return for the two families at Waimea, and then to call at Kailua for the family resident there; but that he could not execute the order he had received, as there were five families at these places, and he had only accommodation for three. I told him, that if the missionaries at Waimea could stay to render me the needful assistance here, I should then proceed immediately to Hilo, and after I had visited the people of that place, we would then transport the two families from thence to the island of Maui; from which place they would have no difficulty in getting to Oahu, as vessels are frequently passing to and fro between those two islands. To-morrow it is probable this matter will be decided; I desire to stand resigned to whatever is the will of my heavenly Father, believing it will not be required of me to go to any part, where there is no one capable of interpreting between my-



self and the natives. From what we have seen of the people here in the course of the day, they appear to be more haughty, and more exorbitant in their demands, than at either of the two bays we have previously anchored in; owing perhaps to their having had more intercourse with foreigners, and more frequent communication with Oahu.

Charles and myself sat down together in the forenoon as heretofore, and I believe shared together in a long, heavy, lifeless season: but I humbly trust that I have, in some degree, learned in all states to be content, and desire to bear cheerfully every dispensation of the Divine will; a knowledge of which, when moving along in the counsel thereof, is at once the strength of my life, and food, administering consolation and comfort to the way worn traveller.

#### CHAPTER XXVIII.

*Waimea—native meeting—sail for Koala—volcano—Byron's Bay—native meetings—sail with the mission families for Maui—Island of Maui—anchor at Lahaina—proceed to Wai-ruku—school—meetings at Lahaina—school—sail for Oahu.*

Fifth month 13th, 1836.—THE messenger despatched yesterday to Waimea, returned at an early hour this morning, bringing a letter from Dwight Baldwin, (with whom we became acquainted when at the Georgian Islands last year,) which contained a welcome message, and stated that a horse was sent down for my son Charles, and a sufficient number of the natives to transport myself upon a sort of litter to the station; at the same time informing us, that a meeting might be held with the people in their district the same evening, if we left the coast in good time after receiving the letter. This being ascertained, we hastened to the shore, taking with us 'Sugar-Cane' the pilot, who, from his knowledge of the neighbourhood, could point out a landing place most free from the breaking surf. Having accomplished our purpose in safety, we soon found the natives who had been engaged as burden-bearers, and there seemed every probability of our setting forward without delay; but when all seemed ready and I had taken my seat, some demur began to show itself on the part of the natives; and we began to discover, that nothing would satisfy them but the sight of the cloth, which they were to have as payment, and a knowledge of the quantity that each man was to receive for his labour. Supposing that these matters had been fully arranged for us by the missionaries as had been requested, we were quite unpre-

pared to answer this demand; and as far as we could understand, the parties were determined not to proceed, without it was complied with: as the affair could not be adjusted, I left my seat again, expecting to have to return on board. A number of the natives by this time gathered round us, and amongst them was an American sailor; and finding that he understood a little of the language, I requested him to inquire whether any other persons then about us would undertake the work. After much debate some consented, and being informed that whatever the missionaries decided upon as their wages, they should be fully paid, a sufficient number came forward, and we soon began to move on in earnest. The sun by this time had become very hot, and the journey altogether extremely fatiguing, from the road passing over mountain after mountain with continual ascent nearly the whole distance of fourteen miles. I was desirous to lessen the labour of the people as much as was in my power; and walked perhaps more than was prudent for a stranger in such a climate at noon day. It was late in the afternoon when we arrived at Waimea; and on reaching the mission-house were kindly received by Lorenzo Lyons, and Dwight Baldwin and their families. Feeling much exhausted with the heat and the harassing journey, I should have rejoiced if the meeting had been appointed for the next morning: but found on inquiry, that the people would soon begin to collect, and that if postponed until to-morrow, but few persons would be able to attend, as they would necessarily be widely scattered in collecting food for the first-day of the week, so that they might have nothing to prevent their attending the places of worship. I was informed, that on first-day the meeting would be larger if the weather proved fine; but if wet, the people would not come. These things considered, it seemed best to take the opportunity which now presented, rather than by delay to run the risk of faring worse, or perhaps losing my labour altogether. After some refreshment we repaired to the meeting, which proved quite as large as was expected. The senior missionary thought it unnecessary to do more than explain the nature of my certificates, and this in a brief manner; but perhaps sufficient for the understanding of the people. When he had finished, I stood up in great weakness, desiring that we might endeavour to draw nigh unto the Lord in humble reverence of soul. The people were very solid and attentive; and although I do not remember having felt less ability to minister, or having less matter in prospect, as I proceeded, strength sufficient was mercifully and timely afforded, to endeavour to turn them from dark-

ness to the light of the Holy Spirit of the Lord Jesus in their own hearts,—that they might know Him to be a Saviour indeed, to save them from their sins; that so He might be theirs, and they might be His, through the never-ending ages of eternity: it is He who bringeth unto God the Father, and raiseth up at the last day. I stood long among them, and though to myself the life never seemed to rise and spread, as at some favoured seasons, and my own exhausted state of body was sensibly felt,—yet I afterwards found, from the testimony of others, that the power of the blessed Truth had been felt amongst them: let the Lord be glorified and let them rejoice: but the feelings and the sentence of the unprofitable servant most certainly were mine.

Spent an agreeable evening with the two families. From the vast quantity of rain which falls on this side the island of Hawaii, the dampness of every thing in and about the houses is extreme: the bed we lay on would have been very justly considered in England, not fit for those who have any regard for their health, but we had no alternative; and after using all the means we possessed to prevent being injured, we were favoured to witness no ill effects in the morning, though our clothing was as if it had been hung in the midst of steam during the night. We were, however, glad to see the light of the returning morning to liberate us from the consequences which threatened.

14th.—Being desirous of returning to the coast as soon as circumstances would allow, we rose early in the morning, and after breakfast it was concluded by the missionaries who had the direction of the movements of the Missionary Packet, that instead of proceeding round the southern part of the island to Byron's Bay, where Hilo is situated, it should sail immediately for Kairua and Kalakakua Bays, and return with the mission families from those stations back again to Kowaihai Bay; when if the two families residing here were ready, they would accompany their brethren to the island of Oahu, to be in readiness for the approaching annual meeting of the whole mission about to take place. By this measure, the missionary families at Hilo were left entirely at our disposal, which at once removed every doubt of being able to speak to the people. How bountifully are we dealt with by Him, who "openeth His hand and satisfieth the desire of every living thing." At nine A. M., taking leave of Waimea, we made the best of our way to the coast, expecting to put to sea the same evening; but the night proving rainy and rough, it seemed best for us to remain under the shelter at present afforded by the projecting land in the neighbourhood of Koala.

15th, first-day.—From the state of the weather, it is probable if we had remained at Waimea, but few of the people would have attended the meeting to-day. Twice in the course of the day our seamen were assembled for devotional purposes, as we had no communication with the shore; although I thought if an interpreter had been present some of the straggling natives might have been collected together. At sun-down got under weigh, and proceeded towards Koala with a light breeze; but on opening the mouth of the passage, between the islands, we found plenty of wind and sea. We stretched off the land until two o'clock in the morning, and then stood towards Hawaii again, under double-reefed canvass, anticipating that before we could possibly reach any of its stupendous crags, the day would have sufficiently dawned to expose them to our view.

16th.—Employed through the day endeavouring to beat through the passage formed by the islands of Hawaii and Maui, about twenty miles wide, with rough blowing weather, and the trade-wind directly opposed to our course. Maintained a central position between the islands during the night; but gained very little ground.

17th.—Early in the morning stood in for Hawaii,—the weather rainy through the day; at six o'clock P. M., stood off again for the night. Torrents of rain appeared to be falling all the day upon the mountains of Hawaii: twenty-six different cascades were counted at one time rushing towards the ocean down the rocky cliffs: every part of the island which we have seen seems to consist of huge masses of volcanic substance, and the leeward side is truly dreary and barren in appearance.

18th.—After beating to and fro through the night, the weather became more gentle; but the wind was so fickle that there seemed no probability of our rounding the point that forms one side of Byron's Bay, at the bottom of which stands the village and missionary station of Hilo. In the course of the day, made several advantageous tacks close in with the shore, there being no appearance of broken water on the margin of the coast. The weather proved much more bright and favourable than we had anticipated: we heard a well attested fact related by a missionary who had formerly dwelt some years at Hilo, that while residing at that station there were only six days wholly without rain during the space of two years, as by record duly kept of the weather. Fifty-six cascades of water pouring off the land into the sea were in sight at noon to-day.

This evening, whilst under feeling of poverty and weakness, I was reminded that this



day the yearly meeting of Friends at large sat down in London. This brought afresh my dear brethren and sisters, who are endeavouring to do the will of our heavenly Father, very near to me in the covenant of life and peace; and a belief that we ourselves shall not be forgotten by some who compose that large assembly, when drawing nigh in spirit to the footstool of mercy and love, is very precious and animating, though removed from them almost as far as the east is from the west. But although thus outwardly severed from each other, we have a never-failing source of comfort and consolation, in knowing, that the one great and heavenly Parent of the universe is equally near unto us all,—that in Him we live, and move, and have our being,—and that His tender mercy is over all His works; of which my only earthly treasure, and my all on the solitary Plains of Shoosharry, form a part. May the blessing of the Most High be felt, through the power of the Holy Spirit, to rest richly upon us all; then shall we be in that glorious unity, which inherits life and that for evermore; from which nothing can separate, because it is in the love of God, in Christ Jesus our Lord.\*

19th.—Towards midnight, the flashes from the great volcano illumined the atmosphere, and at times had the appearance of a stationary light on that part of the coast. At three o'clock A. M., it visibly spread and increased its light; but was eventually lost sight of in the beams of returning morning. Having made

\* Having had of late a number of letters handed to us by way of introduction from one missionary to another, in order to procure the needful aid from station to station, I have thought it might afford satisfaction to others, to know how we stood in their estimation, after having sojourned nearly five months within their borders on the Sandwich Isles. As they are all of the same tenor, a copy of one may suffice for the whole.

(Copy,) April 3rd, 1836. To Rev. David B. Lyman and Titus Coan.

Dear brethren,

Allow me the pleasure of introducing to you our friends, Daniel Wheeler, a minister of the gospel, of the Society of Friends, and his son Charles Wheeler, who, on an errand of benevolence to the dwellers on the isles of the Pacific, have visited this quarter, to co-operate in the work of our Master, in turning men from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God. I have had the pleasure of interpreting repeatedly the warm, earnest, and evangelical appeals of Daniel Wheeler to our people, and presume you will feel it a pleasure to assist him in a similar way, for the furtherance of his object, and otherwise facilitating their intercourse with the chiefs and the people, and cheering their toil in a long and expensive voyage. Affectionately your brother,  
*Honolulu, Island Oahu.* HIRAM BINGHAM.

a successful in-shore slant during the night, at breakfast-time weathered the northern-most point, and edged away for Byron's Bay, the wind now shifting more and more in our favour. At half-past two o'clock P. M., dropped an anchor in seven fathoms water, behind a small reef, which affords a good shelter from the swell occasioned by the usual trade-wind, which though constantly blowing in during the day, through the wonderful provision of an all-wise Providence, never is permitted to blow hard for at least nine months out of the twelve, which seasons are pretty well ascertained. During the intervals of unsettled weather, no vessel would be warranted in attempting to seek shelter here. In the afternoon, a double canoe came off from the shore, and returned again loaded with stores, which our vessel had received from the Missionary Packet at Kowaihai Bay, and collected at other places since leaving Oahu. Taking our pilot 'Sugar-Cane' for a guide to that part of the strand the most free from surf, Charles and myself landed and made our way towards the mission-house, meeting with David B. Lyman and Titus Coan before reaching their abode. Both the families assembled at David B. Lyman's, where we partook of some refreshment.

20th.—This morning the principal chief and his wife came on board to breakfast, and stayed our reading. This chief is descended from the late Tamehamēha, and certainly, if bulk and weight can add dignity to high birth, his wife must also be a first-rate personage; and we are told, that her rank is considerably higher than that of her husband. On leaving us, she very uncourteously took to herself the power of proclaiming the Henry Freeling under Tabu, when the natives who had come on board with shells, eggs, &c., to barter, immediately sprung into their canoes, and pushed off from the vessel. Through the medium of 'Sugar-Cane,' we were made to understand that all traffic could now only be carried on at a sort of market upon the shore. On inquiry made afterwards, it appeared that this woman had not the power of preventing the natives from trading; and that she had ventured to usurp this authority, in the hope of monopolizing the whole traffic herself. It happened, however, that we were not in want of many supplies, as we were not intending to recruit our stock of fuel at this island, on account of the extra risk to the vessel which delay might incur in such an exposed roadstead. In the afternoon David B. Lyman and Titus Coan came on board; we returned with them to the shore, and after a walk to an old crater not far distant, took tea at Titus Coan's, where the other family joined us. At nine o'clock in the evening, the flames of the vol-

cano gave the atmosphere an unusually bright tinge of light.

21st.—This morning the circumstance of the vessel being ‘*Tabued*,’ was fully ascertained to be enforced with a view to exclude the natives from a share in the traffic, and no other than an unauthorized violation of their privileges; against which, we thought it right to make a stand. A person who could speak a little English came on board at an early hour, with a present of a fowl and some potatoes from the chiefess. I told him it was a pity she had been at the trouble of sending them off, as presents were things we did not accept, and therefore must pay for what he had brought with him. This man was told to inform us, that if we accepted the present, it would be considered that the chiefess was entitled to furnish what supplies might be wanted; but if these terms were not acceded to, and the present was declined, he was then to return to the shore to know its value, and the price was to be sent off by a native then upon the deck, who was pointed out, that he might be known again by us; word was soon brought that the price was a quarter dollar, which was paid forthwith, to preserve peace and put an end to the matter. The man who brought off the present was highly gratified at our declining the terms altogether; and there is no doubt but the affair soon gained publicity, as canoes kept coming through the day with fowls, turkeys, cabbages, bread-fruit, pine-apples, water-melons, &c., in an undisguised manner. We afterwards fully ascertained that this arbitrary proceeding was a violation of the laws of the island, no person whatever, but the governor John Adams, alias Kuakini, having the power of interfering with the traffic carried on by the inhabitants; yet such is the servile state of these poor people, having been trained from infancy to view their chiefs as a race of beings superior to themselves, that they would patiently have borne this act of oppression, if it had met with our sanction. Drank tea at David B. Lyman’s, who has kindly undertaken to accept the office of interpreter between myself and the people to-morrow. Notwithstanding I have now stood before so many thousands of these islanders on both sides the Equator; yet the prospect of to-morrow is formidable in my sight. If the weakness of human nature was not thus felt, there would, I believe, be a danger of our not sufficiently and devotedly seeking after, and imploring the strengthening influence of that power, without which “we can do nothing,” but with it all things. May the Lord be our helper, and cause his own works to praise Him, to the glory of the riches of that grace, which came by Jesus Christ.

22nd, first-day.—This morning I felt as has uniformly been the case, when about to meet for the first time a large body of the people at a fresh place; but I was comforted from believing that we should be remembered by some at a time and “place where prayer is wont to be made;” where the Lord is in the purified temple, the earthly nature silent, and the heavenly Intercessor’s only availing help experienced. Attended the meeting at the time fixed: sat as one that had lost all strength, until David B. Lyman had nearly finished reading the Morning meeting’s certificate, when I seemed ready, and only waiting the termination of the concluding paragraph to stand upon my feet, with my mind centred and the fear of man banished far away. After the people were requested to settle down in stillness, and endeavour to draw nigh unto the Lord with humble reverence, I was strengthened to declare amongst them the way of life and salvation, in the word of the truth of the gospel, in the love of which my heart was greatly enlarged. Repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ, the only way to obtain forgiveness of sins that are past, and freedom from the thralldom of sin in future, were largely pointed out, and the light of the Holy Spirit of Christ Jesus, which shineth in every heart, as the only blessed medium by which this path is made manifest; by reason of the darkness which prevaileth in man, while held in a carnal, and unregenerate state, in bondage to the power of Satan, the prince of darkness. The burthen which rested upon my mind was, that they might be delivered from the power of darkness, and translated into the kingdom of the dear Son of God, through the shedding of whose precious blood our redemption is sealed, even forgiveness and remission of sins that are past, and an interest mercifully granted in that Holy Advocate, always present to plead with our heavenly Father, the weakness and infirmity of our nature, for the time to come, for all those who, in belief and obedience, are willing to come unto God by Him. Such, and such only, are turned “from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.” The meeting was not so large, we were told, as at some other times; but the people were very attentive, and bowed down under the mighty hand of Him whose power reigned over all. After the meeting broke up, we attended a school for Bible scholars, of all ages and both sexes. It commenced with a prayer by a native teacher, and finished with another from one of the missionaries.

We partook of some dinner with Titus Coan and wife, as I felt an engagement to attend the native meeting again in the afternoon.



It began at three o'clock, and I had again to testify of the gospel of grace and truth which came by Jesus Christ, from which, such is the universal love of God, none are excluded.

23rd.—By a canoe that came paddling round the vessel, it was ascertained that the *tabu* was still enforced; and the natives, though invited on board, thought it safest to keep aloof. Before noon a person was sent to inform us that sundry articles were in the market for sale; but as they belonged to the chiefess as before, he was told that nothing would be purchased belonging to her, at the same time it was stated, that if the natives had anything to sell, we would buy from them what was wanting. In the afternoon landed, and visited a magnificent and stupendous waterfall, called the 'Cascade of the Rainbow.' The sun was hot and the walk fatiguing; but the exercise was needful before again putting to sea, as from the wetness of the weather since anchoring in the bay but little had been obtained. We passed by three distinct craters, situated in a line stretching inland from the shore, apparently at exact distances from each other, and the same size and shape in every particular, all declaring the wonderful works of the same Almighty power. The cascade of the rainbow exceeds the description given of it, and at once excites wonder and admiration, exhibiting a mighty torrent of foaming water in perpetual roar, rushing down a perpendicular steep of more than one hundred feet into a basin of sufficient magnitude to receive this never-ceasing deluge. At the back of the fall, towards the bottom, a large arch is formed probably by the rushing torrent; and the enormous weight of water falling such a depth, caused a mist to arise two-thirds of the whole height of the surrounding cliffs, which with the sun in a certain position, gives rise to the name of the cascade, by displaying a beautiful rainbow. While Charles was taking a sketch of the outline of this sublime spectacle, I placed myself on a stone in its front, surrounded by nine of the natives, who seemed not fully satisfied without being so near as to touch me occasionally. One of the oldest of them took no small pains to make me understand that in former days, when there was *plenty, plenty* of water, (probably after great rain) little native children were hurled by their parents into this rainbowed gulph to check the increase of population. Afterwards, on mentioning to the missionary, Titus Coan, what I supposed this native meant, describing as well as I could some of his actions and words, he said, that the construction I had put upon them was correct.

Not feeling any thing to detain me further upon this island, we look forward to leave this

interesting bay to-morrow night, when the land-breeze comes off the mountains, for the island of Maui, and expect to take with us the two missionary families so far on their way to the annual meeting at Oahu: they will probably escape a portion of sea-sickness by not coming on board until near the time of sailing, as the motion of our vessel is incessant, from the constant swell of the ocean, which ranges round the reef into the bay. It compels us to keep every thing secure nearly as much as at sea.

24th.—To-day procured what supplies were needed. In the afternoon took exercise on shore, and towards sun-setting the baggage was embarked in a double canoe, which, with the assistance of our boat brought off both the families and ourselves with two native servants. About eight o'clock P. M., the mountain breeze sprung up, when the vessel was got under weigh, but the wind soon became lighter, and the great wash of water off the land and out of the rivers, combined to sweep us towards the reef: before ten o'clock the water began to grow shallow, and diminishing from ten to three fathoms, obliged us to anchor for the night. The hollow ground swell upon the edge of the reef caused violent and constant rolling, without a possibility of preventing it in that position.

25th.—Soon after eight o'clock A. M., the sea-breeze made its appearance, but before setting in, a canoe came paddling off in great haste to reach the vessel, with a couple who were desirous of being married before the departure of the missionaries; but having neglected to obtain the permission of the principal chiefess this could not be accomplished. There was no alternative but that of returning again to the shore about three miles off, to obtain the needful sanction; and having been told that we should not wait for them if the wind should spring up in our favour, they paddled off again with all the speed in their power. Before the wind was strong enough to warrant the risk of getting under weigh and clearing the reef, this canoe was seen again returning to the vessel from the shore. They would gladly have been married in their canoe, but the motion was so violent that the parties could not possibly stand upright while the missionary performed the usual ceremony. They were then taken on board, and to make it easy to both parties, were brought down into the cabin, where the rite was performed by one of missionaries demanding answers to several important questions; the other offering up a prayer. The captain, mate, and ourselves, were witnesses of this curious exhibition, the vessel rolling about in such a manner that they were forced to hold themselves

by the table and each other, when they stood upon their feet: they were both so drenched by the sea that had washed into the canoe, that measures were necessary to clear the cabin floor from the quantity of water on it, after the ceremony was concluded. The husband was clothed in a European shirt, with a belt round him; and his wife in a loose cotton robe, reaching nearly to the floor, which comprised the whole attire of the parties. I felt a degree of satisfaction at what had transpired, and to myself, our detention last evening was accounted for. Nothing short of a fear let in by some on board, of losing the vessel upon the reef, would have induced a willingness to anchor for the night to avoid the apparent danger that seemed to threaten. On looking over all the circumstances of the case, there seemed a providence in it that these poor people might be saved the temptation of violating the laws of their country by an illegal procedure, without waiting the return of the missionaries, which might be most of two months. A marriage thus consummated upon the mighty waters, is not an every-day transaction, and especially, as I humbly trust it may be said, in a place of worship, which the cabin of the *Henry Freeling* has been in many instances, as well as a place of prayer and praise; from whence the spiritual sacrifice has, we hope, at times acceptably ascended unto God through Jesus Christ, though we be as nothing in his sight, and in our own, utterly unworthy of the least of all his tender mercies. As soon as the married couple had left the vessel, we at once made sail, with a delightful breeze in our favour, for the island of Maui.

We witnessed last evening a scene, in the embarkation of the two missionary families, both affecting and highly interesting. When the moment for their leaving their habitations approached, the natives crowded into their houses to take leave of them; and as the train proceeded towards the beach, the company increased to a large number, perhaps hundreds. When arrived at the edge of the cliff, there was a solemn pause, and a prayer was eventually offered up by D. B. Lyman; after which, the final separation took place. The people seemed to consider us also as friends about to leave them, and extended their good wishes, shaking hands very freely as we retired to the boat. Some of them assisted us to launch into the surf, and I have no hesitation in believing, that they would have risked their own lives to save ours. How different their present state to what it was, when these shores were visited by the first navigators of the Pacific: but what might the situation of these simple hearted natives have been at this day, if only men of Christian principles had

trod their soil, instead of the wicked and barbarous crews of the shipping; who have committed every possible excess and outrage, shameful and brutal, upon these helpless islanders, to the lasting disgrace and infamy of the white skin.

Before leaving England, I was applied to by our mutual friend Thomas Bigg, to make inquiry, should opportunity present, for an Englishman supposed to reside on the island of Hawaii; and a letter from his poor mother was committed to my care for him. It appears that the individual in question lived in the neighbourhood of Kalakakua Bay, and obtained a livelihood as a pilot of the vessels, which occasionally come to that side of the island for supplies. He died in the fall of 1832, leaving a native widow and two children, who, I should suppose, were afterwards supported by her relations. The youngest child died last year, and the eldest has since been carried off, say stolen, by the captain of an American whaler, who pretended to have received orders from the god-parents (so called) to bring these children to them in America. It is probable that this impostor was aware of the lad's abilities; and that by this fabricated tale he might be obtained without any cost, now that he had lost his father. In this manner was this poor helpless boy torn away, in spite of his tears and entreaties to remain with his mother, under pretence of being provided for much better in America, than would be the case here. The whaler has never returned to this neighbourhood since the theft was committed. This account has been principally given me by one of the missionaries; and I cannot for a moment doubt that it is substantially correct. The injured native mother is now removed by death, beyond the reach of the monsters who perpetrate these horrible deeds of cruelty and injustice; but their day will also come, and will not tarry.

26th.—In hauling round the point of the island, the wind became light; but a fresh breeze springing up from the south-west, enabled us to stem the current and reach the roads of Lahaina, soon after twelve o'clock; we anchored near the American ship *Newark*, a whaling vessel put in for fresh provisions and vegetables. The smooth water having recruited our passengers, the men went on shore, but soon returned, bringing with them the resident missionary, William Richards. The captain of the whaler coming on board at the same time, kindly made the offer of his boat, which conveyed all our passengers on shore at once, with ease. In the afternoon Charles and myself landed, and remained at the mission-house until sun-down. It appeared



that William Richards and family had intended to leave Lahaina on the evening of the following day for Oahu, in a small schooner lying near at hand; this being the only opportunity likely to offer for their conveyance to that island in time for their annual meeting. Although I had not disclosed what was upon my mind to any one, yet I had long believed that I should not be clear of the Sandwich Islands, without making an attempt to see the whole of the missionary families, when collected together for their annual meeting at Oahu; and it now sprung in my heart to tell William Richards, that if he would consent to remain at Lahaina, and assist me over the approaching first-day, I should feel myself bound to convey himself and family, in time for their meeting at Oahu if practicable, in the *Henry Freeling*. These terms being accepted, it was with me to inquire whether the missionary at the station of Wairūkū, on the south side of the island, had sailed for Oahu; and finding there was considerable probability of his being still at his post, it seemed best to make the necessary arrangements for proceeding thither without delay. A messenger was forthwith despatched with a letter, requesting that the inhabitants of that district might be collected to-morrow at the place of worship, as early in the day as could conveniently be done. A whale-boat was procured from the governor Opeli, as the conveyance best calculated to accomplish our object, in contending with the wind and weather in rounding one point of the island, where strong blasts prevail from the set of the trade-winds, during the greatest part of the year.

27th.—By two o'clock A.M., the whale-boat manned with a native crew came alongside; and at the cock-crowing as agreed upon by all parties, we left the vessel properly equipped for the journey. The morning was serene and beautiful, and when the day broke the wind began to rise, and to increase as the day advanced. On reaching the most critical point, the wind was so strong and the water so rough, that for a time it seemed doubtful whether the strength of our rowers would hold out: they succeeded however in getting under the shelter of the coast; but not without all of us being well drenched by the spray of the sea. By eight o'clock, we reached the boundary aimed at, beyond which the boat was of no further service; here we landed and hauled it up; and the men corded the oars to a chair we had purposely brought with us. I was thus speedily furnished with a land conveyance, and Charles being provided with a horse, we pursued our route towards Wairūkū, about eight miles distant; he on horseback, and I riding and walking alternately, for the relief

of my bearers, as well as for a change of position. We got to our destination about noon, and were kindly received by the missionary family. While some refreshment was preparing, we visited the school, consisting of a large number of children of both sexes. The meeting gathered at three o'clock, which we attended accordingly,—myself in much weariness and emptiness; but I was strengthened to stand up shortly after the reading of my certificates, and remind the people that we were in the presence of the Most High God of heaven and earth; before whom “the nations are as a drop of a bucket: He taketh up the isles as a very little thing.” He not only seeth all our actions, but knoweth the most inward thoughts and imaginations of every heart. I was carried forward to an unusual length, and without any prospect of drawing to a conclusion; the blessed truths of the gospel unfolding in continued succession to the view of my mind for about an hour and a-half: I afterwards found that the meeting had kept increasing, far beyond what was anticipated. It was to me a very memorable season, the Lord’s power was over all; and I humbly trust His name was honoured and exalted, and the kingdom within proclaimed to the dear Redeemer’s praise. The desire of my heart was, that the gospel message might be “glad tidings” indeed—“of great joy” to these people, through “repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ,” wrought by believing in the appearance of His Holy Spirit in the heart, and by the operation thereof cleansing and purifying from every thing that is offensive in the Divine sight: that thus they might be made meet to be partakers of an inheritance with the saints in light, in the everlasting kingdom. My mind felt peaceful and refreshed, and the fatigue of the journey was remembered no more. We had to shake hands with a large body of the natives between the meeting-house and the missionary’s dwelling. After spending some time with the family, and the night drawing on, we were compelled to renew our travel towards the place where the boat had been left in the morning; and though it soon became dark after leaving Wairūkū, we succeeded in getting to the right spot. After the people had rested themselves, the boat was launched, and we were favoured to reach our little vessel about half-past one o’clock in the morning. It was to me a memorable day of goodness and mercy, and the more so, as it was the anniversary of my dear William’s birth, which kindled in my heart towards our heavenly Father, renewed desires for the welfare of my precious family.

28th.—Engaged on board until afternoon,

then landed and arranged with the missionary to meet the people, at nine o'clock on the following morning; at the prospect of which, I felt as a worm and no man: but whither could I look for help, but unto Him, who hath so often covered my head in the day of battle, for His great name's sake.

29th, first-day.—Got some rest in the night; but was awakened early by the remembrance of the great weight of responsibility resting upon me; but the voice of my supplication was heard, and my prayer was not permitted to return again into my bosom in the hour of trouble. At this place we found a noble meeting-house, teeming full of people, both in the galleries and upon the ground-floor, more in number than two thousand, according to the missionary's statement: the will of the creature was laid low as in the dust; but I felt the comforting influence of that power, whose "strength is made perfect in weakness," to be nigh, though the earth trembleth and shaketh at the presence thereof. Though a stranger to the language of these people, I was sensible that my kind and willing interpreter took more than ordinary pains to impress their minds with a belief, that I had brought with me well attested letters of recommendation; and as the name of William Ellis was well known and remembered among them, he took care to state that I had a letter from him also, among others; his competent knowledge and fluent expression of the language, while it at once commanded attention, raised a degree of confidence, both in them and myself, which was of a strengthening tendency.

On standing up I told them, although for the most part we were strangers to each other, yet we were all of one blood and members of the same great human family, and in the presence of the Almighty and everlasting Parent of the universe, "who seeth not as man seeth; for man looketh on the outward appearance, but the Lord looketh on the heart:"—pointing out the necessity of our endeavouring to get into an humble waiting frame of mind, and be still; that His power might be known and magnified, and felt as a crown of solemnity over us:—that I had come amongst them in the love of the gospel,—that same love of which the great apostle spoke, when he said, "the love of Christ constraineth us; because we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead: and that He died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto Him which died for them, and rose again." Strong desires were raised in me and expressed, that these people might be brought to an acquaintance with the Holy Spirit of Him, who thus "gave his life a ransom for many." I had to lay open some

of their besetting sins as a people, and to point out the only way for their deliverance from the power of darkness by which they are bound, which is, to believe in the light of Christ Jesus, which shineth in every heart; for this indeed is He, who by His Holy Spirit, speaketh unto them, and telleth them all things that ever they did;—who convinceth the world of sin, and by His light makes manifest every evil deed, every evil thought and word, and leadeth man to repentance, whereby he is strengthened to forsake sin, and to live unto Him, who died for us and rose again. It was with me tell them, that the day of their visitation was come; and that salvation by Jesus Christ was freely offered to them who believe and receive it, and who open the door of their hearts that the King of glory by His Holy Spirit may enter in. Ability was richly afforded to exhort, warn, encourage and beseech them to turn from darkness to that light, which would show them their sins, and bring them unto God the Father; and which would raise them up at the last day, to an inheritance with those that are sanctified by the like precious faith in His beloved Son. It was indeed a high day, a day of light and joy and gladness of heart, as when the Bridegroom's voice is heard. The meeting held long; and when over, we were invited to attend an English service to be conducted by Titus Coan; which I was most easy to decline, and return forthwith on board the Henry Freeling, to collect our own sailors. Some of the seamen of the American whaler were present, and my mouth was again opened to speak of the way of life and salvation by Christ Jesus, to this little gathering.

Soon after three o'clock P. M., we again returned to the shore, to attend the afternoon native meeting. Not more than half the number of the people were present who had assembled in the morning. I had again to minister unto them; but the current of life was weak in comparison to what had flowed so freely and strongly in the first meeting. The "gospel of the kingdom," was again declared to them; and I trust the great name was magnified, by the praises of His own works, to His glory. After taking some tea at the mission-house, we again removed to our vessel for the night, as to myself, under the feelings of the unprofitable servant, being lamentably deficient in too many instances, and in having done that which was my duty to do. Blessed be the Lord God, the God of Israel, who only doeth wondrous things; and blessed be his glorious name for ever; and let the whole earth be filled with his glory; Amen, and Amen.

30th.—In the forenoon landed to purchase



fruit, vegetables, &c., in the market appointed for the sale of these articles. Made a present of a small sized telescope to governor Opeli. William Richards having kindly furnished a light wagon, Charles and myself proceeded to Lahaina Luna, where the high-school is established; we were kindly received by the principals of this institution, who are missionaries; and specimens of the books which have been printed here, charts of the Sandwich Islands, and a general atlas, (plates which these were taken from, being the work of the native scholars at this school,) were presented to us. The buildings were undergoing alterations and repairs during the vacation, on which account the scholars had been dismissed some days previous to our arrival. Returned on board soon after noon, but had some difficulty in getting safely through the surf, which had greatly increased since the morning, owing perhaps to its being about high tide. At four o'clock P. M., the missionary families came on board, consisting of William Richards and wife, with eight children, David B. Lyman and wife, and two children, Titus Coan and wife, and an unmarried female in the employ of the mission, who, with the native servants, and their wives, and young children, amounted to twenty-three in number: the whale-boats of the American ship were procured for their embarkation. At five o'clock the Henry Freeling left the island of Maui; after reaching the Morakai channel, the breeze forsook us, and we were left to tumble about all the night in a heavy swell. Nearly the whole of our passengers were sea-sick; several of the females had with them sofa-beds, which were fixed upon the deck, and in which they remained the greatest part of the time they were on board.

31st.—Having the advantage of a fine trade-wind in the course of the day, about five o'clock P. M., we anchored outside the reefs at Oahu in ten fathoms water. Having previously announced by a white flag at the mast-head, when passing Diamond Hill, that missionaries were on board, a fine double-canoë belonging to the king soon reached the vessel, sufficiently large to convey all our passengers to the shore at once, with their luggage, besides a number of the natives who worked the paddles, and had been employed on the occasion. Just after the canoe left, a shark from eight to nine feet in length was taken by our sailors; a large portion of which was sent on shore by the pilot, 'Sugar-Cane,' for the use of his family. These islanders are so fond of the flesh of the shark, that it will always fetch a high price in the Oahu market, when offered for sale.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

*Oahu—annual meeting of the missionaries—meeting with the members of the mission—addressed by the senior missionary—sail for Tauai—native meeting at Koloa—Waimea—oppression of the natives—final departure from the Sandwich Islands.*

Oahu, sixth month 1st.—EARLY in the forenoon, the British Consul came on board in a whale-boat, and conveyed us to the shore, as our own small boat was in such a shattered condition from exposure to the sun, as scarcely to be fit to trust to for so considerable a distance, as from our present anchorage without the reefs, to the town of Honolulu. After landing, proceeded to the missionary establishment, and had an interview with the three missionaries from the island of Tauai, about ninety miles to leeward of Oahu, who had arrived yesterday in the Missionary Packet. Our situation was fully explained to them, and it was I believe understood, that unless one of them would kindly accompany us to that island, our making an attempt to visit the people would be useless. We remained on shore until near dark, but were favoured to reach the vessel without difficulty, she having displayed a light as a beacon to guide us. Whilst on shore we were informed that the neighbourhood of New Zealand had been visited, in the first month last, with an awful tempest, in which much damage had been done to the shipping; that Captain Russel, of the American ship *Zone*, with whom we were personally acquainted, and to whom we were much attached, in endeavouring to save one of the sailors, had himself been washed overboard and lost. We met with him last year, at the Society Isle Huahine, and were much pleased with his serious and steady deportment. Several books and tracts were furnished for the use of the crew of his vessel, by whom he was much beloved. We were informed by the missionary family, that he had been much interested at the meeting that was held there with the natives, which he had attended. He had determined that that should be his last voyage, and so it has proved. I humbly trust he has safely entered a haven of eternal rest; where storm and tempest cannot come, nor pain nor sorrow find place.

2nd.—During most of the day I had to struggle with discouraging circumstances; all perhaps, needful, to keep the creature in its proper place. In the afternoon, landed with a view to ascertain from Hiram Bingham, whether one of the Tauai missionaries had consented to accompany us to that island as

interpreter. Hiram Bingham said an adjourned annual meeting was about to assemble, and it would afford a good opportunity of getting to know what had transpired on that subject. The bell soon rang, and we repaired to the meeting. At a vacant opportunity the subject was brought forward by Hiram Bingham, but nothing came of it, as several of the parties were absent. I was afterwards informed that one of the Hawaii missionaries was kindly disposed to accompany us, which I rather viewed with regret, from being aware that he would expect to be brought back again by our vessel. Our suspense was at last relieved by a proposition from one of the Tauai missionaries to go with us, and an assurance that he would be ready to depart before the final conclusion of the annual meeting. Although this might occasion ten or twelve days' delay, yet the saving of time would be considerable, when compared with the first offer, which would involve our having to return again to Oahu, against a relentless trade-wind, the effect of which had been fully tried. The circumstances of the case in all its bearings considered, it seemed prudent to take the Henry Freeling again into harbour, rather than risk her any longer outside the reefs. It is no small trial to be thus delayed; but as it is not to gratify self that we linger on the way, the Lord knoweth, I trust we shall yet be able to redeem this apparent loss of time, and be favoured to improve the future to his praise.

Although the prospect which had been spread before the view of my mind, for some weeks previous to our return to Honolulu, of seeing the whole of the missionaries and their families when collected at their general meeting, still remained strongly with me; yet the time did not seem come for me to take any steps to accomplish the same, until we had ascertained that the whole of them had arrived. Those who were present at the opening of this general meeting, concluded I was detained until an interpreter was ready to accompany us to the island of Tauai, and in a very kind and brotherly manner invited us to attend the several sittings of that meeting. The manner in which the affairs of the mission to these islands is conducted, could not fail to excite much interest in our minds; and although well aware that in our attendance at the meetings we should be subjected to witness many things that we could not unite in, yet, as they had always allowed us to do that which was most easy to ourselves, without a single remonstrance or the slightest appearance of dissatisfaction on their part, I was not satisfied to let such an opportunity pass away, however painful it might prove, without avail-

ing ourselves of it: at the same time, the unmortified part would gladly have been excused altogether.

3rd.—This morning, one of the Tauai missionaries came on board to say, that he hoped to have his business in such a state of forwardness, as to enable him to return to that island before the final conclusion of the general meeting. A light breeze having sprung up from the southward, soon after breakfast the Henry Freeling got under weigh, and made sail for the harbour; before ten o'clock she anchored off the fort of Honolulu. Being desirous of going to the mission-station at Eva next first-day, application was made to know whether a missionary would return thither to meet the natives on that day; but it appeared that the whole of them will remain here, on account of its being the usual time for the celebration of what is called the 'Lord's Supper.' We were informed that so few of the natives would remain within the compass of their own station, that a visit would be better deferred until next week. In the evening attended one of the general meetings, and had to wade through a painful season therein.

4th.—The leak before alluded to in our vessel still continuing although considerably lessened since our getting her into still water, it was deemed prudent that such parts of her should be well caulked, which were supposed to be the cause of her requiring so much pumping; while at the same time the needful repairs of the sails and rigging were going forward, in the expectation of again crossing the Equator, when altogether clear of these islands.

5th, first-day.—Remained on board through the day with our own people. In the evening repaired to the Mariners' place of worship, where a time of suffering was my lot.

10th.—Since first-day my time has been pretty fully occupied in attending the different sittings of the general meeting of the members of the mission, as they came in course, and in procuring the supplies needful for the vessel, in exchange for such articles of barter remaining in our possession, as were most in demand. Having deferred going to Eva last week, as no interpreter could be procured, to-day I went in search of the missionary belonging to that district, and found that he had procured a large canoe, with the intention of setting forward tomorrow morning at the proper time of the tide, to enable us to pass in safety over the shallow places near the shore, and thus preclude the necessity of our being exposed to the swell outside of the reef.

11th.—In the afternoon left the vessel and proceeded towards the Pearl river, at the head of which lies the station of Eva; we were



favoured to reach it in less than five hours, though our progress was for some time impeded by the giving way of the outrigger; but the natives soon sprung overboard and put it in order again. At this place, a prayer-meeting has been instituted among the natives, and sixteen of them collected in the evening at the house where we lodged: this station has been but recently organized.

12th, first-day.—Having retired early to rest last evening, we were seated at the breakfast table by six o'clock this morning. The horn was blown in good time to collect the people, and at ten o'clock we met about seven hundred of them in a shed open on every side, there being as yet no place of worship erected. I had largely to declare among them the glad tidings of the gospel, turning their attention, as ability was afforded, to the just witness for God in every heart. Although under feelings of great weakness as to myself, yet the deportment of the people afforded an encouraging evidence that the great Master was near to own the work. The afternoon meeting was not quite so numerous attended, but it proved even more solid than that in the morning. In this meeting I had to turn them from the teachings of men, to that power which alone can save. For "none of them can by any means redeem his brother, nor give to God a ransom for him." But the Almighty Father of love and mercy hath amply provided for the salvation of all mankind by his Son Jesus Christ, who came into the world to save sinners; "he was made sin for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him;" who died to obtain for us the Holy Spirit, that we might live and come unto God by Him. The countenances of many of these dear people, spoke louder than words what they felt: weakness and poverty were my close companions; yet I was favoured with peaceful tranquillity of mind.

We left Eva at three o'clock this morning, the 13th instant, and got well on our way an hour before day-light, through the narrow rushy channel, which in places is overhung by the spreading boughs of large trees. Although there was very little wind, we were annoyed by the swell of the Pacific; but were favoured to reach the Henry Freeling by eight o'clock. It had been to me a time of favour, and a day to be remembered among the memorable ones of my chequered life; and the more so, when on looking back, it was discovered according to the time of England, to be a date on which I had more than once had to record the tender-mercies of the Lord, for signal and crowning loving-kindness bestowed upon a poor unworthy creature. In the course of the day it was ascertained that the last of

the missionary families had arrived to attend the general meeting in a small vessel from Wairukū; and that the other family residing at Waimea, on the island of Hawaii, were prevented from attending by an increase of family since we were at their dwelling. The time was now fully come for me to request an opportunity with the whole of the members of the mission; and in the evening I stated my case to the senior missionary, who appeared quite disposed to make way for it, by consulting his brethren at a meeting then about to collect, to which we repaired. Most of two hours elapsed before a suitable opportunity presented to spread the subject before the meeting; but when once understood, my request was immediately granted, and the next evening was fixed for us to meet together.

14th.—Employed on board through the day. In the evening, called upon Hiram Bingham who accompanied us to the meeting. I was shown into the moderator's seat, and the company was soon gathered together. After some time in silence, it was with me simply to state, that on leaving Honolulu a few weeks ago, I had no expectation of returning to it again; but some time afterwards I found that I should not be clear of these parts, without endeavouring to see the whole of the missionary establishment in its collected capacity. At that time it seemed difficult to comprehend how it would be brought about, but I felt a willingness and resignation on my part towards its accomplishment:—He that causeth his wind to blow, and the waters to flow, directed our steps and brought it pass. As it is probable, (I continued) that all are present who will be on the occasion, I would suggest that we now endeavour to sink down in humble reverence of soul before "the Judge of all the earth," to wait for the counsel of His will; and, if graciously favoured therewith, endeavour to do it, to his praise and to his glory. The meeting then settled down in silence and remained for a considerable time under a solemn covering; until I had to speak of the order in the church of Christ, and of the preparation of heart which every member must pass through by the operation of the Holy Spirit, before he can become a part of this glorious body, which is without spot or wrinkle; and the necessity of our individually knowing for ourselves the hope of our high and holy calling. It was afterwards with me to state, the opportunity I had had of seeing them in their different, distant, solitary and secluded allotments, and of witnessing their patient endeavours to promote the work in which they were engaged. Having myself dwelt amongst those whose language I could not understand, I was the better able to feel for them on this account with brotherly sympathy; and I was no stran-

ger to the many obstacles thrown in their way, and the numerous difficulties that they had to encounter; but their only refuge was Christ Jesus the Lord; if He was with them, they had nothing to fear. I had no desire to discourage any, but while beholding the vast importance of the work they had taken in hand, I was ready to tremble at the awful weight of the responsibility which rested upon them. It was not for me to judge whether they had been called and chosen for the work, or not. I knew that our Lord had declared, "this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come." Their being called or not called to the work, rested with themselves. It is, however, possible for a man to have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge; and while earnestly endeavouring to lend a hand of help to others, he may be neglecting the all-important duty of coming to the knowledge of the Lord for himself. I believed that many of them were truly and earnestly desirous to know the Lord for themselves, and I wished to encourage such to follow on to know Him: to seek Him, and not to rest contented, until they found Him who said, "seek and ye shall find." "The Lord whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to His temple,—even the messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in: behold, He shall come, said the Lord of Hosts. But who may abide the day of his coming, and who shall stand when he appeareth?" Nothing that is of man, or in man,—that is earthly, sensual or unclean, can stand before Him: the heart must be cleansed and purified from every thing that defileth, before it can become the temple of a holy, pure, and just God: and none is sufficient for these things but He, unto whom all power in heaven and earth is given; who, the prophet declares, is "like a refiner's fire, and like a fuller's soap; and He shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver." This heart-searching process we must all pass through: and by yielding in meekness and submission to the baptizing operation thereof, we shall in due time be given to know and to feel it to be the "messenger to prepare the way of the Lord" before Him, who will not dwell in the defiled temple of an unclean heart. This ordeal all have to pass through in a greater or smaller degree, before they come to that knowledge which is "life eternal,"—even the knowledge of "the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom He hath sent;" who once visited the earth in a body that was prepared for Him, but who now visiteth by His Holy Spirit the heart of man: who is indeed the heavenly messenger of the covenant, to all that seek him, and delight in him, and whose coming is

sure, because the Lord hath promised. But to those who are called and chosen to speak to others in the name of the Lord, and to proclaim the glad tidings of that gospel which "is the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth," a larger portion of the "refiner's fire" is often needful, to purge them as gold and silver, and prepare them for the great work of declaring "the truth as it is in Jesus," from their own blessed and sensible experience. Just in proportion as the Lord's messengers are qualified and taught of Him, when commissioned to go forth in his name, may we expect that the people will be benefited; if our eyes are not first opened, vain is the attempt to open the eyes of the blind, and turn them from darkness to light. I was largely drawn forth to speak of the vast importance of the work in which they had engaged, and to arouse them to a sense of the responsibility it involved; recommending them to take counsel of the Holy Spirit of the Lord Jesus,—for the same shall judge us at the last day. I had much to express to them in great plainness of speech, under the overshadowing power of that love which maketh not afraid; reminding them of the many blessed seasons we had been permitted to witness together, on the different islands, when the Divine presence was as a crown and diadem over those large assemblies of the people. That "faith which works by love," and the true supper of the Lord, were also largely held up to their view.

15th.—Taking the necessary measures to prepare the vessel for sea. In the evening met the whole of the missionary establishment again; when the senior, on behalf of his brethren and himself, delivered an address, on the subject of our visit to these islands; in which he expressed their satisfaction in terms of applause, perhaps, better forgotten by us, than remembered. I was silent among them; but when the meeting broke up, I told the speaker, I could have added, "Not unto us," &c.

16th.—In the morning, Charles and myself took an early opportunity of sitting down together and were favoured to get into the quiet, although all was bustle around us. In the afternoon went on shore to settle our affairs, and take leave of those with whom we had now been several months acquainted, and for whom an earnest solicitude was felt. Soon after returning on board, we embarked the baggage of Peter J. Gulick the missionary, who had engaged to accompany us to the island of Tauai, and who resides at the station of Koloa; he, his wife, and five children, with the British Consul and the master of the free school, were our passengers. The trade-wind being fresh in our favour, and having our pilot 'Sugar-Cane' in readiness, at five



o'clock we quitted the sheltering harbour of Honolulu and stretched well into the offing, in the hope of a permanent breeze at a good distance from the land. Having only ninety-four miles to run, an expectation was raised of our being in the roads of Koloa by ten o'clock the next morning, but the wind forsook us before midnight, and the island of Tauai was not discovered until too late for its accomplishment.

17th.—Got sight of the island at three o'clock P. M., and at six o'clock, anchored in the open roadstead of Koloa, just in time to land our passengers before the night came upon us. Our vessel being observed approaching towards the roads, a large canoe belonging to the missionary, was sent from the shore; which, by making three journeys to and fro, succeeded in carrying the family, and the major part of the baggage, in safety to the land. Peter J. Gulick, with his wife and five children, remained on board, until their luggage was sent off, and were at last placed in a canoe, which, from the rolling of the vessel, and the incessant swells of the ocean, was no easy task. The father having one of the young children to care for, could not render his wife the slightest assistance: the child cried, and he seemed very anxious lest an accident should happen: but his wife, (while hanging suspended, watching for the right moment, when the canoe coming up, borne by the swell, should rise high enough for her to get foothold sufficient to induce her to let go all hold of the vessel,) calmly cried out to him, 'we must be patient, my dear.' After two or three efforts she ventured, and was received in the arms of two of the natives, and placed in tolerable security. The youngest child, which had for some time been held by the rough grasp of one of our sailors, and unconscious of the risk to which it was exposed, was now handed, with smiling face, over the side of our little reeling bark, in safety to its mother. Although this appeared a hazardous enterprise, demanding the utmost care, yet I believed they were all safe, as in the hollow of the Divine hand.

18th.—Landed on the island of Tauai, and made our way to the missionary station. Having made the needful arrangements relative to meeting the people of this district to-morrow, I left my certificates with Peter J. Gulick, who kindly undertook to convene the natives. After visiting a sugar plantation in the neighbourhood conducted by Americans, returned on board.

19th, first-day.—Repaired in good time to the shore, having two miles to go to the native meeting in the heat of the sun. By nine o'clock, about eight hundred of the people were assembled in an open shed. I was poor,

and under feelings of great weakness amongst them; but after reminding them of the solemn purpose for which we were brought together, when the missionary had finished reading the translation of my certificates, the way was opened for me largely to declare the glad tidings of great joy to all that repent, believe, and obey the gospel; and to make a solemn appeal to the just witness for God in every heart. I felt an earnest engagement to turn the attention of these dear people to the Holy Spirit of the Lord Jesus, which would discover to them "all things that ever they did," would set their sins in order before them, and save them from sin with an everlasting salvation. The people were very attentive, and under a solemn feeling the meeting broke up; when they flocked round us in the usual manner. I found that on account of the weak state of the health of the missionary, no afternoon meeting was held; but the school was largely attended: on this occasion, however, the people were again assembled for worship, at three o'clock P. M. I felt little on my mind towards them, but was fearful of withholding that little, and stood for a time under much discouragement; strength was, however, in due time graciously afforded,—and I was enabled, to my admiration, to set before the people "life and death, good and evil,"—and to encourage them not to be overcome of evil, but to overcome evil with good. "Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity," and "live unto Him who died for them, and rose again;" and who now by the grace of His Holy Spirit, bringeth salvation to all men, hath appeared unto all men, and teacheth all men, &c. Although the number present was less than in the morning, yet the meeting was no less solemn. Returned on board before dark to lessen the risk of staving the boat against the vessel, as the constant swell of the sea renders access and egress at all times difficult, but much less hazardous by day-light.

21st.—Yesterday and this morning pretty fully engaged in procuring vegetables, Indian corn, &c. In the afternoon went up to Koloa, to take leave of the missionary's family, he himself being about to accompany us to Hanare, a station on the other side of the island. Towards evening the needful supplies were obtained, and Peter J. Gulick, Richard Charlton, (the Consul) with three or four natives were embarked. At seven o'clock we loosed from the roads, and stretched away into the offing for the night, with a fresh gale, but directly opposed to the course we were desirous of steering.

22nd,—On approaching the land again this morning, it was found that but little had been

gained through the night; and unless the wind veered a little in our favour, there seemed no probability of our rounding the headland which obstructed the passage to Hanarei. Employed in plying to windward all day, and by midnight our position was such, that daylight only was wanted to sanction our taking the advantage of the bending of the coast to steer for the entrance of the bay. But when our object was nearly accomplished, the wind died away, and a strong current set the vessel so rapidly to leeward, that for a time there seemed no prospect of our getting in at all: the breeze, however, rallied again, and helped us round the point of the reef; and by nine o'clock A. M., an anchor was dropped in ten fathoms water in the midst of heavy rain.

23rd.—As vessels seldom touch here, our arrival soon brought off a number of canoes, and a supply of fresh fish; butter and milk were quickly furnished from the estate of Richard Charlton, who had sent an overland messenger from Koloa, to keep a good lookout for the vessel, and have these articles in readiness on our arrival. After breakfast, our kind interpreter Peter J. Gulick went on shore to examine into the state of the people, their own missionary and his family being absent at Oahu, attending the General meeting of the mission. Some of our people were employed on shore in the forenoon, slaughtering a bullock from the stock of Richard Charlton, kindly provided for our accommodation, in the expectation that the Henry Freeling would return towards the Equator before many days.

24th.—Our missionary friend came off from the shore at an early hour, to inform us that the natives would be collected about half-past nine o'clock. We landed with him in a large canoe, conducted by skilful natives, which carried us comfortably through the surf. As we approached the strand, the people collected in a body, and watching the return of the roller which bore the canoe a sufficient height for their purpose, it was placed in a few moments very safely out of the reach of the breakers upon dry ground. The conch-shells were immediately sounded; and after waiting some time at the missionary-house, we proceeded to the meeting. Here we found, perhaps, seven hundred people, all squatted upon the ground in stillness, (as no seats were provided,) waiting for the strangers. After a time my mind was opened to declare amongst them Christ Jesus the Lord; whose Holy Spirit visiteth every heart, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ, and if believed in, and walked in, to restore man from a state of sin and death to holiness and newness of life. Strength and ability were richly afforded me, to testify the love and the

mercy of God in Christ Jesus to the children of men; and the people were exhorted to turn to His light whilst the day of their visitation was extended, lest they should be overtaken by the night, wherein no man can work. Although the people were very attentive, and great solemnity prevailed on the occasion, yet after the meeting broke up, as was the case with those held at Koloa, the sentence of death in myself was my only portion: at its conclusion they flocked round us in the usual way,—many of them, I believe, with love in their hearts. At least one hundred and fifty accompanied us down to the strand, and saw us safely launched again into deep water. In the afternoon landed on the other side of the bay, and had full opportunity of witnessing the very low state of these poor degraded people, and the filthy abodes of several of them. I exchanged needles and fish-hooks for any thing they could furnish, even for broken shells, as they seemed to have nothing to part with, to purchase such articles as they stood in need of, and which they were very desirous to obtain. At seven o'clock P. M., departed from the bay, and made sail to the eastward with a fair breeze, and heavy showers of rain falling.

25th.—In the course of this day, we were much baffled with variable winds and strong currents; towards sun-set we anchored in five fathoms water, in the road of Waimea, opposite a fort formed some years ago by the crew of a Russian vessel. Soon after arriving, Peter J. Gulick went on shore to arrange for a meeting with the people to-morrow. In the evening, some milk was sent off from the missionary station; its occupants, Samuel Whitney and family, are now absent at Oahu, with the rest of the mission.

26th, first-day.—Landed in good time to attend the meeting. Richard Charlton undertook to conduct us through the surf with the natives, having acquired their language from long residence among these islands; we soon met with Peter J. Gulick, and proceeded to the meeting together. By nine o'clock about one thousand persons were collected, who filled every part of the house, except a narrow gallery intended for singers, at the lower end of it. I felt as one stripped of every thing but a sense of utter weakness and inability, which has been the case for several seasons of late; and although the Lord was again pleased to try my faith, that my trust and confidence might be centred in Him alone, He again condescended to clothe me with strength and power, to declare amongst the people the unsearchable riches of Christ. Soon after Peter J. Gulick had read my certificates, I stood up; and having awakened their attention and



directed them to Him, unto whom the cattle on a thousand hills belong, I told them I had no desire to multiply words amongst them, lest I should be found darkening counsel; but that my desire was to turn them from words to the power of the Holy Spirit of the Lord Jesus in their own hearts. My tongue was loosed to declare freely the things relating to the gospel of the kingdom, for upwards of an hour. No people could be more attentive; my prayer is, that many of them may be enabled to say, from heart-felt living experience, "Now we believe, not because of thy saying: for we have heard him ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world:"—unto whom be ascribed glory and dominion for ever. After the meeting was over, I found that my interpreter was greatly exhausted by the fatigue he had had to pass through, although he offered to attend again in the afternoon, but added, that the number of people would be much reduced, as no afternoon meetings are held in the absence of the resident missionary; and when at his post, the Bible class system is usually adopted. I told him, that if I came with a view to see the people again, I should take care to be on shore in time in the afternoon. The surf had increased since our landing in the morning; but we were assisted as before, by experienced and skilful managers. The weather becoming wet in the afternoon, seemed to decide my remaining on board, having been informed that the islanders do not like to go out in the rain themselves, nor do they expect strangers to do it; but more especially, from not feeling it binding upon me to return to the shore again that day. On looking at the subject after the time had passed by, although in poverty and depression, I did not feel as one that had held back. Had there been a probability of a meeting being held, I was scarcely fit to attempt a second landing, from pain in my head. In the afternoon, read portions of Scripture to our own crew. Late in the night, made a fair copy of a short address to the members of the mission, in the Sandwich Islands; at the same time acknowledging the receipt of a joint communication from them in their general meeting capacity, signed by all the members.

27th.—Engaged in procuring yams, pumpkins, with other vegetables, and live stock, in the prospect of again steering towards the Equator. Found it expedient to hire from the natives a strong canoe, to assist our operations, as our own jolly-boat is now old and very crazy, and altogether unfit to contend with the surf upon this side of the island, even when in her best condition. On landing we found a considerable body of the natives col-

lected together, with a prodigious quantity of various sorts of vegetables, fruits, fowls, &c., intended as a present to our vessel: the missionary being present, there was no lack of an interpreter betwixt us. I told him that we could not accept of any thing as a present from these poor people; and even if we could, that the quantity before us upon the beach was greater than our vessel could take in with convenience; at the same time I would not object to take what might be useful to us, provided they would allow us to make a suitable return. It appeared from the statement of the missionary, that the people were intending to build a new meeting-house at Koloa, by voluntary contribution, and that as this was the case, the difficulty could be at once surmounted by the appropriation of the amount of the supplies which might be taken by us, to that purpose. To effect this, the articles we wanted were to be valued in dollar money, which enabled us to pay for them in such commodities as could be used in the building in question as materials, or in the payment of workmen employed in erecting it: articles of clothing were much in demand for the latter purpose. The people, particularly the females, brought with them on this occasion many of the simple native productions of the island; with small quantities of shells, and other ornamental trifles in use among them in the days of gross idolatry, but now laid aside. These articles were intended as presents from individuals then present, so that each person received an equivalent for what he had to offer on the spot; and care was taken that an ample return was made to each of them. Needles, fish-hooks, and pocket combs, were eagerly sought after in exchange. Some native dresses were brought in the shape of a morning robe for a female, made from the bark of the paper mulberry tree, and with thread of their own manufacture: this circumstance accounted for the brisk demand for large sized needles, to enable them to use their own thread, while a very small quantity of our thread was taken. These dresses were mostly purchased for scissors; but knives, combs, and other articles were in demand, for native cloth of stained colours. We returned on board to avoid the hottest part of the day, as the heat was extreme, and the reflection from the white sand on the beach almost insupportable. As the sun declined, we landed again and pursued our barter trade, until the natives began to retire from the shore for the night: crossed the river by canoe opposite the fort.

Some years ago, the chiefs of this island had been prevailed upon by the Russians to place themselves under the protection of that nation, and on that score had ceded one-half

of the island over to them. After this, the fort was erected; the step altogether was found to be obnoxious to some other powers, and the Russian government disclaiming the action, as having been committed without any sanction on their part, the scheme was abandoned altogether, and the blame cast upon its supposed projectors: be this correct or not, the fort is still in existence. Cannon of other nations are to be seen in it, besides those of Russia; and several may be distinguished to have come from England, by the G. R., &c., upon them. It is probable these may have been procured by the chiefs, or their own king, with a view to strengthen this place for the security of the island.

28th.—To-day, for most part employed in embarking yams, sweet potatoes, water melons, goats, &c., which had been purchased with barter goods. Some molasses had been spoken about to a Chinaman who is engaged here as an agent to an American master residing at Oahu; but finding that this article was entirely the gain of oppression, we declined taking it on that account.—A few gallons were purchased at last from an American, who had produced the sugar cane by his own labour, which wholly removed all difficulty on this head. On this island, it is said that the poor natives are more oppressed by the chiefs, than on any other of the Sandwich group. The introduction of two establishments for making sugar, with which the chiefs are connected, it seems probable, will eventually be the cause of promoting a state of slavery, as oppressive as that which has existed in the West Indies: the population, from this, and other much to be deplored causes, is rapidly decreasing; these sugar plantations were set on foot by two Americans. In one instance, the chiefs find all the labour, and have one-half of the profit; in the other, the scheme is more plausible, as the natives are paid a small pittance for their labour: but the chiefs are compelled by contract to furnish a sufficient number of labourers for their share of the profit; for the sake of which, the contract is more rigidly enforced. This was spoken of as being conducted upon a fair principle; but we told them, nothing compulsory could be just. Our friend the missionary having left us and returned to his family at Koloa, we found the kind assistance of the British Consul very useful in our transactions with the natives. At the edge of dark, we had all on board, and only waited the land-breeze to waft us from the island. At nine o'clock P. M., Richard Charlton left us, into whose hands were committed our letters for England, to be forwarded from Oahu, by the first eligible conveyance which might offer after his arrival there. Our pilot 'Sugar-

Cane' was now paid off, and all things being settled, we took a final departure, and stretched off a south and by east course; leaving these interesting isles of the ocean, amongst which, more than half a year of our time had been expended. The best welfare of the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands will be an object ever near and dear to my heart, and which, however distantly separated as to the body, my spirit will earnestly crave.

Extract from a letter of this date written to an intimate friend in England:

——— 'Time would fail me to tell of the everlasting mercy and compassion that have been extended to us-ward, in that love which hath compassed about as with a shield, during our recent operations in dangerous bays and roadsteads, lying open within a very few points of the compass, to the whole beat of the Pacific. In most of these places, we have had to land amidst a breaking surf, sometimes in our own boat, and at others in canoes, which when managed by the natives, are by far the safer, although subject to frequent drenchings from the sea.

I brought with me from London, as recommended by a dear friend, a patent water-proof belt, or life-preserver, made by Macintosh, of Cheapside; but I have been ashamed to make use of it on any one occasion, and when we have been going to land, I have uniformly left it on board the vessel. How could I now begin to doubt the loving-kindness of Him, whose goodness hath followed me all my life long; and dare to distrust that never-failing arm of strength, that hath been so often and eminently stretched forth for my preservation, by night and day, by sea and land, amongst strangers and foreigners, where no man cared for my soul,—in cold and heat,—in hunger, thirst, and weariness,—amid the din of arms, the poisonous pestilence and the destruction that wasteth at noon day: how often from boyhood to the present day have I been sheltered from the rage of the angry tempest; and how was I supported in the iron grasp of affliction, when week after week, tidings of family distress assailed me, without the power to lend a hand of help,—the parent stock smitten and removed, and the branches withering. And after all this, shall I now, when old and grey-headed, begin to doubt the heavenly source of help, that still strengthens me to proclaim the unsearchable riches of his love, to the tribes which inhabit his possessions in these uttermost parts of the earth; when the feelings of decaying nature are lost sight of, and the inner man strengthened by the might of the Lord's glorious power and sensible presence, to my humble admiration. "To whom shall we go,"



when He only hath the words of eternal life? to whom all power in heaven and earth is given.——

29th.—There being no probability of further intercourse with the natives in these parts of the globe, we now return to the true time of England, from which we digressed on our arrival at Oahu, to prevent mistakes: but the log book of the Henry Freeling underwent no alteration, and is now dated the 30th of sixth month, 1836. (Fifth-day.)—This morning, being fifty miles from Tauai, the loom of the island under a bank of clouds was but just discernible. Cloudy weather, but we had a wind that enabled us to steer a steady course to the south south-east.\*

\* When on the point of leaving the harbour of Honolulu, at Oahu, when there could be no further communication between us and the parties concerned, a letter was received from the general meeting of the American mission, signed, by all the members; of which the following is a copy.

Honolulu, June 16th, 1836.

‘Daniel Wheeler, dear friend,

‘We, the missionaries of the Sandwich Islands, feel ourselves happy to have the opportunity of reciprocating the kindness and sympathy, which you and our young friend, your esteemed son Charles Wheeler, have manifested to us and our families, during the period of five and a half months, while you have sojourned and laboured with us. We have hailed your arrival in this country with gladness, and welcomed your visit to our stations with much pleasure. We have read your credentials from York and London with care; and have been cheered by the Christian spirit which they breathe. We have been refreshed by your interesting account of the origin and progress of your enterprise, and by your earnest and repeated evangelical appeals to our people. You have seen with what readiness of mind we have interpreted your discourses to the people, and endeavoured to facilitate your work. And we now tender you our thanks for your kind co-operation in our work, with which you have been enabled, by the great Head of the church, to favour us. Your design to preach “the unsearchable riches of Christ” in the isles and on the shores of this great ocean, for an indefinite but protracted period, at such a remove from the comforts of home and all you held dear on earth, must, we are aware, (for we are acquainted with the nature of the service,) be attended with sacrifices, toils, and cares, in which none but the Divine arm can sustain you; but this arm Divine has thus far sustained you. For this we would unite with you in thanksgiving “to the Father of lights, from whom cometh every good and perfect gift;” and with you would we rejoice in the assurance, that it will sustain you still. Take courage, dear friend, and go on with your good work. Do what is in your power to pour the light of the sun of righteousness upon the people which sit in darkness, upon the tribes on whom the star-light of nature nightly shines, and upon the isles over which

## CHAPTER XXX.

*Re-cross the Equator—Hervey Islands—visit the island of Rarotonga—friendly reception—school—native meetings—kindness of the natives—sail for the Friendly Isles.*

WITHOUT entering into the particular details of this voyage, which can be but of little interest to those on shore, we directed our course towards the equator, endeavouring as much as circumstances would permit, to keep to the eastward, in the hope of fetching the island of Rarotonga, one of the Hervey Isles, in latitude  $21^{\circ} 31'$  south of the line, and longitude  $160^{\circ}$  west. After witnessing the usual variety of changes in the winds and weather,

the day-star of grace has arisen. Accompanied and aided by your own beloved son, sustained and guided by the adorable Spirit of God; may you be enabled to do much to dry the fountain of intemperance and licentiousness, which threaten such desolations in every quarter of the globe, and to hasten the universal diffusion of revealed truth. We bid you God speed, while you proclaim to perishing men the glad tidings of salvation, through a crucified and exalted Saviour; while with self-sacrifice and devotedness to Christ, you labour “to turn men from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.” Pray for us, that we may be found faithful in this work, and that the gospel may have free course, and be glorified. And now, as you are convinced that our Master calls you to leave us, to prosecute the service you have to perform for Him in other isles and coasts, we bid you and your son an affectionate farewell; and part with you as with valued friends, whom we hope to meet in peace, when the sacrifices, and toils, and trials of a missionary life are ended. “The Lord bless thee and keep thee. The Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee. The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.” Not unto us, but to God be the glory. Your affectionate friends.’

(Signed)

ASA THURSTON,  
HIRAM BINGHAM,  
SAMUEL WHITNEY,  
WILLIAM RICHARDS,  
LEVI CHAMBERLAIN,  
ARTEMAS BISHOP,  
LORRIN ANDREWS,  
JOHN SMITH GREEN,  
PETER J. GULICK,  
EPHRAIM W. CLARK,  
GERRIT P. JUDD,  
DWIGHT BALDWIN,  
REUBEN TINKER,  
HENRY DIMOND,

SHELDON DIBBLE,  
TITUS COAN,  
HENRY H. HITCHCOCK,  
JOHN S. EMERSON,  
DAVID B. LYMAN,  
EPHRAIM SPALDING,  
RICHARD ARMSTRONG,  
COCHRANE FORBES,  
WM. P. ALEXANDER,  
EDMUND H. ROGERS,  
LOWEL SMITH,  
BENJ. W. PARKER,  
EDWIN O. HALL.

‘To Daniel Wheeler.’

An acknowledgment of the receipt of this document was sent to Oahu by the British Consul, Richard Charlton, as before hinted at; a copy of which now follows, with the substance of what quickened upon my mind to the members of the mission.

and the thunder-storms to which these latitudes are subject, we were favoured to cross the equator about three o'clock in the morning of the 19th of seventh month, in health and safety, and at noon were in latitude forty miles south; longitude by lunar observation 160° west. Not a single vessel was seen during the whole passage; and although we must have passed near several of the islands scattered upon the surface of the ocean, both north and south of the line, yet none of them were sighted until first-day, the 31st; when at day-break in the morning the island of Rarotonga was discovered about seven leagues to windward of us. The morning was then calm, but at nine o'clock A. M., we stretched away to the east north-east, with a light breeze, there being no alternative, but that of endeavouring to beat up to it; although it was a little mortifying to perceive, that the settled trade-wind blew directly from it. Having by dint of exertion gained ground, one of the missionary stations could plainly be discerned to leeward on second-day afternoon. This was known by the appearance of a large building, which, with some others about it, was white-washed, and had a neat appear-

ance. We then stood to the southward, until the other missionary station was open to our view, and near enough to observe a number of the natives upon the look out, who had no doubt descried the approach of a strange vessel to their shores. As the wind still blew strongly against us, we could not get sufficiently near the coast to entice the canoes to come off before the night closed in; so we hovered within a short distance of the island until the next morning, the 2nd of eighth month: when, at an early hour a boat was seen coming from the shore, from the first station observed yesterday, which in due time reached the Henry Freeling. We were enabled to understand from our visitors, that we were off the station of Charles Pittman the missionary, with whom and with his wife, we became acquainted at the island of Tahiti last year. They were at that time in a weak state of health, and it seemed very doubtful whether they would ever be able (particularly Charles Pittman,) to return to the island of Rarotonga. It was very satisfactory to find they were restored to their duty in improved health; more especially as our way seemed at once fairly opened to enter upon this new scene of labour,

*'To the members of the Mission at the Sandwich Islands.'*

'Dear friends,

'Your joint communication, replete with the expression of brotherly kindness and regard, was put into my hand just as we were quitting the shores of Oahu. Although utterly unmerited on my part, yet I feel compelled to accept it, from a belief in the purity of those motives by which it was dictated; while, at the same time, the feeling is awakened, that to me belongs only "blushing and confusion of face." I rejoice in the opportunity so soon afforded me to acknowledge its receipt, and more especially because I had felt my mind drawn towards you, before I saw its contents; desiring more and more that you may individually become acquainted with the binding influence of that love, which many waters cannot quench, "unto all riches of the full assurance of understanding, to the acknowledgment of the mystery of God, and of the Father, and of Christ; in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge." I desire for you, my friends, all that you can possibly desire for yourselves; believing that your principal desire is to be true followers of Him, who said,—"If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily and follow me." These are the express and explicit terms of discipleship, to which unqualified obedience is required; and from which all reservations are inadmissible: let us examine then how far these indispensable conditions are submitted to on our part. If we profess to follow the great and heavenly example of "Him who died for us and rose again," in which all the graces of earthly perfection are combined, in all our actions before men, let us, my friends, be complete, and do it also in all our words: let our language to and before

men be like His. Surely we ought to be content to use the language which he himself uttered and accepted of men. His words are pure words: they are wholesome words: and we ought to consent to the words of our Lord Jesus Christ. Then let us be willing to follow the Lord of life and glory: if we carry His example fairly out, our speech will bewray us and show that we are his disciples indeed: we shall find that this brings us at once to the foot of the cross—the daily cross: without this we are strangers to the self-denying holy cross; and if we do not bear the cross, we can never wear the crown. Then let us not fear to confess our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, nor be ashamed of Him and His word before men; remembering the awful declaration which bears upon all, and applies to all,—"Whosoever shall deny me, before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven;" and "whosoever shall be ashamed of me and my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him also shall the Son of Man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels." This has been put into my heart in love towards you: in the same love it is written, and in which I trust it will be received, from your affectionate friend,

'DANIEL WHEELER.'

'My son Charles unites with me in an assurance of grateful knowledge and regard for your kind remembrance of him.'

'P. S.—The oppressed condition of the natives of this island is truly affecting, and prompts me to remind my constant friend Hiram Bingham, of the address that was presented to the king Kinau, &c., at his house, to whose care the printing of it was committed.'

'Henry Freeling, in the road of Waimea, Isle of Tautai,  
27th of Sixth month, 1836.'



by the means being thus marvellously provided, as there was no other resident missionary at that time upon the island. I sent a note back by the boat to say, we were now permitted to greet them from the very edge of Rarotonga; and only waited information, as to the practicability of our vessel finding a place of safe anchorage. This boat was soon discovered to be again coming off, and on near approach, Charles Pittman himself proved to be on board of her. We had scarcely time to congratulate each other after he had reached the deck, before he became sea-sick from the tossing of our vessel. As he was unable to converse, we concluded to return to the shore with him immediately: he remained in the air while we threw off our sea-garments, and we then put off together for the shore. He began to revive as we got into smoother water, and after landing he soon came round again. As we drew nigh the strand, it became densely covered with an innumerable host of children, who at once hailed us as their friends: it was with difficulty that we could pass along for them, as these delighted little naked fellows completely choked up the avenue through a grove of bananas, which leads to the mission-house, struggling who should first get hold of our hands; and if but a finger could be laid hold of, it seemed quite to satisfy them: this banana grove was of Charles Pittman's own planting. Soon after reaching the house, the floor was studded over with natives squatted on every side, the elders of the people coming forward to salute us, and welcome us to their island. After some consideration and inquiry had taken place, it was concluded that the people should be generally convened to-morrow morning in that district, and a meeting held at eleven o'clock A. M. The afternoon, towards sun-down, would have been preferred on some accounts, but this would unavoidably have thrown us into the dark, and thereby rendered our return to the Henry Freeling doubly hazardous. After partaking of some simple refreshment, we looked round the village Gnatagnia, and then prepared to return to our vessel. When leaving her in the morning, we took with us an English union jack, for the purpose of hoisting upon a lofty bamboo, or cocoa-nut tree, as a signal for Captain Keen to stand in as close to the reefs as was prudent on seeing this flag displayed upon the shore, to save the labour of the people in the boat, and to afford us every chance of smooth water. When this flag was put up, we were told that it was the first time the English flag had been planted upon the island of Rarotonga; very peaceable possession had been taken of the island on this occasion at any rate, and one in which a most cordial reception was

strongly evinced, in a degree of that love which casteth out fear from every breast, and makes every man a brother. We were favoured to get well on board, and then purchased a few fowls and vegetables of the native crew, more with a view to please, than from a want of fresh provisions. Our meeting with the natives to-morrow is now entirely dependent upon the elements, a shift of wind may compel us to seek safety, by flying from the island before the returning morning; but having done our best, we must cast all our burden and all our care upon Him, who alone can bring it to pass; before whom my mind is humbled and bowed down, imploring help and strength; that the righteous cause may not be tarnished in our feeble hands, but rather that the Lord's name may be exalted and glorified, and the gospel of the dear Redeemer's spiritual kingdom faithfully declared to these people; until the thanksgiving of many shall redound to the glory and praise of the riches of that all-saving grace and truth which came by Him, bringing salvation unto all mankind the world over.

Eighth month 3rd.—The morning was beautifully fine, but having crept a long distance from the island during the darkness, and the breeze now being very light, our progress shoreward again was very slow. Although about one-half of our masts only could be seen above the horizon when the day broke; yet the natives had the sagacity to perceive, by the position of our sails, that we were steering towards the shore, and immediately put off with Charles Pittman's boat. Our own boats had been too long in a dry state, to be trustworthy; and as there was no harbour that could be entered with prudence, all our hands were required on board, as the vessel was liable to be blown off to sea at all times. Charles Pittman's boat, although a clumsy one, was therefore regarded as a privilege and addition to our comforts. From our distance in the offing, it was nearly nine o'clock A. M., before this boat got to the vessel; but desirous of rendering every assistance in his power, Alexander Cunningham (a person whom we had known last autumn at Eimeo, and now endeavouring to establish a sugar plantation on his own account at Rarotonga,) came off in her: having some knowledge of the language, he came principally to interpret between us and the natives, should occasion require it. While the breeze freshened a little, and the vessel was enabled to steer towards the mouth of the channel through the reef, we kept on board; but on approaching the coast the wind began to die away, and we then proceeded more rapidly in the boat. On landing we were met by several hundreds of the na-

tives, a large proportion of them boys; and after remaining some time at the mission-house, we looked into the school for the least scholars: some of whom read to all appearance very readily. In the large school we heard several boys and girls read verse after verse alternately in one of the Evangelists; and were informed that fifteen hundred copies of the Four Evangelists had been recently received from England, *viâ* Tahiti: some of these were read audibly, and we were told correctly. After some further examination by catechising, a hymn was sung; the school then broke up in an orderly manner, and proceeded towards the meeting-house.

While a silent spectator in the schools, the love of the Divine Master flowed in my heart towards these dear children,—an encouraging and sealing evidence, that strength and ability would not be wanting to proclaim the glad tidings of his gospel, in his time. The house was filled, and held upwards of two thousand people. We remained upon the floor of the building, whilst Charles Pittman read my certificates, and explained to the people the nature of my visit, I believe to the utmost in his power. During this time it was very evident, that if Charles Pittman had been speaking by my side, half of the people at least could not have heard him, and therefore I thought it best to promote his remaining in his pulpit by joining him there. I remained quiet, however, until he had thoroughly finished, and then went up and stood in silence by his side, for a short interval: when it was with me to turn the attention of the gazing islanders to the “God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ;” that the great object of our thus being permitted to assemble together, might be fully realized, and the blessing which prevailed to the utmost bound of the everlasting hills, might rest upon us. After this, I had largely to declare the things which belong unto their peace, and to turn them to the “Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world;” that they might know Him to be so in blessed reality, by believing in the light of the Holy Spirit, which shineth in every heart, as a light in a dark place; that by taking heed thereunto, they would be made sensible of the darkness of their own hearts. It was for this the Saviour died, that mankind might no longer walk in darkness, but in the light of life; that as sin hath heretofore reigned in us unto death, so now might grace reign through righteousness unto eternal life, by Jesus Christ our Lord. It was a solemn season; the power of the Lord reigned over all, and his own works rendered living praises unto Him and the Son of his love. After the meeting broke up, some time was occupied in noticing the

people, who remained in crowds about us. It was agreed with Charles Pittman, that the people at Aaron Buzacott’s station, about eight miles distant, should that evening be informed of my intention to visit them to morrow; and that the meeting should be requested to gather at an early hour in the forenoon, to allow sufficient time for my return to the vessel. While we rested and refreshed, the preconcerted signal was made, and the Henry Freeling coming pretty close to the island, we got safely on board before dark.

4th.—Having an overland journey to perform, I repaired to the shore in good time, and with the assistance of eight stout natives, to bear me alternately four and four upon their shoulders when wearied, this journey was accomplished with comparative ease. The great heat of the sun when it shines, renders the exercise of travelling on foot too fatiguing to the European constitution, and highly imprudent to be persisted in beyond short distances. At this station (Avarua,) we had a fine meeting, more than 2500 persons being present. My certificates were read as usual, and I had largely to publish the glad tidings of the everlasting gospel amongst them, to my own peace. Although at first standing up I was much depressed, as one that had no might and was ready to faint; yet as I endeavoured to keep close to my heavenly guide, strength proportionate to the day, and confidence, were graciously extended, to my humble admiration. Many blessed and encouraging truths were given me to spread before the people, to the exaltation, I humbly trust, of the Most High God; and his name and power were magnified, who in the greatness of His love and strength came to seek and to save that which was lost,—if believed in, looked for, and yielded unto, in the obedience of faith.

The meeting held late, and the people were very solid and attentive;—my sympathizing and faithful interpreter could not help acknowledging the blessing, with which we had that day been favoured, as a crowning evidence. The people seemed reluctant to separate; and many of them followed us to the dwelling of the absent missionary, where we partook of a repast, which had been kindly prepared for our accommodation. The king or principal chief Makea, joined us; he was desirous of making a present of supplies for the vessel; this however was declined, and his kind intention acknowledged with gratitude. This chief’s sister, once dined on board the Henry Freeling, with Pomare the queen of Tahiti, when we were lying in the bay of Papeete at that island a year ago; and she was mentioned in my Journal of that day, as the sister of the king of Rarotonga. She



was at the meeting, and came to me in a very kind and agreeable manner before it commenced, and after it was over; Charles Pittman gave me a pleasing account of her stability of conduct and example. Several questions were put to us on religious subjects through Charles Pittman, by Makea and others who attended; and I had an opportunity of telling them what great things the Lord had done for them, and that the principal work they had to do in return, was to labour in the vineyard of their own hearts, &c. We got back to the Gnatagnia station before sun-setting, when for the first time I found that there was an out-station twelve miles distant on the other side of the island, the people of which had not been at either of the meetings that had been held. I rather shrunk at the receipt of this information, principally I believe owing to the continued exposed situation of the vessel, and perhaps the weak state of my Charles might throw an additional weight into the scale of discouragement on the occasion. Without making any remark, I concluded not to stop over the tea which was then ready, but return immediately on board, under a faint expectation of being on shore again to-morrow, and perhaps getting to the out-station in question, called Aroragne, on the seventh-day; to be in a state of forwardness to leave the range of the island altogether late in the evening, if that was permitted, which on many accounts appeared desirable at the moment. I was favoured to reach the vessel at the edge of dark. As the evening advanced, blackness and darkness began to gather to the southward, incessant lightning followed with distant peals of thunder; at the same time the wind began to freshen from the westward, a very unusual quarter, as the regular trade-wind almost constantly prevails from the south-east, over all others. It was now apprehended that this unexpected change in the weather, and the wild appearance of the atmosphere, would prove the forerunners of a heavy tempest; the captain thought it advisable, under these circumstances, to haul away from the island under a press of canvass, which would at any rate remove every apprehension of suffering from its crags and reefs. We passed a very rugged night, and at four o'clock in the morning, were assailed by a tremendous squall of wind, which seemed to dispel in great measure the most threatening indications of the atmosphere.

5th.—Heavy rain and rough weather ushered in the new morning, and when the day was thoroughly established, we were found to be so far off the island, as to render the whole length of day insufficient for us to resume our former position, so as to have the usual inter-

course with its inhabitants. This being conclusive, the day was expended in preparing and collecting many commodities wanted as presents, and to purchase supplies of some articles the most needed; also in searching out a stock of clothing and materials, for the purpose of relieving the wants and sufferings of the poor naked children, who were often shivering with the present cold. The climate of this island is stated to have become much cooler within the last three or four years than it was formerly: the heat of the sun is excessive during the day, but the nights and mornings are chilly, and the dews very heavy.

6th.—After a very tossing and almost sleepless night, I felt much cast down at the situation of things around us, and seemed inclined to lay aside every attempt to effect a landing upon the island to-day, although we had got into an eligible position for the purpose during the night. I did not feel clear of this out-station at Aroragne; and yet there had been no opportunity for an arrangement to be made for it, or the needful notice given of an intended meeting; but before getting up, the way was made plain before me that would lead to peace and tranquillity of mind; to insure which, I found that I must land to-day at Gnatagnia, attend the meeting there to-morrow, and on second-day go off to the out-station at Aroragne: to this I felt resigned, and told Charles, that this was the only way for me to proceed with safety. Every exertion was made to push the *Henry Freeling* within the range of tolerably smooth water; and the natives who had been anxiously watching our motions, on seeing this, launched the boat and put out to sea to meet us. The health of my Charles was so favourably restored, as to allow him to accompany me; and having got our stores, &c. safely into the boat, we again pushed off for the shore, and on landing were welcomed by the cheerful countenances of the islanders as usual. On reaching the missionary dwelling, I told our kind host and hostess, that we were now come to take up our abode with them in earnest. On explaining the prospect then before me, Charles Pittman expressed much satisfaction at the probability of the Aroragne people being visited. I left directions with Captain Keen, to stand close in with the island once every day if practicable; and when we were ready to embark, the flag should be hoisted by us as before agreed upon. The remaining part of the day was fully occupied among the people, in making trifling purchases and bestowing rewards, &c.

7th, first-day.—After breakfast this morning, the Bible was laid before me, according to the usual practice of giving preference to

the stranger, who at once undertakes to read a chapter, and afterwards to go forward with a prayer. - When I had finished reading, we remained in silence. I had a secret hope this circumstance might lead into serious consideration at a future day, as to the practice of Friends on these occasions; and perhaps point out the difference between those whose time is always ready, and others who can only move in the ability given by Him, who said "without me ye can do nothing." I sometimes feel much for some of the former, from a conviction that they themselves are at seasons brought under a very humiliating sense of being numbered with those who "ask and receive not;" but whilst anxious to be found in the path of my own duty, my desire is to be clothed with the heavenly garment of charity towards others in these matters.

The time of the native meeting now drew nigh, at the thought of which my mind was greatly cast down; and yet I felt a sustaining confidence that my being here was in the right ordering, for if my own inclination could have been gratified and followed, we should have been this morning out of sight of the island altogether. Charles Pittman might have observed my sunken condition: for previously to setting out for the meeting, he seemed desirous to ascertain whether I should speak to the people or not. I told him this was very uncertain; but from the manner in which this thing had been brought about, which was certainly not in mine own will, it was by no means improbable that I might have something to say to them. The house was well filled when we reached it, and Charles Pittman at once ascended the pulpit, but I remained on the ground floor, as one having no part to take in the matter; and, I trust, in a state something similar to that of passive clay, willing to be any thing or nothing, to do or to suffer in secret with the suffering seed. Charles Pittman went on with the usual services, as if he had little expectation of any interference on my part; but when the second singing was concluded, the way seemed at once to open for my going to him. On my getting into the pulpit, such was my blank condition, that I told him we must proceed slowly; for I should have to look well for the stepping-stones to get along with safety. We stood some time in silence together, when my mouth was opened with our blessed Lord's declaration,—“there is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons that need no repentance.” Such is the everlasting mercy, and boundless love of God to his creature man, that he will eth not the death of a sinner; but rather that all should repent, forsake the evil of their

ways, return unto Him, and live for ever. For this the Saviour came; not to condemn, but to save a guilty world: Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners from the wrath to come; that we might have life, and that we might have it more abundantly. He purchased for poor, lost, finite man, the unspeakable gift of the Holy Spirit, by the sacrifice of himself on the blood-stained cross, “the just for the unjust, that he might bring us unto God;” who “so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him, should not perish, but have everlasting life.” But none can be benefitted by the coming and sufferings of the Lord Jesus, without an implicit belief in him. A mere belief in the outward fact of his coming in the flesh upon the earth, will not suffice; we must believe in the coming of His Holy Spirit into our hearts, and in His power to cleanse and save his people from their sins. How many in this our day, fall short of the knowledge of the only “true God and Jesus Christ, whom he hath sent,—which is life eternal,” through an evil heart of unbelief! When the Saviour of men was personally upon the earth, and men beheld his glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth, his mighty works were few in some places, because of the unbelieving hearts of the people; and he had frequently to upbraid the doubting, unbelieving multitude, for their hardness of heart; there were also found among his own disciples, those that were slow of heart to believe respecting Him. “Except ye see signs and wonders ye will not believe,”—was his language on one occasion; “but blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.” Great indeed was my desire that these simple-hearted islanders might not be faithless, but believing,—that Christ might dwell in their hearts by faith,—even He, whom not having seen, they yet desired to love. For about an hour and a half, I was drawn forth to plead with these dear people, in the love of the gospel; that they might be reconciled to God, for Christ's sake, for their own souls' sake, and ours also, because of the Truth as it is in Jesus. It was indeed a glorious meeting, and ought to be commemorated with humblest gratitude and praise.

My faithful interpreter was almost overcome with the sense of the working of the Lord's almighty power. When the spring was closed up, he spoke to me in allusion to my having said, on first going into the pulpit, that ‘I should have to look well for the stepping-stones to get along with safety;’—saying, that he soon found I had got upon good ground, from the feelings he experienced. But the sentence of death was mine; and though I



have truly nothing to boast of but weakness and infirmity, both of late much and evidently increased, yet how can I do less than cause the voice of the praise of my God to be heard, by faithfully testifying to that loving-kindness, which is better than life: His work is honourable and glorious,—His righteousness endureth for ever. I sat down in nothingness and weakness; the creature was laid in the dust, as one that owed unto his Lord, far more than “five hundred pence” many times multiplied, and who had nothing to pay with;—self-convicted too, and as one to whom all that had been spoken most fully applied. Although the meeting had held long, before I took any part in it, and was then prolonged to an unseasonable length, the people retained their seats, as if fearful of disturbing the covering which was permitted to overshadow us; and they continued in stillness, after we came down upon the floor to them: but on my remarking to Charles Pittman, that they did not seem willing to go away, he said a few sentences to them, after which they quietly withdrew.

8th.—Rose at the earliest cock-crowing this morning, and prepared to set forward for Aroragne. The night having been squally, and the morning opening with showers of rain, it was thought the exposure and fatigue would be more than my Charles could support, as the present state of his health rendered unwarrantable any thing bordering on risk; it was therefore concluded best that he should remain at Gnatagnia. Charles complied with this determination rather reluctantly, being desirous of rendering assistance in any way within his power, and not liking to be so separated from the scene of duty. Charles Pittman and myself moved forward, he on horseback, and myself in the usual way, with a body of natives, ten in number. In the morning the rain made the work cooler, and seemed to make no impression, as it fell on their well-oiled skins: the burning and dazzling white sand on which we travelled, was nicely cooled by the showers, and retained a refreshing temperature while the atmosphere remained cloudy; but on our return in the afternoon, the sun was burning hot, and the weather totally changed. Notice having been timely given, we found the people prepared to receive us, and the meeting was soon collected, to the number of fifteen hundred persons. Being a stranger on this side the island, my certificates were read as usual at the commencement; an arrangement always preferred by myself, from having so often witnessed it to bring the people into stillness and attention, and also to renew a fresh feeling of the precious unity and sympathy of my

dear brethren and sisters far away; the remembrance of them under these circumstances, in the love and fellowship of the gospel, brings strength, while it softens the heart. I remained upon the floor, with a crowd of natives squatted about me, and having now no one near me, that I had ever seen before, I felt like a stranger indeed. When the time arrived, I went to Charles Pittman, and eventually broke the silence, by reminding the people of Him, who knoweth our down-sitting and up-rising, and understandeth our thoughts afar off; yea, there is not a word in our tongue, but He knoweth it altogether: “all things are naked and open to the eyes of Him, with whom we have to do.” “None of us can by any means redeem his brother, or give to God a ransom for him;”—our salvation must be wrought out by ourselves, and that with fear and trembling. But sinful and impotent as we are, the means for the accomplishment of this great work, are mercifully placed within the reach of all, through the unutterable love of God, in Christ Jesus, our crucified, risen, and glorified Lord. In order to partake of this great and universal salvation, conferred upon mankind by the “God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,” we must come to the experimental knowledge of Him, who is the eternal author of it all. He tasted death for every man; and by the awful sacrifice of himself, not only procured for a guilty world the remission of sins that are past, but the unspeakable gift of the Holy Spirit. “I am the light of the world,” said Christ; “he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.” Those who believe in this light, and walk in this light, who bring their thoughts, words, and deeds to it, and obey its manifestations, are they who love Christ and keep his commandments; for Christ is the light: and in thus doing, they love God; for God is light:—“I and my Father are one.” “If we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ His Son cleanseth us from all sin.” The spring of the everlasting gospel flowed freely to this people, and in its authority I was enabled to appeal unto themselves, and make them their own living witnesses to the in-shining of “the light of the glorious gospel of Christ” in their own hearts. That although it was their lot to dwell in a remote part of the globe, on a small spot in the midst of the ocean, they were alike the objects of everlasting and redeeming love, with those who inhabited every other part of the Lord’s earth; and for them the precious blood of Christ was shed, as for me, and mine, and all mankind. The people were invited to repent, believe, and obey the gospel, and they

would find it to be the power of God unto salvation, through the Holy Spirit. And as they came to enjoy the blessedness of those who believe in Jesus, and walk in His light in obedience to its discoveries, their hearts would be changed, and become more and more turned towards the dear children, than is at present the case, that they also might with them partake in the joys of God's salvation. It was a memorable season, and I trust will not soon be forgotten. After noticing the people we repaired to a native teacher's house, and partook of some cooling refreshment of which we both stood in need. On our return to Gnatagnia, we stopped to examine a new place of worship, sixty feet square, which is building of coral, or agglomerated sand and shells, and is nearly complete to the roof. This structure is carried on under the direction of A. Cunningham. We reached the mission-house too late to embark, on account of there being several matters yet to attend to,—though the Henry Freeling was at the time hovering pretty near the southernmost end of the island.

9th.—Several articles being now wanted from the vessel, in order to discharge the debts contracted, and yet to be incurred, for hogs, vegetables, and labour in the overland journeys and in the boat, &c., it was concluded that Charles should go on board to procure these things; while I, with the assistance of Charles Pittman, endeavoured to procure what was wanting, and made every arrangement calculated to forward my intention of quitting the shores of Rarotonga towards evening. I cannot omit mentioning the kind behaviour of the natives last evening after our return from Aoragne: they were probably aware that the time was at hand for our final departure from the island, and the house of the missionary was like a fair the whole time; they seemed to vie with each other in doing any thing they thought would please. Several of the young women applied, through Charles Pittman, for permission to rub my feet, legs, and knees, in the manner in which they are accustomed to perform the operation on the persons of their chiefs, when greatly fatigued; saying, that I had had a very long journey that day, and must be weary, and in need of what they could do. I was not very partial to this method of relief, but did not like to appear to slight their simple offer; but I was afterwards surprised to find in how short a time all aches and pains of weariness were entirely removed by their persevering diligence,—several of them were at work at the same time, and trying who could do the most. On this island we had the satisfaction to see a great increase of population, the children swarmed about its shores like bees, and I think Charles Pittman

said, the schools were attended by 3000 of different ages and both sexes. The houses of the natives are mostly constructed with some degree of uniformity, neatly white-washed, with roads to many of them made of broken shells, and a public road for travelling upon; and the people seem to live generally in a state of enjoyment. The fruit and vegetables usually found upon the isles of the Pacific abound, as the island is like a well-watered hot-bed. The lofty mountains in its centre, obstruct the passage of the clouds, and cause an abundant supply of rain. But what conduces most to the comfort and real happiness of the people, and causes an increasing population, is the circumstance of there being no good harbour for shipping; they have, consequently, very slight intercourse with the English and American sailors, and are therefore free from that dreadful disease, the blasting influence of which, is fast depopulating every other isle which our footsteps have traversed: to this truth may be added another, originating in the same cause,—there is no rum dealer upon the island: ardent spirit is a curse entailed upon most others by these scourges of the human race, either publicly or privately introduced by the shipping. The remains of the wreck of the Charles Doggett, an American vessel, were lying upon the reefs of Rarotonga; it appears that no lives were lost; the cargo, consisting principally of pearl shells, and cocoanut oil, was saved by the natives, and the crew had been happily shipped off shortly afterwards. This vessel we met with at Tahiti last year, she put in twice, and was then in the very act of diffusing her rum, muskets, and gunpowder, amongst the islands, for cocoanut oil, pearl shells, arrow root, &c. She was prosecuting another voyage, and had been fitted out at Sydney, New South Wales, where one or more of her owners reside, and where many others reside who are accumulating wealth by a traffic which promotes the destruction of their fellow-men. After discharging all our debts, and affording as many supplies to our friends, and for the benefit of the dear children, as we could spare, we took our last meal with Charles and Elizabeth Pittman; we then bade a final adieu to the shores of Rarotonga, and its swarthy tribes, as to the outward, but to memory lastingly precious, though as far distant as the east is from the west.

The Henry Freeling anticipated our movement, and stretched in upon the coast, when the boat made its appearance; and we were favoured to get safely on board at half-past three o'clock in the afternoon. A. McDonald, and Alexander Cunningham accompanied us, and returned with the boat again to the shore.



We got in our numerous articles without being materially injured by the spray of the sea, and at four o'clock filled our sails and bore away to the westward; cleared the southernmost point and its crags before dark; and at midnight, were at least fifty miles from this interesting and highly favoured little island. Besides Rarotonga there are five small islands inhabited, which comprise the Hervey group; but not one missionary amongst them all. Our friend, Charles Pittman, feeble as he is, would, I have no hesitation in believing, have freely devoted his remaining strength to our service, and united in a visit to them with us, had his fellow-missionary Aaron Buzacott been at his own station at Avorua; but the absence of the latter deprived us of an interpreter, without which, such a visit would have been in vain: I think I should not have been satisfied to pass them by, could one have been obtained. The names of these islands are, Mangaia, Atiu, Aitutaki, Mitiaro, and Mauki; their population is estimated at 5900 people. These islands are now and then visited by a missionary from Rarotonga; such a circumstance must, however, be very rare, as it can only occur when a vessel comes down from the Georgian or Society group, to range amongst them, and collect cocoa-nut oil, arrow-root, &c.; there are, however, some native teachers distributed among them from Rarotonga. This group was first discovered by our countryman Captain Cook, and was afterwards named the Hervey Islands. It is with much satisfaction I have learned, that our valuable interpreter Samuel Wilson, who accompanied us round Tahiti, in 1835, is now an appointed missionary by the London society to the station of Aroragne, on the south side of Rarotonga.

Our visit to Rarotonga cannot, I think, on various accounts, be soon obliterated from our minds, or pass away as a tale that is told: the retrospect of the highly favoured seasons, so condescendingly permitted to crown the different assemblies of the people, only brightens the more, as the days are increased which throw the scene of such love and such mercy still further and further behind. The circumstance of the Henry Freeling having to beat about during the whole time, rendered it doubly hazardous on her account, and made our different trips to the shore much more difficult and protracted; the boisterous state of the weather, and the trade wind coming round both ends of the island, and then meeting, placed the boat and ourselves in a precarious situation, when getting in or out of the vessel; and the wet necessarily encountered in passing to and fro by boat; these are occurrences, which, although at the time somewhat irksome and hindering, when over, are not

worthy to be recorded;—such was the peace, and love, and sweetness that flowed from the everlasting fountain and source of all our sure mercies, which even exceeded the hundred fold promised to those that leave all for Christ's sake and his gospel:—to the praise of Him, whose faithfulness faileth not, be it spoken. Before leaving Rarotonga, I received several letters from some of the most capable scholars in the school at Gnatagnia, which were literally translated to us; one of which I subjoin as a specimen, which will suffice for the whole, as they are nearly in the same strain. It is from Tekori, a boy of about sixteen years of age.

‘This is my speech to you, Daniel Wheeler; ‘Read it, that you may know great is our joy in seeing your face, and in knowing your speech of God's great kindness to you. Attend,—I will relate to you the coming of God's word to us. We were heathens formerly,—we did not know the living God Jehovah. At that time the devil was our god;—we worshipped him, and did that which is agreeable to his will:—that was our condition formerly, Daniel Wheeler. Attend,—then arrived the season in which the word of the great God came to us—even of Jehovah, and the word of God spread among us, in that season;—still listen,—God sent his servants to us, to inform us of the true way. Then the light sprung up in the midst of us. The word spoken by Isaiah the prophet was then fulfilled, chap. lx. verse 1. “Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee.” Behold, the light of Jehovah came to this land, and the light of Jehovah dawned upon us: then the word of God spread on this land.’ The children know the word of God. Pittman taught us unweariedly, and in this likewise, behold the love of God to us.

‘Our friend and brother, Daniel Wheeler, I think of the kindness of God in conveying you from your land—from Britain. You have been directed by God to this land and that land; you have witnessed his loving kindness,—you have seen what has occurred in the deep,—the mighty power of God. He will not forsake those who put their trust in Him. Friend, when you go to visit this land and that land, we will pray to God, that he may safely conduct you to the land whither you wish to go, and that He may carry you safely to your own land. Friend, now go; we have met,—you have seen our face in Rarotonga, and we have seen your face. Observe, one thing yet remains. When we shall be assembled with the word of God, of the blessed—in that world of joy, the good

people of Britain will know those of Rarotonga, and the good people of Rarotonga, will know those of Britain; and then will be known the true state of that land, and this land. This is a little speech of compassion toward you: may you be preserved in your voyaging. And now, may the grace of God be granted to us—even so—Amen.

‘From Tekori: that is all I have to say.’

16th.—Since quitting the neighbourhood of Rarotonga, our course has been directed, when the weather would permit, towards the Friendly Islands, which lie in a westerly direction from the Hervey group, at a distance of from eleven to twelve hundred miles; but having now to traverse near the edge of the trade latitude, the winds became much more unstable; sometimes they are directly opposed to our proceeding, and often boisterous, with as much sea as our little vessel can at times well bear. Nothing material occurred on the passage from Rarotonga: our devotional duties were attended to as usual; and though Charles and myself had much to contend with from the heat of the climate, and our narrow limits in the cabin, during our endeavours to draw nigh unto the Lord,—yet there is ample encouragement, notwithstanding human weakness and frailty, and the hindering things to which these poor bodies are subject, for all to persevere in wrestling for the blessing, with the noble resolution of the patriarch, “I will not let thee go, until thou bless me.” It was expected I believe by all on board, that we should steer for the island of Tongataboo, but a variety of circumstances operated upon my mind, to produce a determination to aim in the first place at the northernmost island, Vavau: this was so fixed with me, that I told Captain Keen, before we lost sight of Rarotonga, the conclusion I had come to; he made arrangements accordingly to accomplish the object in view. At noon to-day, it was found from accurate calculation, that the island of Vavau, was only distant about 102 miles. As were now making rapid progress towards our destination, rolling away before a strong wind and following sea, it was thought that the distance was too short, to warrant running on through the night, and the more so, as the moon was too young to afford any light, when that would be the most needed. Our canvass was accordingly reduced, and at nine o’clock P. M., we hove to for the night.

17th.—At five o’clock A. M., bore up and made sail to the westward. At nine o’clock we were cheered with a sight of the island, and immediately stood for the northernmost bluff, with a fresh trade-wind in our favour. At noon, we were abreast of the bluff, and

hauled round the different headlands as close as was prudent, with a good look out from the mast head for the breakers. Although furnished with an ample number of nautical charts, yet none afforded specific directions for approaching these shores; and it was perplexing to find that a rough sketch printed by Mariner, (who long resided among the Tonga Isles, and published a history of them,) in our possession, disagreed in toto with two first-rate charts we had on board; and yet this imperfect sketch furnished to all appearance, the best directions for entering Port Refuge, although certainly never intended as a seaman’s guide. On reaching a headland, which we expected would form one side of a spacious bay, in which we were hoping to find shelter, it was found on rounding it, to our great consternation, that island after island began to show itself; until every prospect of finding a port seemed closed up: it remained to be determined, whether we should run out to sea again, or risk an attempt to find shelter, by working into the heart of the group at a venture. Every precaution was used to avoid sunken rocks and shoals, and the colour of the water was our faithful guide. In the course of a few tacks, we seemed to be completely embarrassed amidst this host of enemies; we looked in vain on every side for an opening to the place, which we had before anticipated finding without any difficulty. At last, as the sun was rapidly setting, there seemed no chance of success, or option left, but that of taking refuge at sea, instead of in the port that bears the name of Refuge. Our captain would gladly have relinquished this hazardous pursuit, and made off while there was day-light to see the way out again; but, we had still some hope left, that the design would be accomplished, and when as the day-light receded, that hope sickened within us, the sight of a ship at anchor renewed it again like a charm, and stimulated to more persevering exertion. A second ship was now soon discovered near the first, and seeing an English jack flying for a pilot, they both displayed the American flag. It soon became dark, but there was as yet no anchorage, we had sounded in vain; and though surrounded by islands on every hand there was no bottom to be found. The place where these ships were seen, was now our aim, and at length we succeeded in getting near enough to hail the Pacific, of Nantucket, at anchor in twenty-eight fathoms water; but by running a little nearer the shore, we found a sandy bottom, with sixteen fathoms upon it, which, after tumbling about for two months since leaving the roads of Waimea, at the Sandwich Isle Tauai, was accepted with thankfulness. What shall we



render unto the Lord Most High, whose goodness and mercy still follow us in the way that we go?—Yea, he delivereth the poor, and him that hath no helper. What shall we say; or what shall we do, but wonder and adore, in humble prostration of soul, the fulness and extent of that love, which no tongue can set forth or declare: it is boundless, as His everlasting mercy,—filling all space, and unfathomable as the ocean we traverse.

#### CHAPTER XXXI.

*Vavau—Wesleyan missionaries—native meetings at Neiafu, Feletoa, and Haalaufuli—appointed meeting for seamen—visit to the island of Otea—meetings at Hihifo—at Matika—embarkation of the mission families—sail for Lifuka.*

Vavau, eighth month 18th.—THIS morning the natives began early to visit us, flocking on board with their simple articles of shells for barter. Although we usually hold our little meeting on this day of the week, yet the unsettled state of our affairs compelled us to relinquish the attempt, from the confusion around us, produced by the novelty of our vessel, and the unfitness of our own minds. At noon, left the vessel in quest of the missionary station. On reaching the head of the bay, two missionaries were observed coming towards us in a canoe; and on seeing our boat they returned again to the shore, to point out the most suitable place for landing, and to conduct us to the settlement at Neiafu. These were Stephen Rabone and John Spinney, who had lately arrived from England, via Sydney, with their families. In a short time we reached the habitation of John Thomas, the senior missionary, who has been for several years engaged upon these islands. Here we met with a kind and friendly reception, and the same offer of assistance as had been extended towards us at other places. We found the whole mission belongs to the Wesleyan Missionary Society exclusively; these individuals are the first of its members whom we have met with in the Pacific. I left my certificates with John Thomas for translation; and after having been cheered by hearing of our dear friends J. B. and G. W. W., and of others whom we had known at Sydney and Hobart Town, at which places the recently arrived missionaries had spent some time waiting for a conveyance to the Friendly Islands, we returned on board.

19th.—Notwithstanding the weather was so wet as to confine us on board, yet the deck was crowded with the natives from morning until evening. Small hogs, vegetables, and abundance of shells seem to be the whole of

their saleable property. They are a fine manly race of people, of the most perfect form we have yet seen; and having as yet had but little intercourse with foreigners, they are not the victims of wretchedness and disease, which the seamen every where introduce. Their skins are clean and well oiled, and in general appearance they are healthy. The length and roughness of their hair, which is uniformly black, gives them rather a wild and ferocious appearance; but they are in reality as gentle and docile as little children. With the exception of an apron of long wiry grass about the waist, they are mostly naked. Taofaahau, on whom the title of King George has been conferred by the missionaries, is now absent at Lifuka, one of the Haabai Islands. He is spoken of very highly, and declared to be a preacher of the gospel to the people; and the queen, Charlotte, fills the station of class-leader among the female part of the community. It is said, the whole population of the group Haafuluhau, (pronounced Haah-foo-loo-how,) of which Vavau is the largest island; of the Haabai group, of which Lifuka is the most considerable, and a part of Tongataboo, have embraced Christianity; the remainder upon this last island are still called heathens. John Hobbs and William Allen Brooks, missionaries from the station at Feletoa, came on board this afternoon to make our acquaintance.

Went on shore this evening, principally to inquire at what time I could see the people collected to-morrow morning, my mind having been turned towards a meeting with them. Finding no difficulty in the way, and having the promise of John Thomas to interpret for me, we returned on board. The evening proved wet, with thunder and lightning; and the vermin, which have greatly increased since we have been in these hot climates, being joined by a fresh supply of musquitos from the shore, annoyed us extremely, so that there was but little rest to be obtained; to which, the prospect of having new ground to move upon, did not fail to contribute.

21st, first-day.—Got ready in good time this morning, and taking the mate and four men in the boat, proceeded to Neiafu. On reaching the meeting-house, it appeared that the native worship had commenced much earlier than usual, to allow of more time for what might succeed it. We remained outside the building, lest our appearance should tend to confuse, until it was finished, when John Thomas came out and took me to his seat. After my certificates were read and explained, I had, after a pause, to turn the people to the great Teacher of all mankind—Christ Jesus; who, when on earth, spoke as never man

spoke, and taught as never man taught: the light of whose glorious gospel bringeth salvation to all that believe in and obey it. I had been induced to leave all to bring them the glad tidings of this gospel, which is the power of God unto salvation from sin; that the fullness of this heavenly blessing in all its riches, might be theirs for ever. I was abundantly strengthened by the might of my ever gracious Master, to proclaim to these noble islanders, who form but a small portion of His "inheritance," the grace and truth which came by Him. Under a feeling of great solemnity their attention was riveted, while listening to the endeavours of a way-worn stranger, to turn them from darkness to the light of Christ in their own hearts, and from the power of Satan unto God; whose mercy endureth for ever.

22nd.—In the forenoon, John Thomas, Stephen Rabone, and John Spinney came on board; and the afternoon proving very rainy, we could not get on shore. By their coming, however, arrangements were made for attending a meeting at Feletoa about noon to-morrow. This evening we were informed that the Active schooner, a vessel well known to us, had been wrecked upon a reef among the Fiji Islands. The captain and three others escaped with their lives; but the remaining four who were saved from the wreck, were afterwards stripped and murdered by the natives. Their destruction appears to have resulted from their harsh and imprudent conduct towards the islanders. They are said to have been four very wicked people. The Fiji group is considered as part of the Friendly Islands. This vessel was in the employ of the Wesleyan Mission, and had brought out missionaries from Sydney to this place but a short time before we arrived; and from hence proceeded to land missionary stores at the Fiji Islands, and was expected to return again shortly to Port Refuge. This dreadful circumstance will tend to stagnate for a time the affairs of the mission, as regards their supplies on these islands; and may possibly retard the intended establishment of a mission at the Fiji group.

23rd.—This morning John Hobbs arrived in good time, bringing with him two canoes with six natives, who were to paddle the Henry Freeling's long boat to Feletoa for the purpose of conveying us to the intended meeting there. We were late in reaching our destination, owing to a strong current setting against the boat. John Thomas was preaching to the people when we arrived, and when he had finished we went into the meeting, and sat down. When John Thomas had finished his explanation of my certificate, I stood up in great weakness and fear, and solemn silence

prevailed over the assembly, which was large. I had to declare unto them the truth as it is in Jesus, even in Him who in due time died for all, that all might live;—the same blessed Jesus, who came on earth in the greatness of his love and strength, to seek and to save that which was lost;—who once taught the people in a body of flesh, but now teaches all mankind by His Holy Spirit of grace, and is the Saviour of all that believe,—the life and light of men;—mighty to save the soul from sin, and lead it up to God the Father. I seemed to have little or nothing before me but the supply of the moment, from the time of standing up to the end. After dining and spending some time in the family of John Hobbs, we returned to the boat which was left about a mile off; but the declivity of the foot path was much worse to descend than I expected, though its ascent had been hard work in the morning. All the missionaries, except John Thomas, accompanied us down towards the bay; but they were put on shore before we came in sight of the shipping. On arriving at Port Refuge, we were cheered by the sight of an English flag, on board a vessel coming in from sea, which proved to be the Lady Wellington, whaler of Sydney, out three months on a whaling cruise.

27th.—Most of yesterday engaged in bartering with the natives. The king's brother, who is a useful man to the missionaries, dined on board with us. To-day, cloudy weather; heavy rain fell in the night with strong squalls from off the high land: the John Adams, of New Bedford, drove from her anchorage, and was compelled to let go a second anchor. Our vessel was moored with two heavy anchors. The afternoon again showery. The natives brought several hogs in the course of the day, and a tolerable supply of yams and cocoa-nuts. Having been confined on board several days by the state of the weather, which of late has precluded the performance of any distant visits, and nothing having arisen in this immediate neighbourhood, it has been a time of something like resting on the oar.

28th, first-day.—Long before daylight my mind was engaged to examine whether there was any particular track for me to move in, as regarded the natives' meeting on shore; but I felt, as the morning opened, a poor forlorn creature, enfeebled and ready to droop by the way, as one that fainteth, though without having any defined prospect in view; but abiding under the humbling influence of that power which softeneth the flinty rock, I have found it to be a place of safety, and one that prepares the tribulated mortal to partake of a blessed portion of that strength, which is per-



fectcd only in weakness; while it prompts to watchfulness and resignation to the Divine will. For the last two or three days, while most on board are gladdened with the hope of soon seeing the coast of New Holland, and entering again the port of Sydney, I cannot discover the probable time of our leaving this place, nor what may be our next destination: on which ever side I look, obstacles of no small magnitude present themselves; but I am desirous to leave all to Him, who alone can make me quick of understanding in His fear. "My soul, wait thou only upon the Lord." Spent the day on board with our own crew, in the usual way.

31st.—Yesterday arrived the American ship *Wiscasset*, of *Wiscasset*, Captain Macey, from a whaling cruise, to secure her oil by coo-pering, &c. In the afternoon, some steps were taken towards prosecuting a visit to one of the smaller islands, which the weather had prevented our attempting last fifth-day. We found to-day, that John Thomas had ascertained from some of the most intelligent natives, that the tide would flow to-morrow, sufficiently early to allow us to pass over the flats and reach the meeting in seasonable time: we were also informed that general notice had been given to the people of two other stations, viz., *Tanea* and *Eueiki*, to assemble at the central station of the three, called *Haalafuli*, where the meeting is appointed to be held.

Ninth month 1st.—Left the vessel before sunrise, and called upon John Thomas, who accompanied us through the journey. We proceeded across a neck of land to a sandy bay, where two canoes were soon in readiness to convey us forward; but as the wind blew strong against us, the natives very kindly suggested the propriety of a third canoe being procured, to divide the weight more equally; and by rendering the canoes lighter, to lessen the danger of our getting wet by the feather tops of the little waves blowing on us from the stroke of the paddle: this occasioned some delay, but was no doubt a saving of time in the end. At length, however, we were equipped, and proceeded with three skilful natives in each canoe, which contained one of us; the canoe with John Thomas leading the way. The first object was to cross an arm of the sea, to obtain the shelter of a high bluff on a headland which we had to pass, with numerous islands on our right, which broke off the swell of the ocean almost entirely from our route: some of these islands are inhabited. About ten o'clock A. M., we landed again on the island of *Vavau*, after a very circuitous passage, but the only one by which the extremity of this island can be got at from *Neiafu*. We were soon met by the principal

chief, Daniel Afu, and several of his people, who welcomed us to their neighbourhood; and after spending a short time at the chief's house, the meeting was assembled by the sound of heavy strokes upon a hollow piece of wood, a sort of native drum, which may be heard at a great distance. The people were soon collected, and after John Thomas had opened the meeting in the usual way, and read one of my certificates, all became silent. I had largely to declare amongst them the "unsearchable riches of Christ, the beloved Son of God, and Saviour of men; whom all men are commanded to hear: whose Holy Spirit speaketh in every heart, to bring us to repentance and amendment of life in the fear of God. To this heavenly Teacher I was concerned to turn them, and to exhort them in the love of the gospel to "believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and be saved;" to believe in the power of His Holy Spirit in their hearts, and wait for it there: we were favoured with a solemnity, which nothing short of this irresistible power can produce. Many of the people came to us in a loving manner, when the meeting broke up, and hung about while we remained in the neighbourhood. It was matter of very painful regret to us to find, that these dear people are in the practice, as they feel their minds affected, of breaking out into clamorous groaning, and saying 'Amen' with a loud voice; until a stranger is at a loss to conceive in what this dissipating practice may end: it is evidently encouraged by their teachers. They were this day turned to the teachings of that grace in their own hearts, by which all such as happily take heed to it, will learn to "worship God in spirit, rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh." May the Lord hasten the dawning of that day, when true spiritual gospel worshippers shall abound in the earth to the glory and praise of Him, who is alone worthy to be worshipped in spirit and in truth; when living spiritual sacrifices shall ascend, acceptable unto Him by Jesus Christ; and in every place incense shall be offered to his ever great and excellent name,—even the sacrifice offered in the "beauty of holiness and newness of life," from the pure, contrite, and humble heart, produced by the power of the Spirit of the Lord Jesus.

After meeting we partook of some refreshments at the chief's house, in true native style upon the floor on mats, with the milk of the cocoa-nut as a beverage, and the pulpy shoots of the banana bruised between the fingers, to answer the purpose of washing the hands; some native cloth from the dress of the chiefs served for a towel: this was found a very needful and agreeable part of the entertain-

ment, having had literally to tear the food to pieces with our fingers. When our repast was finished, we took leave of the chief and his family and others present, and returned to the sea-side, and were safely paddled back again to the sandy bay near Neiafu. On the way from the canoes to the mission-house, we called at the king's habitation; his daughter, usually styled the Princess Charlotte, was at home, a young woman about sixteen years of age, with an intelligent countenance; she was seated on the floor in simple native attire; her brother, a boy, perhaps twelve years old, was playing about. When returning to the vessel, it occurred to me that some of the ships now in the harbour would soon be ready for sea, and I felt as if I should not be clear of the crews, without endeavouring to collect them together next first-day forenoon: to this I stood resigned, in hopes of feeling some further impression in the morning, if it should be required.

3rd.—Yesterday, the subject of a meeting with the seamen still rested upon me. On awaking this morning I endeavoured to watch over every thought that arose; and after remembering my great Creator in humble gratitude for the mercies of the past night, my mind seemed as a blank, until the prospect of holding a meeting with the seamen of the fleet came before it; this was not a little in the cross to the unmortified part, which seemed now ready to shrink. I kept the matter close until after breakfast, and then told Charles that I believed it safest for me to appoint a meeting for worship to-morrow, at eleven o'clock A. M., to be held in the native chapel at Neiafu, if that could be obtained. On stating this to John Thomas, he said that a missionary was coming down from Feletoa, to preach at the hour proposed for holding our meeting; but that he had no doubt of his being willing to accommodate me. In that case, I told him that I should give notice to the shipping, that they might know what to expect; as the meeting would be held after the manner of the Society of Friends, and would not commence with singing; but we should wait in silence for the influence of the Holy Spirit upon our minds, before we could move. In the afternoon a sufficient number of written notices were prepared and distributed amongst the shipping, leaving the result to Him who knoweth all things; desiring that His great name alone may be exalted, and the gospel of the heavenly kingdom may be proclaimed in the heart of man to the Saviour's praise.

4th, first-day.—This morning much cast down and a poor creature, but as one bound to the work of the dear Master; from which

I dared not hold back, however human nature might be ready to shrink, as the hour of trial approached. Landed in good time, and proceeded to the meeting-house at Neiafu. I felt depressed from a sense of something like a spirit of opposition being present; but was soon comforted by an evidence which I could not mistake, of that power being nigh to strengthen the inner man, the all-sufficiency of which to sustain in time of trouble I have so often witnessed. I had to sit long in silence, but eventually stood up with those instructive expressions of our Lord to his disciples,—“Herein is my Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit; so shall ye be my disciples.” “He that abideth in me and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit; for without me, ye can do nothing.” From this I was enabled to show, that without the blessed influence of the Holy Spirit of the Son, we can do nothing, much less be capable of bearing that fruit, by which the holy Father is glorified; and the impossibility of performing that worship which only is acceptable in the sight of Him, “who is a Spirit,” without the help of the Holy Spirit: that therefore it is indispensable, in order to the performance of true spiritual worship, to wait in reverential silence for a renewal of that strength, which is mighty through God to the casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God,—to the “bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ,”—even to the obedience of the Spirit of Truth in our hearts, without which none can worship God in Spirit and in Truth. It is this influence which can alone prepare our hearts to worship, praise, and glorify the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; who is a Spirit, and must be worshipped in Spirit and in truth. I had to set forth the admirable adaptation of the glorious gospel dispensation to the condition of man the world over, and the blessed superiority of true spiritual worship in the inner temple of the heart, over that which is left in the outer court to be trodden under foot. My mind was particularly turned toward those “that go down to the sea in ships, that do business in great waters,—that see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep.” Although such may often feel excluded from their fellow-men, shut out from every opportunity of religious instruction, and destitute of the ‘means of grace;’ this is evidently not the case, but a delusion of the great enemy of God and man; although it may be often held out by those who have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge, of whom the great apostle speaks. For notwithstanding it is the lot of seafaring men to spend their days in roving upon the mighty



ocean, yet the only true and blessed means of grace are still within their reach,—even that grace and truth which came by Jesus Christ, which hath appeared unto all men, and teacheth all men that believe in it. No class of men have a better opportunity of attending upon the means of salvation; and although their allotment may be thought solitary, yet they are saved from many temptations, and out of the reach of the contaminating example of wicked men, to which those on shore are daily exposed. They have less to draw their attention aside from the great work, and more time to work out their soul's salvation, than many of their fellow-mortals: their nightly watches may be turned to everlasting account, in waiting upon the Lord, in looking for the blessed hope and glorious appearing of the great God and Saviour, by His Holy Spirit of grace. No men have greater need to acquaint themselves with God and be at peace; they are in jeopardy every hour, which plainly bespeaks the necessity of their being prepared to meet their God, as with their lives in their hands. The Lord most High, in his infinite goodness and mercy, hath vouchsafed a day of visitation to all men, for the salvation of all men; and it is this visitation that preserveth the life of the spirit in man. "Thy visitation," said Job, "hath preserved my spirit." The meeting held long, but proved a searching solemn season; and although at first a gloom seemed to hang over it, eventually every cloud, or feeling of this kind, was scattered by that power, whom winds and waves obey; and it ended well. A considerable number of seamen from the different ships with their captains attended, also the whole of the missionary families here, and one from Feletoa, with many of the natives, and some New Zealanders connected with the shipping, who understand English pretty well. Two of the ships in the harbour had intended sailing this morning, but were prevented for want of wind. The crews of both were furnished with an ample supply of tracts and Friends' writings, with two Spanish Testaments, for two men of that nation employed on board of them.

7th.—Notwithstanding the security of the harbour in which we are privileged to ride, yet the scanty supply of fresh water is a serious inconvenience, the nearest spring being four miles off, on an island where the empty casks have to be rolled up half a mile; and when filled, which requires much time to accomplish, they are rolled back again to the water's edge, and towed on board as a raft. Having had no opportunity to procure any of this most necessary article since leaving the last of the Sandwich Islands until to-day, the

stock on hand is very small, and can only be recruited by small quantities once in the day. Since first-day, we have arranged for a visit to the two congregations at the island of Otea to-morrow; it being agreed that they shall meet at the same time under the same roof. May the Lord be graciously pleased to go before, and open the way in the hearts of these people, to receive the ever-blessed Truth in the love of it; and through the workings thereof, bring forth fruit that shall lastingly remain, to His praise and their peace.

8th.—As our vessel was anchored in the track from Neiafu to Otea, we waited the coming of John Thomas; who arrived before ten o'clock, bringing with him John Spinney and six natives, who were then taken from the canoe and placed in our boat with their paddles, for the better accommodation of the whole party. On landing at Otea, we proceeded towards the other side of the island where the meeting was to be held. In crossing the sandy beaches, two of which were in our route, exposed to the full blaze of the sun nearly at noon, the heat and glare of light were almost insupportable, and the want of air when passing through the bush was still more oppressive. We stayed a short time at the house of the chief, whose name is Lazarus, a steady going man among the people; and when cooled a little, proceeded to the meeting, where the natives were assembled in readiness. Exclusive of the pulpit, there did not appear to be a seat in the whole neighbourhood except on the floor; some of the people at last brought part of an old canoe into the building, for Charles and myself to sit upon. I felt in a very low and feeble condition, both as to body and mind; but when my certificates were read, I stood up with a salutation of love in my heart to the people; which having expressed, I had to turn their attention to Him, "Who seeth not as man seeth," but who is a Spirit, and looketh on the heart: He searcheth all hearts, and understandeth every imagination of the thoughts; and to this man will He look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, that trembleth at His word. The Christian religion is a heart-felt work; it is in the heart we must work out our own salvation with fear and trembling, through submission and obedience to the power of the Spirit of the Lord Jesus, which dwelleth in the contrite and humble heart, without respect of persons or of the colour of the skin. "Cease from man whose breath is in his nostrils, for wherein is he to be accounted of?"—man cannot save his own soul, nor blot out a single sin; and can he do the work for another, which he cannot do for himself? My heart was greatly enlarged to-

wards the people; and they listened with apparent attention: but there was a feeling of deadness over the meeting, greater than we had yet witnessed on these islands. After remaining some time at the house of Lazarus to refresh and rest, we again crossed the island, and resumed our station in the boat: we proceeded round the northern part of the island, and visited a splendid cavern, into which we rowed with the boat, having a canoe to lead the way, conducted by Noah, one of the chiefs of Otea, and two chosen natives also well acquainted with the position, and entrance of this wonderful place. The great height of the vaulted arches above our heads, which are almost of gothic shape, from which are suspended a variety of huge spiral masses of ponderous weight, apparently ready to fall; the amazing depth and clearness of the water under us, together with the dark and deep recesses, which could not be explored for want of a light, exhibited a sublime and magnificent spectacle and a specimen of those great and marvellous works, incomprehensible to mortal man. Fish of large size swam about beneath us, without the least appearance of being disturbed by the boat, so great was the depth of water between us and them. In knocking off some of the spiral crags within our reach to bring away with us, the echo produced was alarming, and as if the whole roof was in danger of falling upon us.

9th.—King George having arrived from Lefuka, one of the Haabai Islands, this morning paid us a visit: a Saul-like man in truth, being higher than the rest of the people perhaps by the head and shoulders; he was naked, with the exception of some native cloth round his waist. His moral character is highly spoken of, and the great prosperity of the Christian profession here, is said to be owing to his promptness in the due observance of its rites and ordinances: the laws are said to be good, and he insists upon their being executed with rigour. If any disobey, or in any way are guilty of a misdemeanour, they are severely punished. It is much to be regretted, that the punishment of flogging should have been introduced here; it has been inflicted lately on several offenders, including one woman. This barbarous practice, we have been told, has proved beneficial to the people in a moral point of view; but I believe its tendency is rather to blunt the feelings, and harden the heart. In the afternoon took exercise on shore until dark. Captain Macey of the *Wiscasset*, a serious man, drank tea with us.

11th, first-day.—Spent a peaceful day on board, collected the crew both fore and afternoon for devotional purposes;—none of them seemed disposed to attend the meeting on shore.

13th.—Yesterday sailed the brig *Lady Wellington*: previous to her departure, the crew were furnished with a set of Friends' tracts, and a Summary of our principles. This morning, John Thomas came on board at eight o'clock; when we immediately proceeded down the harbour in the usual way, and landed on the western coast of Vavau. The meeting was to be held at Hihifo, about a mile from the landing-place; whither we went, and met with the chief Solomon, at his own habitation; and as soon as the people were collected, repaired to the meeting-place. The places of worship at the stations distant from Neiafu are like large sheds, standing upon props, and open on both sides; but the ends are made tolerably close with coarse matting. As there was no seat in the meeting, I remained near John Thomas, who occupied a considerable time in the native language, before reading my certificates. When he had finished we stood by each other in silence, and the people seemed unsettled, as if they did not know what to expect next, or to whom they should hearken, first looking upon one of us, and then upon the other; until it was with me to caution them against a dependence upon the creature, but to endeavour to fix the attention of their minds upon the Creator, who is a Spirit and knoweth all things. The darkness hideth not from Him; the darkness and the light are both alike to Him, before whom the night shineth as the day. My desire was, that nothing might be permitted to beguile them from the simplicity of the gospel of Christ,—that they might not rest satisfied with a mere hearsay knowledge of his name, as a Saviour, but come to the knowledge of his Holy Spirit in themselves, and know for themselves His gospel to be the power of God unto salvation. It was with me to query, what a profession of the Christian religion had done for them? There had been time for some of them to have witnessed something like fruit to be brought forth in themselves; for without a change of heart is known, their religion will profit them nothing. I felt an earnest engagement of mind to turn them to the power of the Spirit of the Lord Jesus in their own hearts; which would, if believed in and obeyed, cleanse them from sin, create in them a clean heart, and renew a right spirit within them. Although I had full opportunity to clear myself, yet so great was the stream of love that flowed towards the people of Hihifo, that after the meeting was over, I found no relief: the desire of my heart was as strong as ever, that they might not be beguiled by lifeless forms and shadows, from the simplicity that is in Christ, the living and eternal substance. After spending some time



with Solomon, the chief, who spread a table plentifully for our refreshment, according to native custom, we repaired to the boat, and proceeded forthwith to the Henry Freeling.

15th.—It was with difficulty that an opportunity could be found, on account of the increased number of natives upon the deck, to sit down together; notwithstanding which, the way opened to our comfort. We understand that earthquakes frequently occur among these islands, at times so violent as to stop the clock at the mission-house. On first-day last, whilst in the meeting appointed for the seamen of the fleet, and before standing up amongst them, a considerable shock was sensibly felt by the missionary families then present. Of this, I was not myself aware, although the frame work in the roof of the building we were in, was heard to make a cracking noise at the time. Last second-day evening, about nine o'clock, another shock was witnessed at Neiafu, but was not perceived by us upon the water: we are told, however, that they are sometimes felt on board the shipping, and occasion a rumbling noise, as if the vessel was passing over a rugged rock, and sufficiently loud to alarm the crew.

16th.—Remained on board the fore part of the day, while Captain Keen and Charles, accompanied by Philemon an intelligent native, ascended Talau, a considerable hill on the island of Vavau, to form a plan of Port Refuge, for the benefit of those who may follow us at a future day. From this point they were enabled with sufficient accuracy to describe the position of this group of islands, which are said to be one hundred and two in number, known by the name of Haafuluhau; so that any stranger may direct his course to Port Refuge in perfect safety, by keeping a good look-out, which is of course one of the means dictated by common prudence in such cases. The depth of water varies at the anchorage from sixteen to thirty-six fathoms, with holding-ground of sand and coral. From the direction in which the trade-winds usually blow, a vessel has generally to beat against it as soon as she comes round the southernmost bluff upon the main land of Vavau. The deepest water appears to be on the left hand, the whole way up to the port; the distance from the entrance point may be from ten to twelve miles, and there is ample room for the largest ship to work with common care. In the evening went on shore to consult with John Thomas on the subject of leaving our cook, Pedro Nolasko, a Spaniard, who is desirous of getting to the Fiji Islands, having heard of the probability of meeting with a vessel bound to Manilla, his native place. As he is a man of good character, and not likely by

his conduct to injure the natives, and there being no objection in the minds of the missionaries and the authorities of the place, there seems no good reason for refusing to discharge him, agreeably with his wishes; more particularly, as we have just taken on board one of the survivors from the wreck of the Active schooner: this man was intended to work for his food while with us, but he will now come in for regular wages, by filling up the vacancy which the discharge of Pedro Nolasko will occasion.

19th.—On seventh-day, with the exception of taking exercise on shore towards evening, we were employed on board through the day; yesterday, (first-day,) remained on board all day with our own people, having no attraction to the shore. It was a season of self-abasedness and poverty; but however humiliating, I trust not altogether unprofitable, and one that I have found not unfrequently to precede, and perhaps prepare for further service in the Great Master's time; for which the prayer of my heart is, that I may be ready; confiding in Him, whose power can raise up from utter weakness, and make strong for His use. To-day sailed the American ship Wiscasset, Captain Macey. This vessel was supplied with some tracts and writings of Friends. This evening it seemed best to arrange to attend a native meeting at Matika, a few miles from hence; the greater part of which distance can be performed by boat. As John Thomas was not likely to be at liberty, John Hobbs kindly offered to supply his place as interpreter; but the situation of the neighbourhood is such, that the weather must be consulted in the first place.

20th.—The weather apparently likely to answer for our going to Matika; and John Hobbs having arrived with a suitable crew of natives, by nine o'clock we proceeded on our way, and landed at Feletoa before eleven o'clock, A. M. Here we got a cool resting place, and after an early dinner proceeded to Matika. Feeling unwell soon after, I was not in very good trim for moving forward in the hottest part of the day, nor for attending the appointed meeting; but I well knew that He who had sustained me thus far, could strengthen me at his pleasure, to stand before the people for His great name's sake. Having now an interpreter, to whose abilities and qualifications in the native language I was a stranger, it seemed like venturing upon untried ground. I soon found that I had no cause to fear on this head, but rather to dread the quickness with which he at once comprehended the drift of what I had to say, and interpreted it to the people; however, although every sentence as soon as uttered, was rapidly

conveyed to them without hesitation on his part, yet with thankfulness I can say, that I never felt less difficulty in getting on. I had to caution them particularly, not to be deceived in looking without for that which is only to be found within; that so they might come to the knowledge of Christ, the light of whose Holy Spirit shineth in every heart; and that they might believe in it to the saving of the soul,—that so Christ may dwell richly in their hearts by faith,—that He might be theirs, and they might be His, in His Father's kingdom for ever. It was a comfortable meeting, and ended well. Great is my desire for these people, that their hearts may be directed to the love of God, and to the patient waiting for Christ. How great the responsibility of those, who take upon themselves to introduce the religion of Jesus amongst a simple-hearted people, lest its beautiful simplicity be hid from them, by forms and shadows of man's own invention!

21st.—This morning the Mary Anne, of London, sailed for the whaling grounds; sundry tracts were furnished for the crew, also a French Testament for one of them, a native of France. A few days ago, a native offered amongst other articles for sale, a copy of the Holy Scriptures in English. I found on examining it, that it had been given by the Seamen's Bible Society in London, probably to some ship's library. I purchased this book for about eight pence, merely to show the necessity of inserting, not only the donor's name, or that of the institution by which it had been bestowed, but the name of the person to whom it was originally given, or the ship's library to which it belonged: it would, I think, help to deter from such a misapplication. It is very probable that this Bible had belonged to the library of the Mary Anne, of London, but this was not specified, or it might have been returned to that vessel before she left the port, and have served to prevent a similar occurrence in future. We find that sailors, our own not excepted, regardless of the future, do not hesitate to give articles for a shell or two, far exceeding the value of them; they will part with a woollen jacket, as a thing perfectly useless to them, because at that particular time, in a hot climate, it is not wanted; and the natives will accept of almost any thing for their shells. If books of a pernicious tendency in the English language are found in the hands of the natives, such are immediately destroyed; and books of various kinds fall into their hands when bartering with the shipping; they are pleased when they can obtain writing-paper, pen and ink, or a pencil.

22nd.—Although many natives were on

board, we were enabled to set aside our bartering, and sit down to wait upon the Lord, but it required firm struggling to get into quiet introversion of mind; towards the end a little of that strength was witnessed, by which only the foes of a man's house can be cast out, and himself left in peaceable possession.

24th.—Both yesterday and to-day, with the exception of taking the needful exercise on shore, as the sun declined, we were engaged on board getting things into train, with the prospect of shortly sailing for the Harbai group of Tonga isles. Since it has come to my knowledge that the strength of these islands is to be assembled at Lifuka with king George of Vavau, and Josiah (Tubou,) the king of Tongataboo, I have not seen the way open for me to move in any direction but to Lifuka; and the more I have dwelt upon this subject, the more it appears to be the right track for me to pursue. Owing to existing circumstances connected with persons and places, it doth not seem practicable for me to complete the object which brought us to Vavau, of visiting the people, before the end of this month; and allowing that it could be satisfactorily accomplished at an earlier period, it would be useless to sail for Tongataboo, as those competent for the important office of interpreter, will have left the island to join their brethren at the general assembly about to take place at Lifuka. My earnest desire is, to be found in the counsel of the will of our heavenly Father, to be preserved in faithfulness and humble resignation thereunto, and favoured to possess my vessel in patience to the end of the race. Could I have contrived for myself, I should certainly not have selected Lifuka, as the Haabai group is a dangerous archipelago of small islands, shoals, and reefs, without any secure place of shelter from every wind that blows, and not the least dependence can be placed on the published charts of it. But if He that "bloweth with His wind, and the waters flow," is graciously pleased to direct our way amidst the lurking dangers of the deep which await a stranger vessel, who hath so mercifully and so often in appalling seasons said in effect, "It is I, be not afraid"—and this too accompanied with an evidence so indisputably strengthening, that a poor helpless mortal could exclaim in that humble faith and confidence which condescending heavenly love alone inspires, "It is the Lord,"—all fear is then cast out, except what is filial.

26th.—Yesterday, (first-day,) spent the day on board. Collected the sailors twice in the course of the day for devotional purposes. Engaged the fore-part of to-day on board,



and in the afternoon went up to Neiafu, to endeavour to arrange for visiting the natives on the north shore. The weather sultry and rainy, making the clay soil, of which the neighbourhood of the landing place is composed, almost impassable; and the steep descent down to the boat extremely difficult and unsafe.

27th.—Much rain during the night and this morning, which prevented my going on shore; Charles landed for a short time opposite the vessel, but was soon compelled to return. About nine o'clock this evening, a shock of an earthquake was sensibly felt on board by the trembling of the vessel; Captain Keen stepped upon one of the chain cables, by which we were riding at the time, when the shock was more evident, from the connection of the anchor with the earth at the bottom of the sea. This is the fourth shock that has been felt since our arrival at Port Refuge. Would that the earthly nature in the hearts of all around us, yea the world over, were so shaken, that that only which cannot be shaken might remain, to the praise and glory of God.

28th.—Still rainy weather. John Hobbs called on board to-day, with whom an arrangement was made to visit a native meeting to-morrow afternoon, should the weather permit us to proceed and the people to collect. We learn from John Hobbs that the shock of the earthquake last evening, was the most severe he had known since his coming to these islands; it was felt on board the American ship Russel, quite as much as on board the Henry Freeling.

29th.—In our solitary sitting this forenoon, we were favoured to witness a degree of strength sufficient for the day, to wrestle for the blessing. Soon after three o'clock, John Hobbs and ourselves set forward in our own boat, with six able natives to paddle; on account of the falling tide we landed at a place much more distant from the meeting to which we were going, than would otherwise have been necessary. It was, however, much safer for the boat, with which it behoves us to use every precaution, to enable her to hold out to the end; she is now leaky and much worse for wear, and was not a thoroughly good one when new.

The heat of the afternoon made the extra walking very fatiguing; and the current of air to which I was afterwards exposed, occasioned considerable pain in my head: but such was the engagement of my mind, that this bodily annoyance was little regarded. After resting awhile at a house built for the special purpose of accommodating the teachers, the meeting commenced; and although I was as an emptied vessel, while the translation of my certificates was read: yet shortly after the

reading concluded, my mouth was opened to turn the attention of the people to that Almighty power, which "is not far from every one of us," dwelling in our hearts by his Holy Spirit, except we be reprobates; "in whom we live and move and have our being." He that abideth of old, with whom a thousand years are but as one day, and one day as a thousand years,—from everlasting to everlasting he is God, and changeth not. My desire for this people was, that they might become wise in heart, by seeking after that knowledge which is life eternal, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, which shines in every heart; that they might inherit glory, and be numbered among those that shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and with them that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever. The gospel of the everlasting kingdom was freely preached to these dear people: it was a memorable season, and yielded peaceful relief to my mind. We reached our vessel soon after dark. What, indeed, can we render unto the Lord for all this! being nothing ourselves and possessing nothing, but what we have received from Him, the God of love and praise.

Tenth month 1st.—Yesterday engaged on board most of the day, making ready for sailing for the Haabai. My attention has been drawn at times, in the course of yesterday and to-day, towards again attending the native meeting at Neiafu to-morrow; and John Thomas and Stephen Rabone calling on board this afternoon, afforded me an opportunity of mentioning the subject. John Thomas kindly agreed at once to make way for it, and offered his assistance as interpreter. Although so often a partaker of heavenly help and goodness, I am still imploring more; being increasingly sensible of the want of it, when looking towards this meeting; that the name of the Lord Jesus may be exalted, to the glory of God the Father.

Having now every prospect of bending our course towards Lifuka, I deemed it expedient to make an offer to convey as many of the missionary families as inclined to go to the congress; telling John Thomas, that if they were willing to put up with the want of accommodations to which they would be subjected in our small vessel, the whole of them might go with us. He expressed a fear that such a number would put us to great inconvenience; but I told him, it was themselves that would have to suffer the inconvenience, as they would have literally to stow themselves as they could upon the cabin sofas and floor; but, perhaps, we might not be out more than one or two nights, which would depend upon the wind. The distance is sometimes

performed in a few hours, when the trade-wind is strong and favourable.

The shock of another earthquake was felt on the night of the 29th ultimo.

2nd, first-day.—This morning I felt a very poor creature, both in body and mind; but “knowing in whom I have believed,” and unto whom all power in heaven and earth is given,” I prepared to attend the native meeting at Neiafu. We reached the mission-house before the bell rung; and accompanied John Thomas to the meeting in due time. I sat for some time in a pew constructed for the missionaries; and when John Thomas had finished speaking, I went and stood in front of the people, upon the base on which the pulpit is erected. John Thomas then came down to me, and a general silence prevailed over the assembly, which was large, until broken by myself with the words;—“Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong.” The burden which rested upon my mind was, that these people might become the Lord’s people, formed for himself, to show forth his praise,—that they might become his children, and be taught of Him; for all the sons and daughters of men, which form His church, are taught of the Lord himself: in righteousness they are established, and great shall be their peace.—That they might indeed be sheep of the one fold, and of the one great and heavenly Shepherd, hear his voice, be known of him, and follow him; and thus be enabled individually to say, from blessed experience, “The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want. He maketh me to lie down in green pastures; he leadeth me beside the still waters. He restoreth my soul; he leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for His name’s sake.” But the sheep must first learn to know the voice of the great Shepherd, when they hear it, from the voice of a stranger; that so they may follow him with safety whithersoever he leadeth: those that are the sheep of his fold know him, and are known of him. “My sheep,” said Christ, “hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me: and I give unto them eternal life; and they shall never perish, neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand: My Father, which gave them me, is greater than all; and no man is able to pluck them out of my Father’s hand.” Thus, the security and blessedness of the Lord’s children, which compose his church, are set forth by its holy Head, the Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep: and there is no other way for any of us to become of this happy number, but that of sitting under the teaching of His Holy Spirit, to learn of Him, to know His voice and be known of Him, and be His sheep and follow Him.

He will teach us humility, meekness, and lowliness of heart. Such are formed for himself, do show forth His praise, and glorify Him before men, by producing the fruit of the Spirit in the sight of those around them; openly declaring by life and conversation, that the gospel of Christ is the power of God unto salvation, even to those who beforetime were in darkness, hateful and hating one another. I was largely opened among them; and if it was possible to recapitulate all that was uttered, words would still fall short, and fail to describe the heart-tendering solemnity which crowned the meeting. Towards the conclusion when about saying farewell to these dear people, as one never to see their faces again, that Almighty power which alone can soften the heart was eminently conspicuous; tears could not be restrained, but silently and undisguisedly rolled down the swarthy cheeks of the sons and daughters of this isle of the ocean.

3rd.—Early in the morning the Henry Freeling unmoored, and prepared for sailing: by twelve o’clock the whole of the missionary families, with their servants and luggage being on board, we left the well-sheltered harbour of Port Refuge; and retracing our course through the maze of islands into the open ocean, stretched away from the shore of Vavau. A large number of the natives attended to the last, and hung round the sides of our vessel until compelled to let go their hold, evincing sincere regret at her departure. One of the chiefs of the island of Otea, named Noah, a noble man in person, with whom we were particularly acquainted, and whom we highly esteemed, wept aloud when he left us, and was heard when the canoe was a considerable distance. He was affected by the whole circumstance of parting with all his friends; but principally on account of losing an adopted daughter, who was leaving Vavau for Tongataboo: she had been for a long time an inmate of the mission-house. Our passengers consisted of John Thomas, Stephen Rabone, John Spinney, John Hobbs, (going to reside at Lifuka,) and William A. Brooks, with their families, in all eighteen persons, besides nine domestics. We had also William Bunubunu, nephew of the late Finau the conqueror of these islands in former days, selected by King George, as our pilot for the Haabai group. Soon after getting fairly out to sea, the whole of our guests, except two of the youngest children, became sick; and some of them remained so the whole time. The wind became unfavourable in the night, and prevented our seeing the isle of Aano next morning as was calculated upon.

4th.—When morning came, it was found that we had drifted towards the island of Kao,



in appearance a lofty mountain of regular conic shape rising out of the sea, and evidently of volcanic origin. By ten o'clock A. M., the island of Toosoa was fairly opened, and the action of the volcano at the north end plainly to be seen, vomiting clouds of smoke into the atmosphere, which occasionally burst forth with increased strength. It was ascertained that getting to Lifuka by night, as before anticipated, was quite impracticable, as the wind continued to baffle us; but shifting two or three points after midnight, we fetched well to windward, and after making one short tack at the entrance of the reef, before ten o'clock were favoured safely to anchor off the the island of Lifuka, abreast of the settlement of Mua, in only three and a half fathoms water, on fourth-day the 5th instant. Any vessel less manageable than the Henry Freeling, might easily have got upon the reef, the entrance is so narrow and intricate, in the worst part of which she had to tack. It is probable that few vessels so large as ours ever anchored upon the same ground; and none, however small, ought to venture without a competent pilot on board. It is close to this spot that the Port au Prince was wrecked, perhaps thirty years ago: some of her remains are visible at this day, and are frequently dug out of the sand by the king's order, for the sake of the copper bolts, &c. Of recent date, the Snapper was cut off by the natives and lost upon an adjoining reef, not far from Mua. Soon after we had anchored, Charles Tucker, the resident missionary at this place came off, bringing with him James Watkin, who had arrived the preceding day from his station on the island of Tongataboo. A double canoe was procured, which took the whole of our passengers and luggage at once to the shore: they were safely landed by eleven o'clock, to their great relief. The natives soon began to visit us, well pleased to see a vessel at anchor off the island, as it is but seldom that such a circumstance occurs.

#### CHAPTER XXXII.

*Island of Lifuka—native meeting—distribution of bibles, &c.—visit to the king—meeting with the missionaries—sail for Tongataboo—anchor off the settlement at Nukualofa—letter from the Wesleyan missionaries—distribution of clothing and medicines—visit to the heathen settlement at Mua—restraining influence of the missionaries—native meeting at Nukualofa.*

Tenth month 6th.—THIS morning early, a turtle of prodigious size was sent on board as a present from Josiah Tubou, the king of Tongata-

boo, who had arrived here from that island. In the forenoon the weather became quite stormy, and the wind coming in from the westward, made it uneasy riding in the bay. Charles and myself sat down together as usual to wait upon the Lord, though in much poverty and weakness. At noon it threatened to blow strong; but shortly afterwards the atmosphere became more tranquil. There was not so much to be apprehended from the anchor and cables not holding the vessel, as from the danger of striking on the rocky bottom, had the swell from the ocean been permitted to come in upon us. The hurricanes which we are told occasionally occur here, are very awful, levelling with the earth houses, trees, &c., before their tremendous blast; and they generally, if not always, blow from the westward, the only quarter from which we have any thing to fear at this anchorage, as the land and the reefs are a shelter on every side, but this; but the Lord's power is the same here as in every other place,—“mighty to save and to deliver” out of every trouble and distress.

7th.—This morning the natives thronged our decks with trifling shells for barter; but the poor creatures have very little in their possession to offer. The last violent hurricane with which they were visited, destroyed their bread-fruit trees, &c., to considerable extent, and materially injured their yams, upon which they are usually supported; and from this serious calamity they have not yet recovered. Many of them are now subsisting upon the fern and tea-tree roots; but it is expected that in a few weeks' time, the present complaints of famine will be banished by an abundant supply of yams, sweet potatoes, &c. In the afternoon we visited the mission-house by invitation. While there it was with me to propose having an opportunity afforded of seeing the people, when collected at their morning meeting next first-day. On inquiring about some one to interpret what I might have to say to the people, James Watkin the missionary from Tongataboo, was proposed to undertake that part of the work, to which he kindly and readily assented. May the Lord be graciously pleased to magnify his power, and cause this stranger and myself to be faithful to Him, in performing each his office; so that, “that life and immortality” which “are brought to light by the glorious gospel,” may be declared to the natives of Lifuka, and others assembled with them, to our Maker's praise.

8th.—Engaged on board till late in the afternoon with the natives. It is probable that the meeting to-morrow will be very large, as the inhabitants from the different islands which compose the Haabai group, are now assembled at this place, besides a vast number from the

Haafuluhau group, and Tongataboo. Oh! that the Master of assemblies may be there. To Him, who only knoweth my motive for coming amongst them, I commend them and myself; humbly praying for help in the needful time, lest the cause of truth and righteousness should suffer in such weak and feeble hands.

9th, first-day.—Proceeded toward the shore at an early hour. We were met on landing by a swarm of young natives, who appeared to be on a look-out for us. In half an hour the first bell rung to assemble the people: this bell might have been spared, as the large meeting-house was filled, and a multitude still outside, when we passed by on our way from the boat to the mission-house: another extensive building was also filled, not far from the largest. The natives were indeed gathered together to an extent, which we have not before witnessed in the Friendly Islands.

James Watkin kindly conducted me through the concourse of people, into an enclosed place in front of the pulpit on a level with the floor: here I remained, until the interval arrived for me to take a station by the side of my interpreter, to be in readiness to minister to the people, as way should open. I felt no hesitation in going up into the pulpit, believing that even when the most advantageous position was chosen, but a small portion of the people in comparison with the whole collected about the house, would distinctly hear what was said; these buildings are open at the side, a circumstance which the nature of the climate requires, and which is a special advantage at these times, as before has been witnessed by us at Vavau. A general stillness now prevailed over this large assembly, which I thought might be occasioned in the first place, by the novelty of two persons appearing in the pulpit, both standing, and both silent. It was not long however before I had to turn their attention to Him, unto whom the cattle on a thousand hills belong; before whom, the secret thoughts of every heart are laid open. He seeth us as we really are, laden with iniquity, helpless, and utterly unable of ourselves to do any thing for ourselves; for, as men and mortals, we possess nothing, and are as nothing; and yet such is the love of God even to a guilty world, that of the fulness of His Son Christ Jesus the Lord, "have we all received, and grace for grace." "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." Who among us can contemplate the wondrous mercy and unutterable love, where-with God so loved the world, without feeling a desire to pour forth a grateful acknowledg-

ment of "thanks be unto God for his unspeakable gift;"—even the gift of His Son Jesus Christ, by whom came that grace which hath appeared unto all men; by which grace alone are we saved from sin and from the wrath to come, through faith, and that not of ourselves; for we have nothing, and are only sinners. It is through faith which cometh from the Son of God, who loved us, and gave himself for us; who is also "the author and finisher" of that one true faith, which worketh by love, and purifieth the hearts of those who believe in its saving, cleansing power; which giveth the victory over the evil propensities of fallen nature, and over every temptation of the devil.

The word of the Truth of the gospel flowed freely to these dear people; for whom my desire was, that they might not rest satisfied with making an empty profession of religion, but "believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and be saved." Although at the close of the meeting I felt as if my strength was renewed for the work, I should, without such sustaining help, have been dismayed at the burden which still rested upon my mind. After the meeting broke up many of the people flocked about us; amongst others, I shook hands with an aged female of rank, considered by the people higher than their king: king George himself was one of those who helped to carry her on their shoulders—she being unable to walk any considerable distance. Her placid countenance, and manner altogether, bespoke that she had good will in her heart toward us; and the remembrance of the interview, though short, always brings with it a feeling of peaceful tranquillity to my mind.

11th.—Yesterday, engaged on board, bartering for the commodities brought by the natives, not being willing to turn them back, although what they brought was often almost useless. In the afternoon landed and conveyed to be deposited in the mission-house, twenty-four English Testaments and six Bibles, six Spanish Testaments, six French ditto, and six Portuguese ditto; one French Bible was given to Charles Simeon, a native of France, now settled here. Whaling vessels and others, not unfrequently at the present day, fall in among the different groups of these islands; by some on board such vessels, a copy of the Scriptures is often prized, as we have experienced; and individuals are here and there to be found, of different nations, whose lot has been cast among the natives from a variety of causes; some by shipwreck, others by sickness, left by the ships to return if they can, or remain the rest of their lives among the natives, wandering from island to island. Some marry and bring up children among them. If



such understand a handicraft business, as that of blacksmith or carpenter, ship or boat builder, &c., and there is no ardent spirit to be procured, they generally fare well amongst the islanders. To-day the natives have furnished a supply of hogs; but it is almost impossible to procure food, except the ninita, (papaw) which remains but for a short time in a wholesome state. At present the poor people are very destitute of the vegetable food on which they are accustomed to subsist, and frequently complain and make signs of being hungry; but it is out of our power to supply their wants: they never think of killing a hog for themselves, they are mostly reared for sale and for the use of the chiefs. In the afternoon went on shore with a present for king George, consisting of a large chest of tools, a cask of flooring nails, and a ship's compass, with sundry articles for his queen Charlotte. Some articles had already been given to Josiah Tubou, the king of Tongataboo, when on board the Henry Freeling. To-day we took with us some things considered suitable for his queen Mary, so that no preference might appear on our side, more particularly as Josiah Tubou is an older man, and much higher in rank. King George is however very assiduous in giving him the preference in every thing.

13th.—At two o'clock P. M. Charles Tucker, the resident missionary at Lifuka, and his wife, accompanied king George and his wife Charlotte on board to dinner. On taking our seats at the table, I told Charles Tucker that it was *our* practice to endeavour to feel a grateful tribute arise in our hearts to Him, from whom all our blessings come; *they* were of course left at liberty: when Charles Tucker called upon the king to ask a blessing, which he did in a serious manner. The parties were greatly amused with a set of William Darton's Scripture views, &c.; and I believe were pleased with their visit. We landed towards evening, and walked to the other side of the island for exercise; this part is wholly enclosed by a coral reef, which enables the people to procure fish in almost any weather. When looking towards visiting Lifuka, I thought as the principal part of the Tongataboo people, with their ruler, would be assembled here, that I might not have to proceed to the latter island; but I do not find that this will be sanction enough for me to stay away from it, as it has dwelt much upon my mind for several days past; I therefore believe it safest for me to go thither, however opposed to my own inclination: if the Lord's presence does but go with me, it is enough; for in His presence only there is life, and at His right hand durable riches and righteousness, yea

pleasures for evermore. The desire and prayer of my heart, and I believe it may be added, my greatest delight also, is to be found labouring to exalt his great and adorable name, and to promote the extension of the blessed Saviour's kingdom in the hearts of mankind. On returning to the boat in the evening, several of the missionaries were upon the beach, when I told James Watkin that I could not pass by Tongataboo, offering him a passage with us to his family at Nukualofa. Fearing to let the members of the mission separate without requesting a select opportunity with them, I told them that I should like us to have an hour or so together, in the presence of the Most High, before they separated; this proposal was accepted with openness, and every thing made to give way for bringing it about: to-morrow evening at six or seven o'clock was mentioned as the probable time for our meeting together. When we got on board I told Captain Keen, that as matters then stood with me, I saw nothing in the way to prevent our going towards Tongataboo, and that the water casks had better be filled up to-morrow, as the beginning of the ensuing week might be looked to as the probable time of our leaving this place. It is expected that the Vavau missionaries will return in two or three days from this time.

14th.—Engaged on board bartering with the natives during the fore part of the day. A large canoe came alongside before dinner with a present from king George, viz.: six spears, two bundles of native cloth, a large floor mat, and two orange cowries, which in days past were considered the most valuable ornaments worn by the rulers of these islands, and are very rarely met with at present. The bearer of these articles is a Portuguese, but understands English; he said that the king was desirous to obtain from me an English spelling-book. This token of the king's good will was verbally acknowledged, and the messenger himself presented with a Testament in the Portuguese language. My mind in the midst of many interruptions attendant upon bartering with the natives and other duties, had to sustain a heavy load of exercise, in the prospect of meeting the missionaries and their families in the evening, which to my view was no small matter.

Landed in the afternoon, and drank tea at the mission-house. About the time agreed upon, the whole of the families, except the wife and young children of John Hobbs, (whose numerous family could not be left alone,) assembled in a large room in Charles Tucker's house, and sat down together in silence. I endeavoured to keep my mind staid in humble dependence upon Him, who

commands the morning, and causeth the day-spring to know his place; and after dwelling a considerable time in silence, it was with me to bow the knee in supplication unto Him, who inhabiteth the praises of eternity, and "covereth himself with light as with a garment;"—and to ask in the name of our Redeemer, that His life-giving presence might be near on the occasion, to subdue in us every thing that stands opposed to His righteous principle of light, life, and love;—that His power alone may rule, and preserve our hearts, &c. After sitting down again, a quiet season was vouchsafed, though a further time of silence was to be passed. There seemed much to travail under before the way was fairly opened for me, to declare the indispensable necessity for each of us to know for ourselves the will of God, seeing that Christ has said,—“not every one that sayeth, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven.” That before we are in a state to be entrusted with the knowledge of the Divine will, the will of the creature must be laid low, and subjected to the will of the great Creator; our bodies must become living sacrifices, holy, acceptable to God; we must be altogether transformed, and our minds renewed by the power of the Spirit of the Lord Jesus, believed in, and operating in us, “that we may prove what is that good and acceptable, and perfect will of God,”—as defined by the apostle Paul to the Romans. Every thing depends upon this,—to know the will of God in the first place, and then to do it. “To obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams.” It is those only who do the will of the Father, that shall know of the doctrine of His well beloved Son, in whom he is well pleased. It was with me particularly to urge this upon all present, both male and female, for both are one in Christ;—that all might, by implicit obedience, know for themselves the will of God, and Christ to be unto them wisdom and righteousness, sanctification and redemption. The whole of our Lord’s precepts must be regarded as binding upon His followers; we cannot choose for ourselves, by selecting some parts and leaving others. His example must be followed in every thing, in every part, to the denial of self in all things. “He that will be my disciple must deny himself, take up his daily cross and follow me,”—these are the terms which he prescribes; we must take up a daily cross to our own corrupt wills and inclinations. It seldom occurs, that the path chosen for us, or the thing required of us, is what we, as creatures, should choose for ourselves, or can very readily yield obedience to; it is

against the nature of flesh and blood,—it does not suit our inclination; if it were not so, and our will was consulted, there would be no cross to take up,—it would be a sacrifice which costs us nothing. We must be willing to part with and to suffer the loss of all things for Christ’s sake; and in following the great example which He hath left us, we must in no part thereof deny Him before men, nor be ashamed of Him and his words before men, lest He should also deny us, and be ashamed of us, before his Father and the holy angels,—according to His own awful denunciation against such unworthy followers.

It was a solid and solemn season, the power of Truth was over all. Before leaving the shore, I mentioned the probability of my again attending a meeting of the natives on the following first-day morning, to which no difficulty seemed likely to present.

15th.—In the afternoon we went on shore, with a view to getting things so settled as to insure no failure in my seeing the natives to-morrow. James Watkin again kindly undertook the office of interpreter; and I returned on board satisfied with the arrangements agreed upon, and strengthened to look forward with some degree of confidence and resignation.

16th, first-day.—This morning went to Charles Tucker’s house, to wait until the natives were collected together. On the way was much gratified to learn, that it was concluded to dispense with many of the exercises usual at their meetings on first-days. This circumstance had come about without my knowledge, although I had before-time mentioned, that the meetings lasted longer than the people were able to bear; being densely stowed upon the floor, almost without a circulation of air, in a tropical climate. After I had taken my station by the side of James Watkin, a general silence prevailed over the multitude assembled; and in due time my mouth was opened to revive in their hearing, that—“Whoso is wise, and will observe these things, even they shall understand the loving-kindness of the Lord.” But the first thing to be done in order to partake of the Lord’s loving-kindness, which is better than life, is to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ; without this, none can behold his wonderful works, nor praise Him, for his great goodness to the children of men. When the Saviour of the world was on earth, and dwelt among the sons of men, he did not many mighty works in some places, because of the unbelief of the people; and it is the same at this day. There is no way unto God the Father, but by the Son; and we can never know the Son, to be “the way, the truth, and the life,” unless



we believe in His power to save to the uttermost, all those that are willing to come unto God by Him.—“For he that cometh to God, must believe that He is, and that He is a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him.” Without faith it is impossible to please him: but how great is his goodness to the humble believer that feareth him,—to them that wait for him,—to the soul that seeketh him. Yea, eternal life is the reward of all those, who by patient continuance in well-doing, thus seek the Lord with believing hearts. While tribulation, anguish, indignation and wrath, will be the portion of unbelievers, and of those who are contentious; who disregard the shinings of the true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world, who obey not the truth, or the manifestations of the Spirit of truth, which convinceth of sin. My heart was enlarged, and the way fairly opened before me, to proclaim amongst the people the truth as it is in Jesus; and to tell them that salvation was nigh unto them that day:—it depended upon themselves,—it remained with themselves,—to “believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and be saved.” Not merely to believe that he came in the flesh, and died for the sins of the whole world; but to believe in the coming of his Holy Spirit into their hearts, to purge away their sins, and save them from the wrath to come, while the day of their visitation is mercifully lengthened out. In the same love which brought me among them, I bade them all an affectionate farewell in the Lord.

Many of them with whom we were personally acquainted, flocked round us to shake hands, amongst others, the king and his principal chiefs. And now believing myself clear of the island, we paid a short and final visit to the mission-house, and then returned to the vessel, having no other prospect before me, but that of sailing in the morning towards Tongataboo.\*

\* The following are copies of letters received while at the island of Lifuka:—

‘Lifuka, October 10th, 1836.

‘DEAR SIR,

‘We, the Wesleyan missionaries, assembled at our annual district meeting, beg leave sincerely to congratulate you upon the hitherto successful prosecution of your missionary voyage; and to express the unfeigned pleasure we feel in seeing you in this part of the great missionary field; and we trust that your efforts to promote the knowledge of the true God, will have had the blessing of God; and that you will have the pleasure of seeing at the right hand of the Most High, many who, from among the Gentiles have been turned from darkness to light, by your instrumentality.

17th.—Unmoored at the earliest dawn of day. Soon after we were ready, our passenger James Watkin came on board, with the whole body of missionaries then at Lifuka. Their stay was necessarily short indeed, scarcely longer than while they delivered up their letters and parcels, for not a few of

‘We beg leave too to offer you our best thanks for the kindness you have manifested in bringing five of our members, with our families, to this place; and we pray that He, who does not forget the smallest kindness done to the least of His disciples, may reward you with every needful blessing, both for soul and body: and finally grant unto you and yours, Eternal Life, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

‘Signed on behalf of the meeting,

‘JOHN THOMAS, *Chairman.*

‘JAMES WATKIN, *Secretary.*’

‘Lifuka, Haabai, October 17th, 1836.

‘DEAR FRIEND,

‘We, as Wesleyan Methodist missionaries, labouring in the Friendly Islands, beg leave at this our annual meeting, to express our sentiments to you, in reference to your visiting the various mission stations in these seas.

‘We admire the principle which induced you to sacrifice the blessings of civilized society, and to quit the land of your fathers, in order to witness the glorious effects of the gospel among heathen nations, and preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ.

‘We doubt not but you have been richly rewarded in your own mind for all the sacrifices you have made, and the privations you have been called to endure while prosecuting the great work in which you are engaged. We rejoice that the Lord has so signally blessed you hitherto in your undertaking; and pray that his kind Providence may still preside over you, and make your way plain.

‘We have been very much gratified by your visit to this part of the great mission field. We hail you as a fellow-labourer in the gospel, and wish you God’s speed.

‘The very great kindness which you and your excellent son have manifested to us in a variety of instances, has produced a deep impression on our minds; be assured you will long live in our affection; and we hope, that your addresses and conversation will produce their desired effect.

‘And now, as you are about to take your departure from this place, we commend you to God, and take an affectionate farewell, until we shall meet in our Father’s house above. We remain dear friend,

‘Yours affectionately,

‘JOHN THOMAS,

‘JOHN HOPPS,

‘JAMES WATKIN,

‘CHARLES TUCKER,

‘WM. ALLEN BROOKS,

‘STEPHEN RABONE,

‘JOHN SPINNEY.’

their friends and connexions in Sydney and England. On their departure the anchor was weighed, and we immediately proceeded towards the opening in the reef; making all sail, if possible, to clear the principal dangers of the Haabai group, before nightfall. We had a pilot with us, a native of Tongataboo, well acquainted with the different channels; but who could not understand many words of English. The wind became more opposed at sun-set; and instead of our being in tolerably open water, we were entangled with the long and dangerous reef off the island of Anamooka; and were at last compelled to run down to its leeward-most point, in order to get clear of its crags. Whilst the sound of the breakers thundering upon the reef could be heard, we were still within its reach; but as the noise became fainter, we considered ourselves beyond its outermost point, and ventured to haul up to the south south-east, for the night.

19th.—About ten o'clock were favoured to get sight of Eouagee, owing to a strong current, which had, during the night, hurried us away to the eastward; and the wind being strong, by noon the island of Tongataboo was distinctly to be seen, though the weather was thick and hazy. By two o'clock we were abreast of the settlement of Nukulofa, and were favoured to anchor safely in fourteen fathoms water, in a place well sheltered, except when the winds blow from the northward and westward: the north side of this island is one mass of reefs, rocks, and small islands. Twenty-two of these islands are in sight from the vessel; and in several directions the surf breaks incessantly upon sunken reefs, which form the principal shelter between us and the main ocean. A brig under English colours was entering the narrow channel from the southward at the same time as ourselves; but she took a different route from us, and anchored off a heathen settlement, several miles distant from Nukulofa: she proved to be the *Guide*, a Sydney whaling vessel in want of supplies. Soon after having anchored, a canoe arrived, and carried off our agreeable passenger and companion, James Watkin, whose wife could be seen on the shore waiting for her husband. Having had but little rest for the two past nights, we remained on board; and the afternoon turning out wet, but few of the natives visited the vessel. It is indeed renewed cause of humble thankfulness to be again and again preserved amidst these dangerous and little frequented groups of the Friendly islands; and particularly during our stay at Lifuka, where there were but few feet of water to spare between the rocks which were visible, and the bottom of our vessel. Had one of those furious hurricanes been per-

mitted, which are occasionally witnessed by these islands, her destruction would have been inevitable. The very day after our arrival, (as before noticed,) the wind came in upon us, and the atmosphere assumed for a time a threatening appearance: but after having been shown our critical and helpless situation, and renewedly made sensible that there was no refuge, but in that power which winds and waves obey,—the storm was hushed, the wind gradually shifted to its usual trade-quarter again; and the rod was no more lifted up during our stay of about a fortnight. Some of the missionaries, who well knew our dangerous situation, were perhaps more alarmed for us than we ourselves were, who were comparatively ignorant of many circumstances, peculiar to that neighbourhood; indeed, one of them afterwards acknowledged his not having been able to sleep on our account, when the change of weather took place, and the clouds gathered blackness in the stormy quarter.

We find that a large portion of the inhabitants of Tongataboo still retain their heathenish practices, and hitherto could never be prevailed upon to cast away their idols. They keep those who have embraced Christianity in constant alarm, and cause them to keep up a strict watch, and to live within strongly fortified places, as in a state of actual warfare.

20th.—A few of the natives came off this morning with some poor hogs and a few vegetables; but for these and for their shells, they have learned to ask very extravagant prices, which is owing we are told, to their having calls not very unfrequently from our men-of-war, who purchase largely their hogs, yams, shells, &c., without regard to price. In the forenoon Charles and myself sat down together in the cabin. It was a low season with me, as when the bridegroom is taken away; towards the conclusion, a degree of strength was graciously afforded, although my soul's enemies were still felt to be lively and strong. At one o'clock P. M., landed for the first time at the settlement of Nukulofa; but the tide being low we were compelled to submit to being carried over a part of the reef, the water being too shallow to float our boat. James Watkin, with two children, was on the beach, ready to conduct us to his house; and we spent an agreeable afternoon with his family. In the course of the time, we were there, Abraham, a brother of Josiah Tubou the king, came in to see us:—he seems a serious steady man, from forty to fifty years of age, and is considered a religious character. The settlement of Nukulofa is surrounded by tall trees, so thickly planted, that a man cannot pass between them, having several sally-



ports or entrance gates, which are secured at night in a substantial manner. Outside this wall of trees, which have rails connected with them, is a very deep trench, the coral taken out of which forms an additional barrier of defence outside the trees, and renders the approach almost inaccessible. It was pleasant to find that the missionaries have lived latterly entirely outside of these fortifications, without any defence beyond a fence of slender cane-work. On returning to the vessel at sun-set, we found a large shark hanging to her side, which had been struck with a harpoon, by some whalers who had called on board.

21st.—Landed in the afternoon and made our way to the mission-house, taking with us a variety of drugs, and numerous articles of clothing for children, for the use of James Watkin's family, with a quantity of dresses suitable for the native children. It is a great privilege, through the kindness of my dear friends in England, to be able to administer, in some degree, to the wants and comforts of those to whom I am most certainly very greatly indebted; and without whose kind and brotherly assistance, my mouth, in most instances, must have been closed, as regards declaring the word of life in the different islands.

22nd.—In the morning some of the heathen part of the community came on board, and appeared pleased at the treatment they met with; some articles they brought were purchased, by way of gaining their good-will rather than from necessity. Abraham, the king's brother spent a part of the day with us; after dinner he was presented with a broad axe. Landed in the afternoon, and called upon Thomas Wellard, a person connected with the missionaries here, who is about to return to Australia, and has applied to me to give him and his wife a passage to Sydney; I can give no answer, it being at present uncertain whether a direct course to Sydney from hence will be a peaceful one; time must decide our future destination. All that man can do, is to endeavour to stand in the counsel of the Divine will, and in humble resignation wait for its unfolding to the finite understanding; and when once ascertained, then to do it with all his might. Go thou and do likewise, with all thy might, whoever thou art, who may perhaps read these fragments, inscribed by one who has trodden the narrow path before thee; but who, however unworthy of the least of all the Lord's tender mercies, is at seasons comforted in believing, that he is on the way to the heavenly city, none of whose inhabitants can say, "I am sick."

Finding the necessary arrangements had been made to open the way for my seeing the

people to-morrow, when collected in their place of worship, we returned on board, and found some of the poor despised heathen waiting with a quantity of cocoa-nuts for sale. These nuts are such as are only fit for hogs, being too old and rancid for the use of the people, who are very short of food at this time.

23rd.—On going to the meeting we found the house quite filled, with many standing and squatting outside, and others coming towards it. My truly kind and faithful interpreter, James Watkin, did every thing in his power to open the way clearly for me, by explaining the translation of the Morning meeting's certificate, which he read. The reading was succeeded by a time of silence, until I stood up, and was strengthened to express the desire of my heart, that they might all come to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus, and be saved. That a mere profession of the Christian religion would avail them nothing: truth in the inward parts, the Lord desired. They must come to know the Holy Spirit of the Lord Jesus, (which is the Spirit of Truth,) in their own hearts; which the blessed Saviour promised should come in his name, even into the hearts of his followers, and abide with them for ever. I had to speak of the greatness of the love of God, in sending his Son into the world to save sinners. I doubted not that many of them believed in His coming in a body of flesh; but I wanted them to believe in His coming in the Spirit into their hearts. I had to contrast their present state, although it is to be feared, in too many instances, making but an empty profession of the Christian religion, and remaining as yet, in great measure, strangers to the power of Christ,—with the dark and heathenish condition they formerly were in, without hope in the world; laden with sin, hateful, and hating one another. Many of them had lived long enough to see and know the difference between the past and the present; and to be able to discern what are the works of the flesh, and what is the fruit of the Spirit. "What fruit had ye then in those things whereof ye are now ashamed? for the end of those things is death,"—the sure wages of sin: "but the gift of God is eternal life by Jesus Christ our Lord." They were earnestly entreated, in the love of the gospel, to come to this precious gift of God, to turn inward to this light; and they would find to their inexpressible comfort, that it is none other than the Holy Spirit of Him, of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets did write. It was a precious meeting: the people sat as if afraid to move, such was the solemnity that prevailed over us. Power belongeth unto God; and the

praise and glory are his for ever. Remained on board in the afternoon with our own people.

25th.—Fakafonua, a heathen chief, who can talk a little English, paid us a visit this morning. He had been invited to breakfast and was treated with kindness. He behaved in a solid manner, whilst a chapter in the Testament was read, and during silence. An axe was presented to him before leaving the vessel. In the afternoon it was with me to inquire, whether it was practicable to obtain an interview with these poor heathen people, who though apparently lost sight of, are still the sealed inheritance of the Lord Jesus. James Watkin said it might be done, and thought the best way would be to take them by surprise; for if notice was given, as I had suggested, they would only get out of the way. It is true, it may only tend to exposure, without any beneficial results; but this must be left: to omit, however, making an attempt to visit them, might make work for repentance at a future day, when the present opportunity presented to me is for ever gone by. May the Lord Most High prepare their hearts to receive, and mine to declare to them salvation by Christ Jesus.

26th.—This morning the fleet from Lifuka made its appearance, consisting of seventeen large double canoes. The first which reached Nukulofa had on board Josiah Tubou and king George, (alias Taufaahau,) the kings of Haabai and Tongataboo. We afterwards, in company with James Watkin, attended the king's kava party, assembled in the neighbourhood to welcome the arrival of the different parties from Lifuka, who had been to attend the general congress.

The kava ceremony was performed in the open air,—the heads of the islands only being under cover, and the strangers, when any are present. The people were squatted in regular order, forming three sides of a square, in front of their king and chiefs. The fourth side was an open building, on the floor of which sat Josiah Tubou, with three of his principal men on each side of him; the admiral of the fleet directed the different proceedings of the meeting, but Taufaahau mingled among those who were to prepare the kava. As strangers, we were allowed to sit upon the floor of the building, with the rulers of the people, which afforded us full opportunity of seeing the whole process. The kava root, after being well crushed with a heavy pole, was separated into small parcels, and handed to different individuals, whose names were proclaimed aloud, being chosen for having good clean teeth and sweet breath. When they had chewed a mouthful of the root sufficiently, it was placed in a cup made from the

banana leaf; these cups, were finally collected, and their contents emptied into a large bowl, employed solely for the purpose. Water was then poured into the bowl, and when the chewed root was sufficiently saturated, a large bunch of very fine shavings, prepared from the purau bark was used as a strainer, and the liquor repeatedly passed through it, until clear of all apparent sediment. When pronounced ready, it is ordered to be served up, and every cup that is filled is retained, until the name of the person is declared to whom it should be handed. We had to take a share of the nauseous liquid, but of course, a little served the turn. Many heavy burdens of baked food, each brought upon a pole on the shoulders of two men, were laid in front of the king and chiefs; who directed to whom a basket should be given. Many of these were ordered to the men of the fleet, who were numerous on the occasion, as the largest canoes carry at least an hundred men. Thanks were repeatedly given to those who had the fatiguing part of the work, especially to the kava makers, the food bakers, the chewers, the carriers, and the cup bearers. Returned on board as soon as the tide was high enough to carry us over the outer reef.

27th.—Before eight o'clock A. M., James Watkin came on board, bringing with him five natives, to accompany us in an attempt to procure an interview with a body of the heathen, residing at the settlement of Mua, in a fortified position. We left the vessel forthwith, and proceeded towards the lagoon, at the entrance of which a bay of islands in miniature is formed. At eleven o'clock; we were abreast of the settlement; but the boat grounding upon a sand-bank, at a considerable distance from the shore, one of the natives, Isaackee, waded to the landing-place, where a number of the people were collected on seeing the boat approach their territory. On being informed by Isaackee who we were, and what the object of our visit, they denied that the chief was at home. Our man returned to us and said the chief was not at home, and that Charles and myself might land, but not the missionary. Appearances on the shore were not very inviting, as the war clubs were plainly seen in the hands of some of the natives. James Watkin advised us not to land. I was not satisfied, however, without making some further attempt to get among them, and Isaackee was despatched again, to say, that our coming on shore would be useless, without the missionary to interpret. He did not at all hesitate to go; but, apprehending some mischief might arise, said, on leaving us, 'if they kill me, it will be nothing.' After a considerable parley had taken place, our man return-



ed again, and said, that 'we might all come on shore;' but now James Watkin refused to accompany us, as the objection had appeared to be against him only. I felt a little disappointed, but concluded to land, at all events, without further debate. Charles and myself were then conveyed to the shore by our native boat's crew; and although a considerable number of these people immediately flocked about us, I had not the least apprehension of danger, for the fear of man was cast out. We ascertained afterwards that at least twenty muskets were pointed upon us, from behind a strong wooden fence, in readiness, had any affray taken place. We had in our hands only an umbrella each. We proceeded towards the settlement, under an escort of the people, until we had passed through the gates of the strong hold, and at length reached the habitation of the chief. We found him at home, and with a number of his people, squatted ready upon the floor, waiting our arrival. The chief, perceiving me at a loss to distinguish him from the rest, moved aside to the log of an old tree, upon which we both sat down together: this, I thought, was correct on my part, from the signs that he made to me. He could talk a few words of English; but could understand little that I said. I made him understand that they had a shipwrecked sailor among them, of whom I had heard previously, and made signs for him to be fetched; but he did not make his appearance, and was probably ashamed of being seen by his countrymen. The chief was evidently desirous of asking questions; but I signified that without the missionary we could do nothing. Some people then had orders to go for James Watkin, who arrived in less than half an hour. During this interval the number of people increased, and a root of the kava plant was laid at my feet, as a token of good-will towards me. An offer of some of the liquor was then tendered, which I accepted, to show that I had nothing but good-will towards them. Some persons were then appointed to chew the root, and prepare this odious drink, which, in due time, was handed to me. I drank some of it before them, and handed the remainder to one of the people, which I had learned was a usual practice in such cases. James Watkin now entered into conversation with the chief, and believing that things were going on smoothly, I proposed that the translation of my certificate from the Morning meeting should be read. It was patiently and attentively heard to the end, with ample explanation to elucidate the cause of my coming among them. I had then to tell them, that the God whom I serve is a God of love and mercy, and willett not the death of a sinner, but rather that all men every where

should repent, return unto Him and live; and that such is the love of God to his creature man, that he gave His only begotten Son to save them from their sins, "that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but have everlasting life." That I was not satisfied to leave their island without telling them of the good things which God hath prepared for those that love him: I declared that salvation was come nigh unto them,—yea, placed within their reach, and that by Jesus Christ;—He is Lord of all; through the shedding of whose precious blood the gift of the Holy Spirit was received for every mortal, whether son or daughter,—for the whole human race,—even for the rebellious. I told them, that I did not come among them to persuade them to turn to this way of life or that way of life; but to turn them from the darkness they were in to the light of Christ, "from the power of Satan unto God." To this Holy Spirit I desired that their hearts might be directed, and to the patient waiting for Christ, that they might know Him to be in them, "who liveth and abideth for ever." The above is the substance of what I had to express among them; and though some individuals mocked and behaved rudely, saying aloud, 'I wish he had done;' so that James Watkin stopped, and reproved them for their behaviour; yet the divine power was over others, and I believe that its influence was felt by the chief, as I observed, when I had finished and sat down, that his countenance was entirely changed, and he said that, 'I had done well in coming.'

Afterwards, by way of accounting for their not setting food before us, as is their usual custom with strangers, (which I firmly believe would have been done, had it been in his power,) he said, that they had very little to eat, and that it would be about five months before they could have plenty again; looking forward to the rainy season setting in. This I knew to be the case, as the famine in all the Friendly Isles was grievous, but more so at Tongataboo, than at Lifuka, as the bread fruit, banana, yam, sweet potatoes, &c., were almost wholly destroyed by a hurricane; and they were at this time eating the roots of the the banana and tea tree. It has been painful to observe how many have complained to us of hunger: some would put their hands on their stomachs, and exclaim, 'dead, dead.' It is, however, a certain fact, that in those places where the people are under the control of the missionaries, although suffering much, they are much better off for food than the heathen part of the community. Some of these, called heathen, particularly the chief just alluded to, and the other that came on board our vessel, declare, that they perfectly understand the

nature of Christianity, and the blessing that it bestows, but they say, 'If we were to follow it, we should have to give up all our present delights,—put away all our wives but one, and all our bad habits.' They seem sensible of the sinful condition in which they live; for they say, in effect, 'it is impossible that we should be saved;—it cannot be.' Their poor bodies very generally bear the marks of violence, from the habit they are in of lacerating and burning themselves, as an indication of mourning for the dead; this was strikingly apparent. The little fingers on both hands had been in many cases cut off, and offered as sacrifices to avert the evils they most dreaded. This we found to be very general among those who are called Christians, but more particularly remarked it to be the case with those that are grown up; the rising generation of these now retain them. This circumstance we discovered on shaking hands with them, from their kings and chiefs down to the humblest individuals of their tribes, both male and female. We parted from this heathen chief in a friendly manner: his name is Fatu. It gave me much pain, to hear from his own mouth, through James Watkin, that, amidst all the wretchedness of a heathen life, the miseries of his people were greatly increased by their intercourse with the shipping; disease was fast sweeping them away.

It is a lamentable fact, that most of the vessels which touch at Tongataboo, come to anchor on the heathen shores, because where the missionaries reside at Nukulofa, there is not the same opportunity for the crew to indulge in their diabolical practices, and promote the sale of rum, &c. While we were at Tongataboo, two vessels under the English flag, and one under the American, anchored near the heathen settlement; where, it is true, there is much better shelter from the sea, than at Nukulofa; at the latter station, however, the *Henry Freeling* rode sufficiently secure. Such as do anchor at Nukulofa, are uniformly respectable, and the crews under proper restraint: it was quite the reverse with those who went to the other place, during our stay at the island. It was late in the afternoon before we got back from the heathen settlement of Mua.

28th.—To-day, Josiah Tubou, and Mary, the king and queen of the island, with their two sons dined on board, they brought with them James Watkin, as interpreter. A prodigiously large fat turtle, and a quantity of fine yams, were brought as a present by our guests. These yams we understood to have come from Vavua; that island being hilly, the crops in the valleys were more sheltered from the late storm, but as Lifuka and Tongataboo

are flat, level islands, no part escaped the fury of this sweeping blast.

No opening presented, during the stay of our royal visitors, for any thing like edifying conversation, but I believe the heat and the motion of the vessel, made some of them a little sea-sick, as the wind was strong and a swell of the sea tumbled in upon us. The king, however, expressed his satisfaction with the visit, and they were all much pleased with the inside of the *Henry Freeling*. The tide being low, our boat could only approach the edge of the reef; but the queen being barefooted, had no difficulty in paddling over the coral bottom, a few inches under water. The king preferred taking a passage in a small canoe, with a single native to manage it.

29th.—The morning proved boisterous, but we landed for an hour about the time of high water, being desirous to speak with James Watkin, not feeling easy to let an opportunity pass away without improvement, of attending the native meeting to-morrow, if it should rest with me to do so. The fleet from Haabai, having arrived since last first-day, has greatly increased the number of people from the other islands. I found James Watkin ready as usual, to render me every assistance in his power, and the morning was mentioned, if it were concluded to come, and the weather did not prevent our landing. It may be the last opportunity that I shall have to see such a body of the Friendly islanders together; and such an one as could scarcely have been calculated on; and is of rare occurrence at any time, if indeed it ever took place before this season. No other motive, I trust, prompts in me a desire to avail myself of the opportunity thus placed within my reach so unexpectedly, than what is induced by that love which embraces the whole human family, and would bind all the children of men in the Lord's "bundle of life" everlasting. May the shout of a king be heard among these people, and the glorious majesty of the spiritual kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, be unfolded to their understanding, by the same Almighty power which opened the heart of Lydia, in days that are over and gone, to His own praise and glory.

30th, first-day.—The state of the weather combined with other circumstances to weigh down my mind, when looking towards attending the native meeting; and the secret prayer of my heart last evening was,—'Help, O Lord, for thy great name's sake, and for the sake of Him who died, the just for the unjust, that He might bring all mankind unto Thee.' The morning was rough and boisterous; and there not being water enough for the boat to pass over the reef into a sheltered landing-place,



seemed to throw difficulties in the way of our getting on shore. This being the position of affairs, I determined to take an arm-chair from the vessel to render the fatigue of transporting us more tolerable to the willing natives, and divide the weight more equally between several men; two of these who had been watching our movements, were seen wading towards the edge of the outer reef, as our boat approached. We were, however, at last placed safely upon the beach, without any material inconvenience to ourselves, though the task was laborious for our burden-bearers. I felt much discouraged soon after day-break, and could almost have reasoned myself into a fancied liberty to remain quietly on board; but it did not appear that I should stand acquitted, unless a firm attempt to get through was first made on my part: before leaving the vessel this gloom was measurably dispelled, and I was strengthened to press forward, and with humble resignation to bind the sacrifice as to the horns of the altar.

On account of the inadequate dimensions of the building to accommodate the thousands assembled, several hundreds were left outside; but they endeavoured to keep as near as they could to the place where the speaker is best heard. James Watkin occupied a short space of time in speaking to the people, and then left them in expectation of something from my mouth, when a general silence prevailed. It was not long before I stood up, in great weakness and fear, and told them that I felt myself to be indeed a feeble instrument in a cause so great and dignified; but they might remember, that the Lord's servants formerly, as now, had nothing of their own with which to satisfy the cravings of a hungry multitude. But when the Great Master was pleased to command a blessing, the few loaves and fishes were so multiplied, that there was much more left, after the people were fed to the full, than there had been before they began to eat. It is only, as He is pleased to qualify any one to speak in His name, and to open the understandings of them that hear, that any can be availingly benefitted. "Without me ye can do nothing," said Christ; and though some may feel desirous to follow him in the way of self-denial and the cross, yet when an hour of trial comes, such is the weakness of the flesh, that we are ready to shrink for fear of man, for fear of persecution; and are ready to deny him, who suffered for us,—who died that we might live for ever. But although without Christ we can do nothing, yet through His strength we can do all things;—through the strength of His Holy Spirit, in our inner man, we can do all things to the praise and glory of God. It is in the Holy Spirit of Christ, that we must believe; and so wait to hear His voice, and obey Him

in all things. This is that heavenly Prophet, of whom Moses spake to the children of Israel, whom the Lord their God should raise up unto them from amongst their brethren:—"A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you, from amongst your brethren, like unto me, (said Moses);—Him shall ye hear in all things; and the soul that will not hear this prophet shall be cut off from amongst the people." In due time this was fulfilled; this prophet of the Lord was raised up amongst the people,—born at Bethlehem in Judea; in whom the fulness of the God-head dwelt bodily; and of whom the holy Father testified and said, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him." This is the Prophet whom we must hear in all things, as the children of Israel in that day heard Moses in all things; but with this difference,—Moses was only heard while in the flesh upon the earth, and this Prophet speaketh from heaven, by His Holy Spirit in the soul of man. How needful then for us to wait, and to watch, and to pray, that we may hear and obey Him, who speaketh unto us from heaven in righteousness, and is mighty to save the soul from sin. It is by the power of the Spirit of the Lord Jesus, that our hearts must be cleansed and purified from every defilement: it is this that searcheth all things; our secret thoughts and imaginations are all laid open before it; and nothing that is unclean or impure, that worketh abomination, or that maketh a lie, can stand before this heart-searching power of the Lord; which, as a fire, consumeth all that cannot bear His righteous judgments. But if this heavenly Teacher is heard, and obeyed in all things, with meekness and resignation,—if we fear to offend or grieve this Holy Spirit of the Lord,—it will purify us even as He is pure; and it will prepare us for the reception into our hearts of the spiritual kingdom of Christ Jesus. This is the kingdom that men are commanded, above all things, first to seek;—with the sure promise of our Lord, that "all things needful should be added" unto them. What then remains to prevent mankind from receiving the kingdom of Christ Jesus, but hardness of heart and unbelief in his spiritual appearance in man. We can scarcely suppose that any will earnestly seek for that, which they do not believe can be found. Hopeless and forlorn indeed is the situation of such as these: in vain do they say, that they believe in Jesus Christ as the Saviour of the world, and that there is no salvation but by Him;—whilst they remain strangers to His heavenly power to cleanse their hearts from sin, for want of believing that He is come in Spirit: therefore they know him not. It is a consideration, as affectingly awful as it is true,—that although he is the

Saviour of them that believe, yet without we know and witness the power of His Holy Spirit to save us from our sins, He is no Saviour of ours: our belief is vanity, and will end in vexation of spirit;—we are not among them that believe to the saving of the soul, notwithstanding all our profession of religion before men.

This is the substance of the testimony I had to bear amongst these people, though but a part of what I had to say.—Inviting and encouraging them, above all things, to seek first and in earnest the kingdom of heaven, and the righteousness thereof,—and with desires for their present and eternal welfare, I sat down. The place was exceedingly crowded, and the people were very solid and attentive. A number of English persons were present, probably in part from the shipping.

Spent the afternoon on board with our own people.

Eleventh month 1st.—Believing that it would be best for me to leave here a copy of the Address presented to those in authority at the Sandwich Islands, to be translated in the Tonguese language, for the kings and rulers of the Friendly Islands; the subject was this afternoon mentioned to James Watkin, who concurred in the apprehension that it would be useful to them. Under these considerations, a fair copy was drawn up by Charles, and put into the hands of James Watkin, accompanied by the following letter, which was addressed to the missionaries at the Friendly Islands.

‘Dear friends,

‘The annexed, as will be seen on perusal, was addressed to those highest in authority upon the Sandwich Islands, and was presented, when the king and Kinau, (the female in whom the executive power is invested,) with several of the principal chiefs, were assembled together to receive it. It was translated at the time by the senior American missionary, Hiram Bingham; and they afterwards expressed a desire that it should be printed. Although its contents may be peculiarly adapted to the present state of those for whom it was originally intended, yet as the same interest dwells in my heart towards the inhabitants of the Friendly Islands, I thought no harm could arise from presenting a copy of it to Josiah Tubou and Taufaahau, the kings of Tongataboo and Haabai; as it is possible that some hints may be found applicable, (if not at the present day, in a day that is to come,) to themselves, or to those who may succeed them in authority: at any rate it exhibits a Christian principle, a standard, round which all nations may rally with safety at all times, and at every period of their existence.

‘I am your affectionate friend, in the bonds of the gospel—the soul’s truest liberty.

‘DANIEL WHEELER.

‘Henry Freeling, off Nukulofa, Tongataboo,  
1st of Eleventh month, 1836.’

### CHAPTER XXXIII.

*Tongataboo—meeting with the foreigners—parting interviews with the natives and missionaries—sail from the Friendly Islands—New Zealand—anchor in the bay of Islands—visit the mission family—native meeting at Kouakoua—Desolating effects of intercourse with the shipping.*

Eleventh month 3rd.—WHILE on shore yesterday afternoon for exercise, we saw many fine healthy plantations of yams coming forward; but the poor natives are suffering grievously for want of food at present, and yet they do not seem to exert themselves to procure an extra quantity of fish, which we find no difficulty in taking.

To-day, sent a quantity of tracts on board the Chieftain, a London whaling vessel, having become acquainted with her captain. Got on shore in the afternoon, but the state of the tides just now renders these excursions both tedious and difficult.

Taufaahau, having accomplished his object of escorting Josiah Tubou back in safety to his own islands, sailed again with his numerous fleet very early this morning; but towards evening he was compelled to return by opposing winds and rough weather: and to be ready to put to sea again, on the first appearance of a change in the weather, he anchored his canoes in the neighbourhood of the heathen settlements, to the very great alarm of those miserable people; who now fully concluded he had returned to chastise them for the provoking and insulting conduct of which they had been guilty in the morning, when he was about to take his departure. The missionary, however, assured us that Taufaahau had no intention whatever of meddling with them. From what we saw, it was very evident that a trifling cause would at once set them all in a flame: both parties carry warlike weapons about with them. There are at present seventeen garrisons upon this island; such are the fear and suspicion on both sides, that they dare not live out of their strong holds. The heathen party in Tongataboo, although much superior in number to those who call themselves Christians, are the weaker body, in consequence of their own internal and perpetual broils, and the dreadful ravages of disease brought amongst them by the shipping; which is indeed as the “noisome pestilence, that



walketh in darkness," and as "the destruction that wasteth at noon-day."

These remarks have reference to Tongataboo only: at Vavau and the other islands which compose the Hafulauhau group, and those of the Haabai, the people almost if not altogether are subject to missionary control, with their king at the head of religious affairs, nominally at any rate. It is from these islands that the heathen of Tongataboo, have every thing to fear, while Taufaaahau lives: they know that he is a desperate warrior, and never fails to carry all before him, when once roused up. Josiah Tubou is a very different character, and though leaning to the missionary party, is more despised by the heathen, than feared; his power is much greater than that of Taufaaahau, who being a much younger man, is very submissive and subservient to him. If Tubou inclined to go to war, the other would probably unite with him at once; and furnish strength and skill not to be resisted, which the heathen are well aware of. It seems that a number of these poor people have now gone on board the canoes of Taufaaahau, that they may get to Vavau, and Lifuka, and become Christians, without risking the loss of life from their own kindred; and we are told that many of them would be glad to lead peaceable lives, but dare not join the missionaries here, for fear of their neighbours: the same time the different tribes are imperceptibly mingling together by marriages. All these circumstances serve to diminish the strength of the heathen party, and gradually to prepare them to renounce their abominable practices.

4th.—From the swell of the sea setting directly upon the landing-place for boats, we remained on board all day; and Josiah Tubou, with his brother Abraham, spent the afternoon on board with us. I feel comfort when looking back, that the opportunity of speaking to the people last first-day, was not suffered to pass over unembraced on my part. It is plain now, that if the return of another first-day had been waited for, or an excuse from the state of the weather been listened to the precious moment would have been lost for ever; and instead of a peaceful retrospect, now at seasons vouchsafed in mercy to a poor unworthy creature, an accusing blot of anguish would have rested upon my mind; which the few yet remaining days of my pilgrimage would have been too short to obliterate. It was a remarkable circumstance, that so many hundreds of the natives should be brought together at Lifuka, and again at Tongataboo; with many of whom we had become acquainted, first at Navau and its neighbourhood, and at Tongataboo. I recognised with heartfelt

pleasure, Lazarus, the chief of the island of Otea, also David Afu, the chief of Haalafulu, and others, as people dear to my best feelings. We have now been here more than a fortnight, and I do not yet see a way open for leaving the island, an event anxiously desired by some on board, on account of the exposed situation of the anchorage, when some particular winds set in. Two English vessels, and one American, have anchored off the heathen settlements, while we have been here; there the sailors can indulge their licentious habits unrestrained; but as a striking proof of the utility of missionary establishments, it is not so at Nukulofa. I desire to stand in humble resignation, as to any further proceeding here, or to leaving the place, and bending our course towards New Zealand; and I trust to be enabled to decide with clearness before we sail.

5th.—The weather being more favourable for landing, we went on shore at four o'clock P. M.; and having found my mind drawn towards the remnant of English and other white people here, I told James Watkin on his inquiring about arrangements for to-morrow, that I had nothing in view towards the natives; but to sit with the English, seemed to be my present business, if that could be brought to bear. This was readily assented to. I have felt a poor creature indeed, for the last day or two, owing perhaps to the increased heat of our vessel under deck; but the Lord can deliver, and strengthen him that hath no might, either in body or mind; and can at his pleasure make quick of understanding in His fear, those that trust and hope in his mercy. May He be graciously pleased to cause the opportunity to-morrow, to be a time of visitation to some; cause the earth to tremble at His power and presence, as in days of old, when the sea saw it and fled, and Jordan was driven back; so may every thing in us, comparable to the unstable element, flee before Him; and the ever blessed truth reign over all to His glory.

6th, first-day.—Landed about ten o'clock in the forenoon: the natives were coming from their meeting as we approached the shore: soon after this the white people assembled together. On going into the place appointed for us to meet in, I observed that James Watkin had taken a side seat, to show the people that he had no part to take in that meeting, and as no hymn book appeared in the hands of any one, it seemed as if some pains had been taken to inform them, that it would be held after the manner of the Society of Friends. I sat down near a table, and as those who attended came in, they joined in the silent sitting of the rest. We had not remained long in this exercise, before I was made

sensible of that power being nigh, which alone can soften the rocky heart, and cause the earthly nature in man to bow before it; and abiding under it, I had in due time to revive amongst them the language of the patriarch Jacob, when wrestling with the angel,—“I will not let thee go, except thou bless me;” desiring that we might individually imitate his noble example this morning, and like him prevail, and receive that blessing of the Lord which maketh truly rich, and satisfieth the hungry wrestling soul with favour. It was then with me to state the true intent and meaning of our sitting together in silence before the Lord, and the excellency of waiting upon God, if we believe in the promise of the Most High God, in the new covenant of life and power,—that he would write his law in the heart, and put it in the inward parts of man; and that he would be their God, and they should be his people; and they shall no more teach every man his brother, and every man his neighbour, saying, “Know the Lord, for they shall all know me from the least of them, unto the greatest of them,” saith the Lord; “for I will forgive their iniquity, and remember their sin no more.” We, therefore, desire to know the Lord for ourselves; and the only way to come to this blessed knowledge, is to obey his commands and be still. “Be still, and know that I am God: I will be exalted among the heathen; I will be exalted on the earth.” Here is the great and glorious privilege of the gospel dispensation: “the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus,” is written in every heart, to make free from the law of sin and death. None are left without a manifestation of the Spirit of Christ Jesus; by which all have access unto God the Father, who is a Spirit, and must be worshipped in Spirit and in truth. We, therefore, in our religious meetings, have no confidence in the flesh; we do not look to man as our teacher, whose breath is in his nostrils, to assist us in the worship of Almighty God; but we wait for the influence of the Holy Spirit of the Lord Jesus, to prepare our hearts to perform this worship aright. A manifestation of this heavenly spirit of grace is mercifully given unto all men; it is “the grace of God which bringeth salvation, and hath appeared unto all men,” teaching all men that believe in it and obey it, to deny ungodliness: even the heathen have a measure of this heavenly gift dwelling in their hearts; by which, and through which, they can worship God in spirit and in truth; “for I will be exalted among the heathen,” saith the Lord, “I will be exalted on the earth.” Before sitting down, I told them that I did not feel at liberty to leave the island without seeing those of my own colour, to set before them

the responsible station they held, and how much depended upon them and lay at their door, as examples of the surrounding natives: the superior advantages they possessed over these would be heavy in the scale of condemnation, if corresponding fruit were not brought forth. They professed to be Christians; had been brought up in Christian lands; had long had in their possession the Holy Scriptures, a blessing invaluable, for which we cannot be thankful enough: but they are a sealed book, until our understanding is opened by the same Holy Spirit, which inspired those holy men who gave them forth: even the followers of our Lord, when He was upon the earth, could not understand them, until their understandings were opened by Him. Without Him, we can do nothing. The Jews had the Scriptures; and yet they were the enemies of Him, of whom they so faithfully testify: they felt themselves secure, and thought they had in them eternal life; but what said the Prince of life,—“Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me: but ye will not come unto me that ye might have life.” So that although they are an inestimable gift out of the divine treasury, bestowed upon man by the Holy Ghost, for his greatest outward heavenly comfort, to strengthen his hope in the promises of God, of life eternal through that Saviour, who is Christ the Lord, and are “profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be made perfect, thoroughly furnished unto every good work;” and although they are able to make wise unto salvation,—it is only “through faith, which is in Christ Jesus,” of whom they so abundantly testify from their earliest pages. And yet, if we could repeat them from the beginning of Genesis to the end of the Revelations, they cannot save one soul, nor blot out one sin. But they direct us unto Him, unto whom all power in heaven and earth is given: who only hath the words of eternal life; who is Himself that eternal life. To Him, then, we must go to be saved; in Him we must believe; to His Holy Spirit in our hearts we must turn, whose light shineth in all. His long-suffering and goodness will lead us to repentance; when we look on Him, whom we have so grievously pierced, and from whose merciful reproofs we have so long revolted, and which we have disregarded with hardness of heart and unbelief in his power to save. This light in us, will not only set all our sins in order before us, that we may repent of them, and forsake them; but as we abide under the righteous judgments of the Lord’s redeeming love, they will, though they may have been as scarlet and crimson,



be made white as snow and wool, by the blood of the Lamb, and be remembered no more by Him, who redeemeth our life from destruction, and crowneth us with loving-kindness and tender mercy, for His great name's sake. Behold then the blessedness of those, who know the Lord for themselves; who have come to the knowledge of the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, by believing in the power of the Holy Spirit, and sitting under its heavenly teachings:—"this is life eternal."

The foregoing, although but a part, contains I believe, the substance of the whole I had to say to them. We remained on shore until sunset, by which time the water had arisen high enough to allow our boat to come close to the shore.

7th.—Fixed with James Watkin to visit Fakafonua the heathen chief, to-morrow, in his own fortress of Maofanga.

8th.—Landed early, and called upon James Watkin, who accompanied Charles and myself to Maofanga; the sun was very hot, and having little or no shelter, the walk was very fatiguing, though the distance is comparatively short. On reaching the fortress, we found the entrance closely blocked up; and the keeper inside could not be prevailed upon to open to us, declaring that Fakafonua was on board the American ship, which we afterwards found to be correct. James Watkin returned with us on board; and on canvassing the subject over, he advised me not to attempt another visit. I did not however feel satisfied, or as if I had done all that might be done, without making further trial; and proposed to James Watkin our endeavouring to fix a time with the chief for my coming, if that could be accomplished, by sending a confidential person over for the special purpose of doing it. We landed in the evening, and after some inquiry, Nathan a nephew of the king, was fixed upon to arrange the business altogether.

9th.—Nathan having fulfilled his engagement, came off to us at an early hour, to say, that he had been to Maofanga, and succeeded in getting into the fortress from a bush entrance; but could obtain no tidings whatever of Fakafonua. On considering the matter I concluded to land after breakfast, and inquire whether there were any other places whither we could go, which was done accordingly. James Watkin said that the natives residing to the westward, came to the meeting at Nukulofa, and that the few heathens towards the other side of the island, were scattered at distances too considerable for us to attempt to go in search of them. With me, however, there yet remained something to be done; and I believed it safest for me to tell James Watkin, that notwithstanding the trouble already in-

curred, and the disappointment we had witnessed, I should like to go again to Maofanga, and if our object again failed, as regarded seeing Fakafonua, I believed that I should then have done what I could. It was not a pleasant task to tell James Watkin this, as I knew he was very averse to having any thing further to do with this man: I believe, however, he saw that I was bent upon going again to Maofanga, and kindly agreed to make another trial to accomplish what I had in view. On reaching the fortress we found the entrance blocked up as before; but James Watkin proposed that we should try another passage, more private, which he had got a hint of: this we reached at last, and found it open, but so narrow that only one person could pass through at a time. We soon met with a native who told us the chief was there; and having obtained directions to his house, a short walk brought us to the place, where we found seven or eight American sailors hanging about. It was not long before Fakafonua himself made his appearance. Having seen him on board the Henry Freeling, we were not altogether strangers to each other. I took a seat on a log at his right hand, and the natives took their stations upon the floor, with the American sailors and some others. James Watkin entered into conversation with the chief, while I endeavoured to keep my mind retired in a waiting frame. At length I requested that Fakafonua might be told, that I had been among many of the islands in the Pacific Ocean with glad tidings of great joy to their inhabitants, and I was not satisfied to leave Tongataboo, without giving him a like opportunity with others to repent and believe the gospel: believing that it was not too late for him to be saved, if the terms of offered mercy were accepted on his part; for the Almighty Creator of man would have all to be saved, and that He had provided the means, that all might repent and live, by his Son Jesus Christ, the light of whose Holy Spirit shineth in every heart. I was fully persuaded, that at times he had known something of this light in himself, which had shined upon and shown him his sinful state and condition, and which had reproved him, and convinced him of his evil deeds; and though in his wickedness and hardness of heart he had rejected and resisted the strivings of the Holy Spirit, grieved it, and wounded it, yet a day would overtake him at last when its convictions would be too heavy for him to bear. "The spirit of a man may sustain his infirmities, but a wounded spirit who can bear?" I exhorted and entreated him for some time, to repent, believe, and obey the gospel; to turn to the light of Christ Jesus in his own heart, follow it, and live; he would

then no longer walk in darkness, but in the light of life. Fakafonua interrupted me once or twice to express his thanks; and when I stopped, he told James Watkin again to thank me, and said, 'I know very well it is true. I have thought of these things, and understand, and am convinced that it is better to be a Christian; but I can never be one, I am too great a sinner to be saved: I must remain as I am.' I told James Watkin to tell him, that as he knew and understood these things, his condemnation would be greater on that account; and certainly his destruction would be of himself.

James Watkin then said he thought I had better speak to the sailors, who sat and listened with great attention, I replied, 'there is no occasion for that,—they know very well.' James Watkin replied, 'he thought they did not.' 'Yes,' said I, 'there is not one of them, but knows very well, that he ought to fear God; and knows when he commits sin, and that he ought not to do it, for that which may be known of God, is manifest in man: He hath showed it unto him.' Afterwards I found my mind drawn towards these men, and I was strengthened to declare the truth among them as it is in Jesus. We then took leave of this poor benighted heathen chief, who with his people thanked me and shook hands very kindly; and I believe we parted better friends than we met. We were offered the juice of the cocoa-nut, and the stupifying kava, both which were declined. Although nothing may come of this visit, yet it is not for me to calculate upon results, but to leave them. I felt relieved, and rejoiced that I had made the effort; and I believe that James Watkin was not sorry at having accompanied me on this errand, now that it was well over. On looking round, my way seemed now clear for leaving the island, and before reaching the mission-house, I told James Watkin and Charles, that I knew of nothing to prevent our sailing on the following day. We called upon Thomas Wellard and his wife, and found their luggage could be embarked in the afternoon, and that they had kept themselves in readiness to leave their habitation at a short notice.

We returned on board before dinner, and informed Captain Keen, that all things would be ready with us, for leaving the roads of Nukulofa to-morrow. In the afternoon we collected our linen, &c., from the shore, and took leave of James Watkin's family, he himself intending to be on board at the time of our departure. Isaackee the pilot, was agreed with to conduct us into open water, and we bade a last farewell to a mass of the poor natives, men, women and children, who had crowded to the spot of

embarkation, having learned probably from the pilot, that we were about to leave their shores finally.

10th.—Our decks were crowded at an early hour with the natives, bringing vegetables and fowls, and a collection of their war clubs and other implements of destruction, which we rejoiced to take out of their hands. The morning was, for the first time since arriving at Tongataboo, calm and cloudy. It afforded, however, an opportunity for the natives to dispose of what they had, which the usual trade-wind would wholly have prevented, as they must have hurried out of the vessel on our beginning to move. James Watkin and our passengers came on board before eight o'clock; but the forenoon proving showery, and windless, there seemed no probability of our getting off to sea. James Watkin returned to the shore, intending to come off again to-morrow morning, to see us under weigh; but at three o'clock P. M., the clouds began to disperse: a signal was made forthwith for the pilot, and a nimble native despatched to the mission-house to state that we were about to sail. By the time the last anchor was up, the parties were on board; and leaving the last of the Friendly Islands, (though not the least of them, as an object of our tender solicitude and regard,) we steered through the wide spreading reefs towards the open ocean. James Watkin accompanied us a considerable distance, until the shore of Nukulofa could be but dimly seen; but however painful the task of separating, the moment was come for it to be done. We waved to each other, while our movements could be seen in the twilight; and I believe we parted with sincere regret on both sides. If I mistake not, we can mutually acknowledge—'though lost to sight, to memory dear.'

The day beginning to close upon us, and the wind continuing light, rendered it impracticable for the Henry Freeling to get completely through the passage before dark, when our faithful compass became as heretofore, the only guide remaining to us. Our pilot, who had been at the mast-head for three hours looking out for the reefs, left his post when the sun went down, wishing to be set at liberty, in order to take up his lodging upon a small island at no great distance from us, as he could not get back before morning to his own island of Tongataboo; and if he had been compelled to continue on board until we had got completely out to sea, which is the common usage, it would have been too dark for him to have found the small island, and he might have perished in his canoe, if the wind had got up strong. He told us in broken English, but very intelligible, 'Me no like go



dead in canoe.' This is the same man who ran no trifling risk to gain us admittance into the heathen settlement at Mua. He was of course well paid for his useful services, and his request to leave us immediately granted. Towards ten o'clock P. M., the breeze freshening up we got nicely clear of the island of Tongataboo, and its many lurking snares; and before midnight hauled round its most western point.

11th.—Stood to the south-west, close to the wind. I stood resigned as to our destination, whether it should be New Holland or New Zealand, and endeavoured to leave it to my heavenly Father to dispose of us according to his own good pleasure; believing if it was right for us to go to New Zealand, we should be enabled to fetch it, though the wind was opposed to it at that time.

12th.—My mind is much weighed down this morning, with a load of exercise, which none about me know of; and this is not a little aggravated, by an open avowal, that nearly every one on board was in hopes we should not go to New Zealand. It was suggested to my mind by the grand adversary, that as the wind was unfavourable for New Zealand, we might safely keep away for Sydney, in New South Wales, for which it blew sufficiently free. But I was preserved from listening to this, and strengthened to conclude, that it would be time enough for me to bear up when the distance was accomplished, and no prospect remained of fetching the Bay of Islands. Thus strengthened and supported, we held on our way. Soon after this, the wind became more favourable; but the current and leeway together had set us so far to the westward, that it was deemed advisable to run still further to leeward to make sure of escaping the Pilstart's and Nicholson's shoals. This circumstance, to appearance, would almost set aside the New Zealand question altogether. When night came, our captain was so fearful of the shoals that the sails were reduced, and the head of the vessel turned again towards Tongataboo: this was mortifying, though, perhaps, the safest policy, notwithstanding the wind had now become much more favourable.

13th, first-day.—A fresh wind sprung up from the old trade quarter, at noon: the latitude  $23^{\circ} 37'$  south, by observation. Our sailors were collected twice in the day for devotional purposes. To-day is the third anniversary of our leaving London; we reached the Henry Freeling, soon after nine o'clock P. M., at the Lower Hope in the Thames. Many have been the trials and conflicts permitted to overtake us; but abundantly more have been the mercies of the Lord since that

time, overshadowing us by night and by day: and truly our strength has been proportioned to the necessity in the darkest hour of dismay. There has been no lack of any needful thing; all our wants have been abundantly supplied; and that loving kindness which is better than life, has at seasons been eminently displayed for our comfort and consolation; causing the Lord's own work to praise Him, and enabling us to give thanks at the remembrance of his holiness; and I trust, in humble resignation and devotedness, to renew our covenant, and say,—“Not my will, O Lord, but thine be done:” if thou wilt be with me in the way that I go, here am I a poor unworthy creature.

14th.—Beautiful weather with the wind free. This day completed  $180^{\circ}$  of west longitude. At noon we were in  $179^{\circ} 54'$  east longitude, latitude  $25^{\circ} 8'$  south, Cape Breton; New Zealand distant 640 miles.

16th.—Yesterday, the latitude at noon  $26^{\circ} 59'$  south. To-day the wind baffling: a heavy squall and the threatening appearance of the atmosphere, with a heavy swell of the sea from the southward, brought us under double-reefed canvass; but the wind did not materially increase.

19th.—Since the 17th the weather has been rugged, and the wind so scant, that there seemed considerable doubt whether we should fetch the north Cape of New Zealand; but we still persevered in keeping close to the wind. To-day the weather is more moderate, with less sea, and the wind in a slight degree, more favourable. We sensibly feel the cold, since coming a few degrees to the southward of the tropic. We trust that we shall not be forgotten by Him, who careth for the sparrows, and causeth the day-spring of the morning to know his place.

21st.—Yesterday, assembled the crew for devotional purposes, both before and after noon. The weather clear and the wind gentle from south-east to east south-east. To-day several birds have been seen, of kinds that indicate that land is not very far off; and in the afternoon it was rumored to be in sight, but this could be nothing more than a fog-bank.

22nd.—In the afternoon land was discovered from the mast-head, but too distant to determine, with certainty, whether it was the North Cape or not.

23rd.—The wind being light and scant for our purpose, it was noon before we got close in with the coast a few miles to windward of the North Cape. Towards evening the wind became more favourable, but there was so little of it, that we could not approach the entrance of the Bay of Islands, before the breeze died away altogether.

24th.—Becalmed until nearly noon, when a breeze sprung up from the north westward, which soon freshened, and enabled us to push for the Bay. Before six o'clock, anchored in little more than three fathoms water, on a muddy bottom, near the entrance towards Koua-Koua, after a passage of fourteen days from Tongataboo; thus we have to acknowledge that through the love and mercy of Him, who upholdeth all things by the word of his power, we have been brought in safety to the desired haven: the Lord of Hosts is his name. Several ships under English colours are near our vessel, belonging to London and Sydney, and one American whaler. Before dark some of the principal store-keepers came on board; it appears from their statements, that an internal war is raging amongst the natives, and that some of the missionary stations have been totally destroyed, in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Plenty; and the country around laid waste. I find that James Stack, a missionary with whom I was acquainted in England, had been compelled to fly, (with his wife, who was then on a bed of weakness,) from the scene of blood and carnage to this neighbourhood. We learnt from a person, lately arrived from Sydney, that our dear friends J. B. and G. W. W. were in that neighbourhood a few weeks ago. A few of the natives have been on board, but their barbarous and filthy appearance is enough to discourage any stranger; perhaps, these may not be a fair specimen, because of their intercourse with civilized nations, and their acquaintance with rum.

25th.—In the morning five or six natives came off, but with the exception of a hog, they had nothing to sell worth purchasing. Two of them appeared to be much out of health with the prevalent influenza, which, it is said, has been very general. We intended to give each of them a dose of salts; the first who tried them, drank nearly the contents of a tumbler glass, but the other before venturing, would taste only what his comrade had been drinking, and was quite satisfied with what was remaining at the bottom of the glass, without wanting a further quantity. They seemed desirous to possess a steel pen, and one was given to each, with which they seemed pleased. They appear to suffer very sensibly from the cold, as if a large dirty Witney blanket, worn loosely about the shoulders and body was insufficient for them. Before noon the Post-master, Gilbert Maer, came on board; and very kindly offered to conduct us to the resident missionary at the station of Paihia, engaging to call for us in his own boat, which he did accordingly: accompanied by our passengers we set out, and landed opposite to the missionary establishment, consisting of several

good houses, occupied by its members, also one place of worship: this belongs to the Church Mission. The senior and only ordained minister at this place, Henry Williams, being from home, endeavouring to restore peace among the contending tribes to the southward, we were conducted to the habitation of the lay minister, Charles Baker: we were kindly received by his wife, who was engaged amidst a large family, one member of which was not more than a year old. Before tea was finished, our host arrived, and confirmed the kind treatment of his wife, in a friendly manner: when the repast was over, Charles Baker took me into his study, when the object of my visit was fully entered into, and an offer made me of all the assistance in his power. After attentively reading my certificates, he said, he hailed me as a minister of the gospel, and a father, &c. Before leaving Paihia, we visited for a short interval the wife of the absent missionary, Henry Williams, formerly a lieutenant in the British navy: they have ten children. We were much gratified with this family. It proved a very dark and rainy night, but we got well on board.

26th.—In the forenoon Charles Baker came on board, and while with us proposed our calling upon the British resident, James Busby: having known his father when at Sydney, this offer was gladly accepted. James Busby is the only person legally authorized to act for the British government here; but as he is wholly destitute of power, instead of being recognised as Consul, he is styled the British resident; as such, a visit was due to him, as well as on account of his being our countryman. We were kindly received, and remained several hours under his roof, before he would permit us to leave him. His wife and children are now on a visit to Sydney. My Charles having a serious pain in the side, owing, perhaps, to the wetness of the preceding evening, remained on board through the day; but on my return to him in the evening I found him much recruited. Finding, while with Charles Baker, that there would be on the morrow a good opportunity to visit one of the native congregations, and that a young man, who is a competent interpreter, would be furnished with a well-manned roomy boat, I did not feel satisfied to let the opportunity pass away without availing myself of it. The prospect of moving, as it were, upon new and untried ground felt indeed weighty, but I was enabled to cast my burden upon the Lord; for truly he hath hitherto sustained me, and borne up my head amidst the floods of many waters.

27th, first-day.—We left the Henry Free-ling about six o'clock A. M., in a boat belong-



ing to the mission, which had arrived with our interpreter. It had lightened and rained most of the night, and the morning had every appearance of wet weather. It would have been a relief to me, if my Charles could have been satisfied to remain on board, but I did not like to urge it upon him, being aware that he was desirous of attending the meeting: though I rather dreaded the consequences if he got wet, and thought if the rain kept off until after the meeting, and we had dry weather to return to our seats in the boat again, it was all I could desire. After rowing about two hours and a half, we reached the point of destination at Koua-Koua, and found on our arrival at the building, that the customary service was going forward, conducted by a native teacher: he was at the moment, as we were informed, reading the nineteenth chapter of Matthew: we went quietly in, and sat down near a table. This was a rough building, lately erected, with a few seats for the females only. When the native preacher had finished, William Colenzo explained to the people the cause of our visit, which we could ascertain by the names of the different islands in the Pacific which he mentioned, to enable them the better to understand its real object. We had not agreed on any particular mode of proceeding; but when a suitable time arrived, I stood up by his side, leaving the event to my never failing heavenly Helper. After a solemn pause, I warned the people of the necessity of our humbling ourselves under the mighty hand of God, the judge of the whole earth, whom they had professedly met together to worship. "God is a spirit," and without the aid of his Holy Spirit, we cannot draw nigh unto Him. How can we worship Him in Spirit and in truth, without the help and assistance of the Holy Spirit of truth, when we cannot of ourselves think a good thought, or restrain an evil one. After enlarging on the nature of true spiritual worship I had to turn them to the Holy Spirit of the Lord Jesus—the light of truth which shineth in every heart. My heart was greatly enlarged on this occasion, though a very poor empty creature on going into the meeting.

When the meeting was over, most if not all the people came about us to shake hands, which though somewhat irksome to my exhausted frame, was much to be preferred to the practice common among the New Zealanders,—of rubbing noses together; of which we only witnessed a few specimens among themselves. I felt unwell in the morning, before leaving the vessel, and much cast down; but was now greatly relieved, though pain still continued in my head. The rain kept off until we had got through the coarse herb-  
age and rushy plants on our way back from

the meeting; but we had no sooner resumed our seats in the boat than it began to drop, and soon fell smartly: we were, however, well prepared for it, so as to keep ourselves comfortably dry, over head, and about the seats of the boat. The Lord sustained me through all this day, and magnified his own name among the people at the meeting. It was indeed a day which the Lord had made memorable to myself, for divine favour; and on which I completed my sixty-fifth year. Thus is the thread of my life lengthened out; and O! saith my soul, that it may be to the praise and glory of Him, who hath so marvellously redeemed it from destruction, and crowned me with loving-kindness and tender mercies. How can I sufficiently declare unto others, what hath been done for myself; that they also may come to taste and see for themselves His goodness and His love; and be able to say from heart-felt living experience, "mercy and truth have met together, righteousness and peace have kissed each other!"

In a letter to a friend in England written from the Bay of Islands some weeks afterwards, the following passages occur:—

The day my sixty-fifth year was completed, I was strengthened to proclaim the glad tidings of the gospel, for the first time, to a body of New Zealanders at the Koua-Koua station, through an excellent interpreter, to my own peace, and I trust the exaltation of the dear Redeemer's kingdom in the hearts of the people. My soul rejoices in that I have lived to this time, and to see this day, though truly life is only desirable, as we are found living "unto Him who died for us, and rose again." And although bound by earth's tenderest and strongest tie, that of a precious family, whose present and eternal welfare claims our earnest prayer and anxious thought; yet, without we are living "unto Him who died for us," our prayer and solicitude are all unavailing; because if we are not living unto Him, he liveth not in us; and therefore we receive <sup>not</sup>, because we ask amiss, in our own way and will of self, and not in His name, His power, and for His sake, who died for us and rose again.

"Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that believeth on me, the works that I do, shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do, because I go unto my Father." John xiv. 12. In the first place, have we believed in the power of the Spirit of the Lord Jesus, and witnessed it to work mightily in us? Have we known those great works fulfilled in us, which are promised to him that believeth in the Son, when He shall have gone to the Father? Have we faithfully resisted all the temptations of the enemy, and overcome, as Christ overcame? The blessed Saviour of

the world "was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin." "He knew no sin, though made to be sin for us." And if we, who are born in sin, and have lived in sin, shall endure temptations at all points, and overcome as He overcame, the works that He did, we shall have done also, and shall have witnessed our part of the greater works that should be done; not in our own strength, or might, or power, but through believing in Christ, in the power of the Holy Spirit of the Lord Jesus in our hearts, strengthening our inner man "unto all patience and long-suffering, with joyfulness," to resist every temptation of the enemy, being stedfast in the faith that works by love and overcometh. "The works that I do shall he do also, and greater works than these shall he do, because," said Christ, "I go unto my Father." After his precious blood was shed for poor, lost, sinful man, He "ascended on high" to his heavenly Father, "led captivity captive," and "received gifts for men; yea, for the rebellious also, that the Lord God might dwell amongst them;" and it is through these inestimable gifts, received of the Father, that these great works in us are accomplished. "The Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost," is thus sent by the Father in the name of Him who said, "because I go unto my Father." Now if we have received this promised Comforter in the name of Jesus, let us "pray without ceasing:" this name is the power and efficacy of prayer, and what we ask in this name, we shall receive,—“because I go unto my Father; and whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son. If ye shall ask any thing in my name, I will do it.”

28th.—The weather rough, and to us cold. Some of the natives came on board in the afternoon. Being desirous of purchasing a canoe paddle as a specimen, I was very soon offered one for a shilling. Having no money about me I went below, and found some quarter dollars, of rather more value than a shilling each. One of these quarter dollars was given, and a paddle received in return; but the man perceiving that I had still a quarter dollar left, made signs that he wished to have that also. I supposed for another of his paddles, which he held in his hand; but on giving him the money, and taking hold of the paddle at the same time, with a stern countenance he refused to let me have it,—keeping both the quarter dollars for one paddle only. I thought it would not be well to suffer this imposition, and demanded one of my quarter dollars back again; but he persisted in retaining both. The other paddle was then returned to him, which he took into his hand, and I then in-

sisted by signs on having my money back again, and the bargain made altogether void. He hesitated for some time; but seeing that I was determined to carry it through, at last returned me the money, and we parted without any further trafficking. I have no doubt that he will behave in a more reasonable manner when he comes again. Upon inquiry, I found that nothing will do with these people, but firm decided measures; they are daring, ferocious, and insulting if they think that a stranger is afraid of them, and are sometimes prompted to commit outrages; but calmness, and steady firmness generally prevail with them.

29th.—Breakfasted early, and proceeded to the missionary station at Paihia, where taking in Charles Baker, we pursued our route to Tepuna, where the first missionary station was originally established. Here we saw John King, one of the first missionaries that trod the shores of New Zealand, but now so far advanced in years, as to be considered at liberty from the general work. He has a family of ten children; the two oldest sons are cultivating land on their own account. The natives now surviving, are so few, and widely scattered, that Tepuna is now scarcely considered one of the stations. Our visit did not seem to amount to much more than just seeing the family, by whom we were kindly received and entertained. They appear to have taken up their residence here for life. At one time, a considerable congregation used to assemble, but the whole is now laid waste, and the natives, owing to war and other circumstances, seem swept off the soil. By the wreck of the establishment now remaining, it is obvious that this station, at one period, must have been an important one. We returned on board by six o'clock P. M. Before parting with this ancient missionary, he asked me, if I had with me, *No Cross, No Crown*, of which I thought we had a copy: as he seemed desirous to see this book, from a former knowledge of it, care was taken to forward the volume, the receipt of which was afterwards gratefully acknowledged.

To-morrow we expect to go to Korarareka, but are a little apprehensive from every appearance at present, that this will turn to small account. To-day, sent a parcel of tracts on board the Nimrod whaler, of Sydney, and the American ship Martha, of Nantucket, also a whaling vessel. Arrived, the Diana South Sea whaler, from London in sixteen weeks.

30th.—The day being cold and showery, and there being no prospect of any opportunity of speaking to the people, I seem unwilling to run any risk by going to Korarareka, merely to look at the place, which is all that the journey holds out.



This afternoon a large ship beat into the bay; her name not yet ascertained. The pleasure formerly arising, on the first glance of a vessel, more especially when under the flag of our own nation, is now superseded by feelings bordering upon disgust, from a knowledge of the accumulated weight of sin and wretchedness they are introducing amongst this already depraved and degraded race of barbarous natives; who, like those of all the isles we have heretofore visited, with one solitary exception, are rapidly wasting from the face of the earth, by loathsome disease brought amongst them. In this dreadful picture, the noble natives of the Friendly Islands are not included, except at some of the heathen settlements at Tongataboo. At the other islands of that group, the intercourse with shipping has been but small hitherto; but it is greatly to be feared that this evil is on the increase. The majority of the people of England, and that of the most virtuous part of the community at home, little know the ravages their own countrymen are making in these distant parts of the world, nor can they possibly estimate the depth of the misery, suffering and aggravated distress they are inflicting upon these unhappy and helpless islanders. I have no doubt that there are many who, if they could see what we have seen, would wash their hands of the guilt of partaking of luxuries, and even of supposed necessities of life, furnished from distant and foreign climes through such a channel: much less be found deriving a profit through the exertions of these agents of Satan, who are thus extensively and destructively contributing to afflict the human race wherever they go. I would say to all, individually, who love the Lord Jesus in sincerity, and are openly professing to follow Him before men,—“cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet,” and make known the transgression of the people, and magnitude of their sin. “Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity;” for the Lord himself will assuredly plead the cause of the afflicted and helpless,—He will hear the voice of their weeping,—He will regard their supplication, He will receive their prayer.

Twelfth month 1st.—In the forenoon we sat together as usual, and were favoured to feel a degree of strength sufficient to turn the battle to the gate, and check the torrent of dissipating thought, that prevents the sacrifice from arising, which is acceptable only, when offered in spiritual purity. In the afternoon went to the mission-house at Paihia; while there, Henry Bobart, a missionary and an ordained minister of the Church of England arrived, sent apparently on purpose to conduct us to

the Waimate settlement. The fatigue of this journey, though considerable, would shrink into nothingness, if any thing bordering upon certainty might be looked for, of an opportunity being realised for the exaltation of the dear Redeemer's kingdom among the people; but from what we have already witnessed, this place is more an establishment of missionaries and their families, than a body of seriously disposed natives. It will be cause of rejoicing if it proves otherwise; but without going over the ground, the retrospect at a future day may be darkened with gloom, from a consciousness of not having done all in my power to serve the best of Masters, in the best of causes,—by losing an opportunity which can never be regained, of declaring Christ in man, by His Holy Spirit, the hope of glory, to these affectingly benighted islanders,—alike with others, the objects of the love of God, and part of that inheritance purchased by the Saviour's precious blood.

#### CHAPTER XXXIV.

*New Zealand—visit to the mission-station at Waimate—war among the natives—meeting with the mission families—distribution of tracts—native meetings at Korarareka—address to the missionaries—sail from the Bay of Islands—remarks on the character of the New Zealanders—anchor off Sydney—religious engagements there—return to England.*

Twelfth month 2nd.—SENT the forenoon on board, and the afternoon at James Busby's with Charles Baker, and three others of the missionary establishment. James Busby is an amiable man, upright in all his dealings with the people; and decidedly desirous of promoting in others that which he conceives to be the duty of man. Men of his general character are greatly needed to improve the present state of things, as regards the best interests of the natives; while the bad example of licentious foreigners might be checked, and their influence to a considerable extent diminished.

3rd.—At eight o'clock A. M., reached the station at Paihia, and found that the absent missionary, and senior of the establishment, Henry Williams, had returned to his family. He had been to the southward to endeavour to persuade the hostile tribes, who are butchering and devouring one another in a dreadful manner, to desist and listen to terms of peace. He reports that they are determined to persevere in the contest; and though he has heretofore been successful in restoring peace among them, they now turn a deaf ear to every proposition which he made to them. More than six hun-

dred of these poor creatures have been slaughtered; and some of the missionary stations in those parts are entirely broken up for the present. One of their houses had been destroyed, some of the families stripped of every thing, and others had taken refuge in flight. Henry Williams brought with him a boy, whose sister had been murdered in a recent struggle of the contending parties. On leaving Henry Williams and his family, we proceeded towards Keri-Keri, in a boat well manned by natives belonging to the mission, having sent our own boat and crew back to the vessel from Paihia. We reached the station of Keri-Keri about noon, and were kindly received by James Kemp and his wife: he is the principal resident missionary there. This family came originally from Wymondham, in Norfolk. Just after our arrival, a messenger appeared with a note to Henry Bobart, our conductor, from Waimate, the object of which was to prevent our coming forward, until second-day, on account of indisposition in one of the families, as the invalid would, no doubt, then be recruited. We consequently remained at Keri-Keri, and were invited to attend their place of worship, next morning, the 4th instant; this I did not like to shrink from, however painful; although there was nothing before the view of my mind, beyond the testimony, which we, as a Society, have to bear, against form without life and power in the will of man. I think there were not ten adult natives male and female; nor as many children present, and these belong to the household department of the missionaries: the Europeans, who were on a raised platform, at the other end of the building, were probably twice as numerous as the natives.

5th.—A note arrived from Waimate, stating, that if the weather cleared up, a cart should meet us on the way; but the road was so slippery, the soil being clay, and the horses wholly without shoes, that with the present rain, the steep hills would be difficult and dangerous to travel over. I preferred going on foot to horseback, under all the attending circumstances; but Henry Bobart and Charles rode part of the way, and then gave up the horses to native boys, and travelled on foot with me. The rain commenced again before we had proceeded far, and increased after noon-tide of the day; and having to pass through much fern, and high coarse grass, procured us a larger share of wet than the rain which actually descended. We were five hours performing the journey, as from the state of the roads and lameness, I could only proceed at a crawling pace. Just as we began the last long hill, when my strength was nearly exhausted, and breathing difficult, we

met the principal missionary William Williams, who (having been formerly a medical man,) anticipating my situation from what he had heard of my age, brought with him a sandwich, &c. I told him that a friend in need was a friend indeed. On the strength of this, and with frequent stops to rest and recover my breath, I was enabled to reach the summit of the hill, and enter Waimate. Every accommodation within the reach of William Williams and his wife, was cheerfully afforded us; but the greater part of our damp clothes we were forced to keep on. In this place we found a well-conducted family, and a peaceful and quiet abode. When invited to the family devotion in the evening, we entered a large room, where thirty boys were assembled, the children of the missionaries; but such was the quiet order of the establishment, I did not know they were in the house till that time, nor that the house was a school, although we had then been three hours under its roof.

6th.—Rested little during the night, but rose early to join the family before breakfast, and remained in the house most of the day, on account of my lameness; and the weather continuing so wet, the garden walks served only as channels to carry off the superfluous water from the surface of the neighbourhood.

7th.—The weather still showery, but fine at intervals. Had an opportunity of seeing the manner in which the natives prepare the fern root, at present the principal article of their food. This root has an astringent property, and is admirably calculated to counterbalance the effects of fish and bad potatoes. Although well beaten after being roasted, it still retains a strong fibre, which is separated from the more pulpy substance in the chewing, and thrown away by the eater. It requires good teeth to obtain sufficient support from it.

9th.—Yesterday, my lameness but little gone off, and no opening presenting for religious service, my situation altogether required continued exercise of faith and patience; the weather was too unsettled to undertake the journey back to Keri-Keri. This morning, the state of the weather was more promising. Before breakfast, it crossed my mind, that it was not improbable a proposal would be held out, that if we stayed over next first-day, an opportunity would be afforded for seeing the people collected: after breakfast, I mentioned to our host, that as the weather appeared more favourable, we should be thinking about returning to the Bay of Islands. The anticipated proposal, however, was immediately drawn forth, for us to remain over first-day, to see the natives collected. I then stated, that we left the vessel unprepared for so lengthened a visit, but as this offer was now made, I did



not dare to run away from it, acknowledging at the same time, that our clean linen was exhausted. This difficulty was soon surmounted by our hostess, who insisted upon getting every thing we had immediately washed. At nine o'clock, being informed that a considerable number of the natives would be collected from a distance, who would not be present on first-day, it seemed safest for me to attend on the occasion. We repaired to the building pointed out, and a goodly number soon collected in the place. Finding that the manner of conducting the meeting was wholly left to my disposal, we settled down into silence, until I was strengthened to declare amongst them, in an encouraging manner, the truths of the everlasting gospel. I had to turn them inward to the true minister of the sanctuary, and of the true tabernacle, which the Lord hath pitched and not man; who teacheth as never man taught, and speaketh as never man spake, by the Holy Spirit, in the hearts of the children of men the world over. There were some tender people present: the Lord's power was over us, and my heart rejoiced.

10th.—The weather being much improved, I was enabled to take what exercise I could bear without retarding the cure of my lameness. Late in the afternoon, William Williams informed me that the usual meeting of the whole establishment of missionaries and their families would be held in the evening, querying whether I could not join them. I said but little in return, but in a while found that I must avail myself of this opportunity, and at a suitable interval told Williams Williams that I should like to have a little time afforded me at that meeting; and knowing their mode of conducting these meetings, I mentioned as the best time, the interval after the chapter in the Testament had been read. He directly asked, if I wished that any chapter in particular should be selected; I replied in the negative, saying, it would make no difference with me. In due time the meeting commenced, when individuals were fixed upon by them and named to lead the first and second prayer; when these were gone through, a hymn was sung as usual, and then the twentieth chapter of the Revelation was read by William Williams himself. When this was concluded, we dropped into silence, no doubt, to the surprise of many, as but few could have come to the knowledge of the request which I had made, from the shortness of the intervening space of time. After a solemn pause, I stood up with the words of the beloved disciple, when on the Isle of Patmos, in the day of the Lord's power and presence in spirit, for the word of God and the testimony of the Lord Jesus;—"Unto Him that loved us, and washed us from our

sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father; to Him be glory and dominion for ever and ever, Amen;"—declaring that this language was what I desired they might be all enabled to adopt from their own blessed experience; and proclaiming amongst them the glory of the gospel day,—"When the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea." I had to show the indispensable necessity of our possessing the true faith of the gospel, once delivered to the saints, and still delivered to all true believers in the spiritual appearance of its only Author and Finisher, in the heart of man at this day; which faith worketh by love, purifieth the heart, and giveth the victory over sin, and the evil propensities of human nature. This is the faith of the Son of God, who loved us and gave himself for us; and is only bestowed on the simple, humble, child-like, and obedient followers of the lowly Jesus, in the way of self-denial and the daily cross: these henceforth live not unto themselves, but unto Him who died for them and rose again. The dear children were directed to hearken to that voice which saith, "I love them that love me, and they that seek me early shall find me." I had for some time to wade, as it were, against wind and tide; but eventually it proved a solid opportunity: the goodness of man was laid low, as in dust and ashes, before the power of an endless life.

11th, first-day.—Since last sixth-day morning, way has opened in the minds of those about us, in a remarkable manner, as if the ever-blessed Master had directed our steps to a place, where He Himself intended to come, in his own appointed time, in condescending mercy to a poor, way-worn, unprofitable servant. It was now proposed by William Williams, that I should attend their place of public worship, and after the customary service was gone through in the New Zealand language, according to their prescribed forms; he said, 'if you have a word for the people, I will interpret for you.' This was more than I had looked for, or dared to hope, but a few days ago. Although not exactly accordant with my own views, or if I might have chosen for myself, what I should have proposed; yet I have of late, I think, learned to be willing almost to become all things, and to submit to all things, however humiliating to the creature part, that would lead to an opening for me to proclaim to others the glad tidings of salvation, through a Saviour's love. At the proper time, we accompanied William Williams and family to the place of worship. That I might not be at a loss, he said, when they had gone through their part, he would

come and conduct me to the proper place in front of the people, which was raised higher than the platform to assist the speaker's voice. We sat on one side of the congregation, on a low form, attracting the attention of many, by retaining our seats, while all, but ourselves, stood, or knelt, as occasion required. When all was gone through, William Williams threw aside his surplice, and fetched me to the appointed spot, where we stood together in silence; until I reminded the people, that we were in the presence of Him, without whose knowledge a sparrow cannot fall to the ground: but, though heaven is his throne, and the earth his footstool, yet to this man will he look, even unto Him that is poor, and of a contrite spirit, and who trembleth at the word of his power. I had largely to testify of the love of God, as it is in Christ Jesus, and to turn the attention of the people to the light of His unspeakable gift, which shineth in every heart; who once in a body of flesh spoke to man upon the earth, but now speaketh from heaven, by the Holy Spirit; and to all that believe in it, and obey it, it is the power of God unto salvation. The countenances of some of these dear people spoke louder than words, that they had fallen upon the stone of Israel,—their brokenness could not be hid; to such, the message of everlasting love flowed freely, and I humbly trust, was as a shower upon the thirsty soil. It was an open and relieving season:—it was the Lord's doing, and, I believe, marvellous in the eyes of some present. There were several European families, besides those of artizans, attached one way or other to the mission; which, with the boys' school and the natives of the surrounding neighbourhood, formed a considerable body of the people: but the praise was His alone, who wrought the work; and surely some of these were constrained to render unto Him of his due. In the afternoon we attended the meeting again, but my lips were closed up: it afterwards appeared that some were looking for words, and were disappointed.

12th.—Before getting up this morning, I found there was something gathering upon my mind towards the children in the school; and knowing that the whole family would be collected together at seven o'clock, I thought it best to speak with William Williams, without loss of time. Meeting him soon after, I told him that I wished to have a little time in the course of their usual family devotion that morning, mentioning the opportunity after the chapter had been read, as most likely to answer my purpose, and not to interfere with them;—for this, he readily made way. As the whole company are accustomed to kneel

down at the conclusion of the chapter, I thought there might be a little unsettlement on this account, particularly as the boys knew not of the alteration; however, with a simple motion of the master's hand, all remained in stillness. After sitting silent awhile, I revived our Lord's expressions,—“Herein is my Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit; so shall ye be my disciples,”—which were spoken to his immediate followers, when comparing himself and them to the vine and its branches, so beautifully illustrative and instructive:—“As a branch cannot bear fruit, except it abide in the vine, no more can ye except ye abide in me. He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit; for without me ye can do nothing.” How then can we without Him glorify the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, or exhibit in the sight of others that heavenly badge, which designates his true disciples. I had, also, to remind the younger branches present, of their privileges and advantages, far above the lot of many, in being placed under such care, in a situation so guarded; where every thing is conducted for the promotion of their best welfare, and governed by the law of love and kindness: having the Holy Scriptures read to them daily, which point to the Saviour, from their earliest pages, by holy promises and prophecies, which were fulfilled in the fulness of time, to every jot and tittle; that through patience and comfort of them we might have hope;—which are also able to make wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus; and yet they cannot be understood without the assistance of the same Holy Spirit, which inspired the holy men that gave them forth. We can know nothing of the things which belong unto God the Father, but through the Holy Spirit of his Son. And although all are not called to be apostles, or prophets, or teachers, or workers of miracles, yet we are called to glory and to virtue, with a high and holy calling; and to show forth the praises of Him, who hath called us out of darkness into His marvellous light, by bringing forth the fruits of love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance, wrought by the power of the Spirit of the Lord Jesus in our hearts. After bidding them an affectionate farewell in the Lord, I sat down.

After breakfast, preparation was made for our departure; but from one cause or other, this was delayed until near noon. During this interval, I called to see the wife of one of the missionaries, who had long been an invalid, but is now considered in a state of convalescence. It arose in my mind to tell her, that it is by these things we live, and by this,



is the life of the spirit, which inherits the kingdom; and which is retained in meekness and lowliness, as we are concerned to pray always with all prayer and supplication, watching thereunto. Henry Hobart and W. R. Wade, accompanied my son Charles on horseback, but a cart being provided on account of my lameness, I was conveyed in it a great part of the way. We reached Keri-Keri by five o'clock; and having nothing to detain us there, proceeded towards the Bay of Islands, as soon as a boat could be got ready: we were favoured to reach the vessel soon after ten o'clock P. M., and to find all well on board, which was cause of thankfulness on my part, as the neighbourhood of the Bay is a very dissipated and wicked place. We had been absent ten days.

17th.—Since returning from Waimate, and getting well rested, I have nearly got rid of my lameness. In the day-time we have been engaged in selecting school materials, for the use of the native children, from the stock presented to us by the British and Foreign School Society in London; also a variety of religious and temperance tracts, with clothing for the native children, to a considerable extent; these we conveyed to the station at Paihia in the evening. On fifth-day we sat down together in our usual way, and were favoured to get into quiet. For some days I have been waiting to see what was likely to open for me, in the line of duty, and now find that the minds of some in this neighbourhood have been turned towards me, who have it in their power to lend a hand of help, to forward the work in which I am engaged.

This morning Charles Baker came off to say, that there would be an opening for my going to Korarareka to-morrow to attend the native meeting; and that afterwards, there would be a meeting held for the English residents in this neighbourhood. He also said, that Henry Williams and himself had concluded to prepare a notice, stating that a member of the Society of Friends would be there, perhaps mentioning my name, and would give them an address. To avail myself of the opportunity of attending these meetings was a duty from which I was not satisfied to shrink; but I could not agree to the notice without its being worded in such a manner, that none would be disappointed, if I should have nothing to say to them. He said, the notice was so qualified, that that would be fully understood by all parties.

18th, first-day.—Charles Baker came on board in the forenoon, and we proceeded with him up the bay, and landed at Korarareka. A considerable time was then occupied in going round to the different huts, (of the na-

tives,) to rouse them up and persuade them to attend the meeting. I could perceive that Charles Baker availed himself of the circumstance of my having been among the islands in the South Seas, with the glad tidings of the gospel; when one of the chiefs immediately asked, 'if the people of those islands had listened.' I am not aware of the reply of our interpreter to this question, though we fully understood the sort of conversation going forward, by the names of the different islands that were mentioned; but the chief who was then lying on the ground, wrapped in a large Witney blanket, seemed determined to attend the meeting, though not in the habit of so doing, and quickly starting up retired into his hut,—but soon made his appearance again, dressed in European clothing, and was about the first man to go into the meeting, when the bell rang. Charles Baker occupied a short time with them in the native language; but they came in, in such a straggling careless manner, that they had scarcely all assembled before he had finished. The number altogether was very small; but the love of the gospel flowed towards them, as numbered among those for whom the Saviour died, and rose again, that they might live. The truths of the gospel were sounded among them, and they were invited to accept the terms of salvation then proclaimed; "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and be saved." They were directed to turn inward to the true light, "that lighteth every man that cometh into the world;" for this light is Christ, the light of the world, and the Saviour of the world, who by His Holy Spirit, shineth in every heart. In this light they must be willing to believe, which would not only show them their sins, but if these were forsaken and repented of, would also save them from their sins. With more words they were exhorted and entreated to repent, believe, and obey. The people were very attentive and solid: may the Lord soften their hearts, and incline them to ponder the things which they heard spoken. The interval was short, after this meeting concluded, before that for the English residents was to begin. We dined upon such eatables as we brought with us in our pockets, and distributed what we could spare, to the boat's crew of natives; but we were not in a neighbourhood where a drink of water could be readily procured, before the people began to gather; who now appeared in numbers far greater than had been contemplated. The families which had attended the missionary establishment at Paihia in the forenoon, now crossed the bay in their boats to this meeting, amounting, with some well-disposed persons from the shipping, and others perhaps prompted by curiosity, to about seventy persons.

While Charles Baker went through what he considered himself bound to perform, I sat more than half-an-hour, but never under a feeling more destitute and more sensible of weakness and inability; and yet the present appeared as an opportunity afforded, to declare that the Son of God is come into the hearts of all true believers, and in boundless love and mercy is still standing and knocking at the door of the hearts of all: that to those who are willing to hear His voice, open unto Him, and receive His Holy Spirit, He will come in unto them; and if His purifying and cleansing operations are patiently submitted to, with full belief in His power to save,—their sins, though many, if repented of, will be purged away through His blood, and remembered no more. Of this, I had largely to testify, as no new doctrine, but an incontrovertible, established truth; having holy writ for its author without us, and an evidence which liveth and abideth for ever, within us, even in our own hearts; for “he that hath the Son of God, hath the witness in himself;” His law is written in the heart;—the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, which makes free from the law of sin and death. The necessity was urged of a serious examination being entered into individually to ascertain whether we really know the law written in our hearts,—the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus,—the faithful witness against sin and transgression; these keep the soul of man in darkness and in death: but he that hath the Son of God hath life, and he that hath not the Son of God hath not life, but the wrath of God abideth on him. We were favoured with a solemn season together, though the opportunity was brought about in an unusual manner, and agreed upon in the first place without my knowledge, or any suggestion of mine.

25th, first-day.—On fifth-day last, we had a visit from Nathaniel Turner, the senior Wesleyan missionary at Hokianga, with whom I became acquainted at Hobart Town in 1834. From all we have seen, New Zealand is at present a barren soil, where religion does not thrive. Without any previous knowledge of the real state of things at Hokianga, I never saw my way to make an attempt to visit its neighbourhood, either by sea or land. Nathaniel Turner said that the state of the road is so bad at this time, that he believed I could not, at my age, accomplish a journey thither; but that they should be glad to welcome us, if it could be done. I am fully aware that the undertaking would be attended with difficulty and fatigue; but if I felt the same inducement to go there, which has hitherto enabled me, as it were “to run through a

troop” of difficulties, “and leap over a wall” of opposition, all the statements we have had of the difficulties by land, and the danger by sea, should not deter me from endeavouring to reach it.

Having been invited to attend a meeting to be held this evening, by the whole of the members of the mission at Paihia, at the house of Henry Williams; and believing it best for me to be there, we landed in time to take tea with the family. When the meeting was gathering, Henry Williams asked me if I would like to read a chapter in the Bible. I declined the offer, at the same time requesting that a little time might be afforded me when the reading was over; adding that if I had any thing to say to them, they should have it. The chapter had not been long finished before I stood up, which produced a general silence. And after referring to the affecting example of the dear Son of God, as set forth in the language of inspiration,—“Lo, I come to do thy will, O God,” I told them that I was among them in the bonds of the gospel, and was desirous of being found in the counsel of this will, which is ever excellent; and I stood resigned to minister in the ability which might be afforded, and hoped to be faithful thereunto on the present occasion: declaring, that it is only those that do the will of the Father; that shall know of the doctrine of the Son. His doctrine shall descend as the dew, and as the small rain upon the tender herb, upon those that do the Father’s will: they shall inherit substance, eternal substance,—the living and substantial truth, pure and undefiled, “as it is in Jesus;” truth in the inward parts, which the Lord desireth. Such are the Lord’s children, and compose His church on earth; they are all taught of Him: “in righteousness shall they be established, and great shall be their peace.” “This is the heritage of the servants of the Lord, and their righteousness is of me, saith the Lord.” There is no way of becoming of this blessed number, but by a knowledge of the doctrine of the Son, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. “This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear him.” This is the will of God the Father; and those who are faithful in doing this, shall assuredly be taught of the Son: they shall know of His doctrine. In this way I was engaged to turn the minds of all present, to the teaching of the Holy Spirit of the Lord Jesus, which would lead them safely along through time, and sustain them in a boundless eternity. This appeared to be well received: a solemn feeling spread over us, under which we separated.

31st.—Most of the week has been employed in preparing documents for England, a



vessel being nearly ready to sail from hence. On fifth-day our little meeting was held as usual. On sixth-day, a proposition was made to pay another visit to Koua-Koua, next first-day; but not feeling any thing towards it, I declined going. When on shore yesterday, I met with a missionary, — Wilson, just arrived from the seat of war, having been driven with his family from the station occupied by him. The account he gives of their vindictive barbarism and cannibalism is truly horrifying. On his way, he had to pass by a piece of raised ground, upon which the heads of the vanquished were placed, with their faces to the sun, as they are seen to most advantage in this position. A human heart was stuck upon a spear as a token of victory. He saw one tribe returning from the battlefield, loaded with human flesh for themselves and their friends to feast upon. Miserable women and children followed in train after the mangled remains of their husbands, sons, brothers, and fathers; themselves captives, and doomed to slavery the rest of their days. He saw a child amusing himself with putting his fingers into the eyes and nostrils of a human head, which had been given him to play with. Who can wonder at their hardness of heart, when thus trained from infancy to habits of savage cruelty and barbarism! At one place which they were destroying with fire, their conduct was really fiend-like. In one instance, a missionary family had been plundered by their own congregation: the reason assigned for this shameful conduct was, that they expected the missionary was about to leave the neighbourhood, probably taking for granted that the property would fall into the hands of their enemies.

First month 1st, 1837, first-day.—Remained on board all the day, low and stripped, like her who had lost her Lord, and knew not where to find him. Assembled the crew both in the forenoon and afternoon as usual. It seems as if something was gathering upon my mind towards all the members of the mission, in a collective capacity; and standing in resignation, I felt somewhat relieved.

6th.—Much of our time has been spent on board this week, owing to different persons coming from the shore. To-day I learned that the missionaries from Waimate, who had been generally over at Paihia during the time called Christmas, with those from Keri-Keri, had all returned to their own stations, which at once set aside my seeing them in a collective capacity, which I had a little thought of, but had apparently been prevented from moving in; and now the time was gone past, this brought me under a painful exercise of mind. To-day the wind is so strong as to prevent

our getting on shore, our vessel tumbling about, almost as if she was not in harbour. In the forenoon we held our little meeting, which had been set aside yesterday by the confused state of things on board. My state was similar to that of the heath in the desert, which knoweth not when good cometh; and as the barren mountain top, where there is neither dew, nor rain, nor fields of offering: the accuser of the brethren seemed to have prevailed against me. I was smitten and wounded within; and a wounded spirit who can bear?

7th.—Early this morning the wind which had been strong through the night lessened, and the rain fell without intermission through the day, which not a little contributed to darken the gloom already spread over my mind. My Charles at the same time was unwell, with a sore throat and other symptoms of a violent cold.

8th, first-day.—To-day the rain fell at intervals in light showers: our sailors were assembled as usual; and in the afternoon two strangers joined us from the shore. I had to testify, that the Almighty has not left himself without a witness in every heart, which shineth as a light in a dark place; and is no other than the light of the Holy Spirit of the Lord Jesus, “the true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world,” &c. My mind has since felt more peaceful. This afternoon the Chieftain, a British whaling vessel, which was at Tongataboo at the same time as the Henry Freeling, arrived in the Bay of Islands.

11th.—Yesterday, employed in disposing of articles of hardware, &c. The way seemed now to open with clearness, before leaving New Zealand, to draw up an address to the missionaries stationed at Paihia, Keri-Keri, Waimate, Tepuna, &c., and all the members belonging to the ‘Church Missionary Society,’ (as it is denominated by themselves,) employed in New Zealand; and as I endeavoured to keep close to this prospect, it more and more brightened before me.

12th.—We held our usual meeting, and although a low time, I felt comforted and peaceful. In the afternoon took exercise on shore, after having been detained on board, by one circumstance or other, nearly a fortnight. As the way opened, I began to commit to paper, from time to time, the matter which arose towards the members of the mission.

15th, first-day.—Believed it my place to remain with our people on board, feeling nothing towards the shore; and being well aware that the whole neighbourhood of the bay, except where missionary interest prevails, answers nearly, if not altogether, the description of the place, where Satan’s seat is.

16th.—Engaged in writing a fair copy of an address to the members of the mission. In the evening went on shore for exercise; and thinking that those at the station at Paihia, might suppose I shunned calling upon them of late, I told Charles Baker, that seeing their members could not be collected together, as had been the case at the Sandwich and Friendly Islands, I was preparing a written address to them; at the same time I informed him, that the time of our departure from the Bay was drawing near. This evening the *Ganges*, an American whaler, arrived from the neighbourhood of Madagascar. Not far distant from New Zealand, her boats were engaged in pursuit of whales, and affecting to relate, when night came on, one boat was missing altogether. There was no trace whatever of the cause of this disastrous event; whether the boat had been dashed in pieces by a whale, or towed under water when fastened to one by a harpoon, or had lost sight of the ship, and could not find her again before night overtook them, cannot be ascertained. The captain, fourth mate, carpenter, and three others, were in this boat when she left the *Ganges*. Three other American whalers have also arrived; and one English merchant ship, from Cloudy Bay, in the South of New Zealand.

17th.—Yesterday and to-day, employed in getting ready for sea. Having parted with a considerable weight of iron goods out of the hold, and our general stock of stores and provisions being greatly lessened, I thought it needful to procure a quantity of stone, lest the vessel should be endangered by being too light in the water, and thus rendered unable to carry sail in a comfortable manner. James Busby, the British resident, very kindly supplied our wants, from the margin of his estate, which is washed by the sea. In the morning called upon Charles Baker, and afterwards took leave of James Busby, by whom we had been treated with much kindness and hospitality.

18th.—All being ready, at day-break this morning the *Henry Freeling* got under weigh, and dropped down the Bay opposite the station at Paihia, where we anchored again. We landed in the forenoon on the north side, settled our accounts, and bade farewell to the parties as we went along. My address being copied fairly, and various articles put together to remunerate the natives for their services in boats, &c., we landed in the evening for the last time at Paihia, and delivered them with the address to the care of Charles Baker, at whose house we drank tea. As a reward of industry, and an encouragement to persevere, we presented to a native farmer of promise, who goes by the name of industrious David, a spade, ship axe, drawing knife, small saw,

and a bunch of gimblets. We also gave a Bible to a Sheffield woman, the wife of a blacksmith residing in the Bay, and numerous articles of clothing to the native children;—two Dutch hoes and a spade for Charles Baker, with sundry drugs and glass bottles for James Stack were also landed. We called upon all the resident families, and saw those who had been forced from their stations to the southward by the war, before we returned on board. Before reaching the vessel a light land breeze had sprung up; and the night being moonlight we weighed and steered towards the entrance of the Bay with a fine breeze in our favour. At half-past nine o'clock, Gilbert Maer, the post-master, with whom we had had some considerable traffic, who had very kindly brought us off some milk, and accompanied us until clear of all danger, left us in his own boat, with a crew of natives, and I believe sincerely desired for us a prosperous voyage. At midnight, we were clear of the islands which form the entrance to the Bay, and from which it is probable the appellation of the Bay of Islands was originally taken. I may long have to mourn, on account of the lamentable state of the poor miserable natives of New Zealand, bound down as with chains in the service of Satan, and the dupes of his agents, who are mingled among them, of a lighter coloured skin, but in many instances, it is greatly to be feared, the very scum and offscouring of the nations which gave them birth, and not a few of these mine own countrymen: however, under all these unhappy circumstances, the New Zealanders are a noble race of men; though far behind-hand in that gentleness and docility which characterize the swarthy multitudes of the more sultry climates, in which the Georgian, Society, Hervey, and other isles of the Pacific ocean are placed, they certainly possess greater energy and firmness of character. This unhappily in their present lost and undone, and I may add, betrayed condition, is only devoted to the most barbarous purposes, for the destruction of their fellow-men. But if the day should ever come, when the benign principles of the everlasting gospel take root and spread among them, soften their hearts, and prepare them for that wisdom from above, which is pure, and peaceable, and profitable in all things to direct into the love of God and love to man,—they would then far outstrip those who have long since made only a profession of the Christian religion; both in exalting and promoting the spiritual kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in the heart of man, to the praise and glory of God, and the welfare of their own species. With this view of a



deeply injured race of my fellow-creatures, constituting a part of the innumerable inheritance of the Lord Jesus, I leave their shores with a peaceful and easy mind;—at the same time, comforted under a belief, that the address to the missionary establishment will now circulate to every member; many of whom could not possibly have been present at a transitory interview, however regularly appointed. On looking at this subject, I have thought that the conflict of mind I have lately had to pass through, might be the means graciously vouchsafed, to beget in me a willingness to prepare the address. My desire is, that by it, and through it, the great name may be exalted, and the kingdom of Christ Jesus in the heart better understood and believed in, than heretofore has been the case, in the minds of many. May the Lord on high prepare the ground, in which it may, as seed, be sown; and may He bless it with fertility to bring forth fruit that will lastingly remain;—that He may be glorified thereby.

The following are extracts from the address to the missionaries in New Zealand.

—“Finding that I have no longer any place in these parts, and being at the same time restrained from journeying forward, as when the cloud rested on the tabernacle formerly, I have endeavoured to wait in singleness of heart at the posts of wisdom’s gate. I find that, before being liberated from the Bay of Islands, there is something due on my part to the members of the mission; for whom I feel too much love to withhold any thing, that may tend to strengthen or encourage them on their way to the everlasting kingdom.

“In communicating what may be unfolded to my view, should it be my lot to impart any spiritual benefit, let it be remembered, that it is the Lord, from whom alone cometh every good and perfect gift, and that the writer is but an unprofitable servant.

“Among the different isles that stud the capacious bosom of the Pacific, to which my steps have been directed, opportunities have most unexpectedly presented, for seeing the different members of the respective missions with their families, concentrated at one place; but in New Zealand, circumstances not only local, but of a deeply affecting nature, combine to render this impracticable, if not impossible. I have therefore no alternative, but through this medium to salute you on the broad basis of the gospel; which, expanding to earth’s utmost bound, embraces all, while it ever breathes in angelic unison, “Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, good-will toward men.”

“We live in no common times, and the pre-

sent is a day of distress and gloominess, as the morning spread upon the mountains, before illumined by the brightness of the rising sun; a day when some, struck with dismay as when a standard-bearer fainteth, are ready to exclaim with Elijah the prophet of the Lord,—“I only am left, and they seek my life.” “Oh! the depth of the riches, both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!” Who among the sons of the mighty, at this cloudy season, can develop the strength of the remnant of the called and chosen and faithful, when the penetrating eye of the holy prophet, strong in the power of the Spirit, was ignorant in his day of calamity and distress, that the Lord had seven thousand men that had not bowed the knee to the image of Baal? It is enough for mortal man to be allowed to participate in the things that are revealed, and no more is required from each of us in return, than sufficient ability is given us to perform: our own individual duty is all we have to attend to, or shall be accountable for. It is not for us to say, “and what shall this man do?” lest the reproof should be ours, “what is that to thee? Follow thou me.” So that while surrounding circumstances exhibit ample cause for lamentation, and mourning and woe; still we must not shrink, nor suffer ourselves to be drawn aside from following our Lord and Master, by searching after secret things which belong unto God, or in brooding over results beyond our reach, and our power to control. Our insidious adversary will not fail to prompt to any exercises calculated to prevent our seeking after that knowledge which giveth life; and the more plausible the engagement of mind, the less we suspect that a snare lies beneath. It is no matter to him, how *near* the Christian’s path we may tread, if not in it;—we are the more lulled into mistaken security: even under the semblance of promoting the cause of religion, our attention may be so unsuspectingly but completely engrossed, that the great work of labouring in our own vineyards, of seeking salvation in our own hearts, may be overlooked and neglected. It is of little consequence by what bait the grand adversary succeeds; his purpose is fully accomplished, if we are but kept destitute of that knowledge which is life eternal.

“To the heart that is upright and fixed, trusting in the Lord, the trials and conflicts of time are highest, richest blessings, operating like a weight of costly treasure on a pillar erect; the greater the burden, the firmer and stronger it stands, and the closer it presses the foundation. All the sufferings of the present time permitted to assail us, are not worthy to be

compared to the glory revealed in that man; because he hath made the Lord his refuge, and the Most High his habitation, in the day of trouble and adversity, he can say from heart-felt knowledge, in humble resignation,—“it is the Lord.”

“In the course of the last two years, I have had an opportunity of witnessing the attempts that are making to benefit the benighted inhabitants of various islands in the Southern and Northern Pacific Ocean, and have been enabled to visit almost without exception, the solitary and secluded allotments of those engaged in this important work. Although this has been but partially the case in New Zealand, yet opportunities have been afforded of seeing the faces of many of the members of this extensive mission from remote places, as well as of those who reside in this immediate neighbourhood, who with others scattered among the different isles, where my lot has been cast, are dwelling among strangers, in a strange land. Having myself dwelt among a people whose language I could not understand, gives me to know the heart of a stranger, and to feel for him; and I also know his only place of safety and refuge to be Christ Jesus the Lord:—if He be with us, we have nothing to fear, for He is love itself, and “perfect love casteth out fear.” It is that which revives and animates the fainting, way-worn traveller, to persevere in the tribulated path. It is the effect of this heaven-born principle, and the true dignity of its nature, to sustain the Christian with fortitude and innocent boldness, above the torments of fear, and far from the reach of terror.

“Although my tarriance has been but short among you, it has been long enough to allow me to witness the upright devotedness of heart and intention, of some whom our intercourse has given me an opportunity to know and love; and to feel and sympathize with them. I am also aware of the great difficulties to be encountered in the prosecution of the cause of truth and righteousness, and of the many obstacles thrown in the way by the agents of Satan: but if the work be the Lord’s, it will assuredly prosper, though “the heathen” should “rage, and the people imagine a vain thing;” however “the kings of the earth” may “set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together.” “He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh, the Lord shall have them in derision.”

“I believe that you are all desirous of knowing the Lord for yourselves; and I feel bound to encourage you to follow on to know Him, desiring to be your companion in a pursuit of such eternal consequence; for in the same proportion as we ourselves grow in the saving knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus

Christ: so shall we be in a capacity to benefit others. My desire is, that none of us may be contented with saying, we hope that we are led and guided by the Holy Spirit; for I can tell you, “in the word of the truth of the gospel,” that no man led by the Spirit of the Lord can have any doubt or hesitation on this account, any more than he can doubt the shining of the sun, when he sees it at noon-day: the way-faring men, though fools, shall not err therein, or be mistaken. If we are not in possession of this inestimable gift, the fault is our own,—we have the word of a King for it, even the King of saints, and King of kings;—“ask and it shall be given you, seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you:” again, “if ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him.” But then it must be sought in faith, and as by those that have none in heaven but the Lord, nor in all the earth in comparison of Him. It must be sought as prescribed by the lip of Truth himself, “*first*,” and before every earthly consideration whatever: “seek ye first the kingdom of heaven and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you.” Without strict compliance with the terms “seek ye first,” we ask and receive not, because we ask amiss. Let none be discouraged; there is no cause for it. “Heaven and earth shall pass away,” but the words of our King “shall not pass away;” his promises are yea and amen for ever. “Seek and ye shall find;” but let us seek aright: for “the Lord is good unto them that wait for him—to the soul that seeketh him;” and for the encouragement of such as thus seek and wait for the coming of the Lord’s holy Spirit, like those who watch for the morning, after a dark and dismal night of peril,—for such as these, the gracious promise through the inspired prophet is designed, that they “through patience and comfort of the scriptures might have hope:”—“the Lord whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple, even the messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in; behold he shall come, saith the Lord of Hosts.” The heart of man must be purified and cleansed, before it can become the temple of a pure and holy God. “But who may abide the day of His coming? and who shall stand, when He appeareth?” Truly nothing in man or of man;—self must be cast out, and all that belongs to it: for “He is like a refiner’s fire and like fuller’s soap. He shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver; and He shall purify the sons of Levi, (the priesthood He himself hath chosen,) that they may offer unto the Lord an offering in righteousness;”—even



those whom He hath chosen and called to proclaim the glad tidings of His gospel in His name and by His power and authority, having their feet shod with His holy sanctifying preparation. O! how great is the work to be done in the heart of every individual, before it is fit for the reception of this heavenly guest, who only dwelleth in the temple of an undefiled heart! How many baptisms have we to pass through, in order to purify and prepare us for the knowledge of the "only true God, and Jesus Christ whom He hath sent" once in a body of flesh on the earth,—but who now appears by the eternal Spirit in the heart of every man. We have great instruction from the narrative in holy writ, of the preparation which Elijah had to pass through on Mount Horeb, before he was in a situation to discern the "still small voice." He had first to witness "a great and strong wind to break in pieces the rocks,"—as a figure of that power, which alone can subdue and soften the rocky and obdurate nature in the human heart;—"but the Lord was not in the wind." "And after the wind, an earthquake,"—another needful dispensation for the reduction of the creature, and the shaking and separating of the earthly part, and every thing in man that cannot abide the day of the Lord's coming, or stand when he appeareth.—"But the Lord was not in the earthquake: and after the earthquake a fire;"—that searching, consuming, baptizing element—the fire of the Lord, that consumes not only that which is light and chaffy, but also the dross and tin and reprobate silver; that nothing may remain, but what can endure and abide the trial, as pure gold.—"But the Lord was not in the fire: and after the fire, a still small voice." This ordeal we must all pass through, according to our measure: it is the great work of regeneration; and in order to hear this "still small voice," we must ourselves be still, as with our faces wrapped in a mantle. The prince of this world must be cast out, and his strong holds pulled down; all our imaginations and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God must be cast down, and brought into captivity unto obedience, before we can know Christ to be in us, "the hope of glory." The silence of all flesh must be attained: the creature must cease from its own willings and runnings and strivings: the holy command must be obeyed,—"*be still, and know that I am God: I will be exalted among the heathen: I will be exalted in the earth.*" Blessed and happy are they, who thus seek, and thus find; and having found, to them the glorious day is come, when whatsoever they shall ask the Father in the name of the Son, He will do it. Before this day, how vain have

been our petitions, because not in the name, not in the power of the Spirit of the Lord Jesus, but in our own strength, time and will. "Verily, verily, I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall ask of the Father in my name, he will give it you. Hitherto have ye asked nothing in my name. Ask and ye shall receive, that your joy may be full. At that day ye shall ask in my name, and I say not unto you that I will pray the Father for you; for the Father himself loveth you, because ye have loved me, and have believed that I came out from God."

"I am reminded instructively of the confirming expressions of our dear Lord on another occasion, which prove to me how little can be done for the benefit of others, until the great and necessary work is first wrought in ourselves. Addressing Simon with the other disciples, he said, "Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you, that he might sift you as wheat; but I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not; and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren." As a stream cannot rise higher than the fountain from which it issues, so it is impossible for any to instruct others further than they themselves have learned in the school of Christ. Let us then seek, until we find the prize immortal. Let us be determined to know nothing, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified. Let nothing on earth prevent us from coming to the life-giving knowledge of the Holy Spirit of this crucified, risen, and glorified Lord, in our own hearts; for unless we are crucified with Him to the world, and the world unto us, we can never rise with Him into life. And why should not we in this our day, be as complete as the Colossians, to whom the great Apostle writing, said, "and ye are complete in Him, which is the head of all principality and power; in whom also ye are circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh, by the circumcision of Christ; buried with Him in baptism, wherein also ye are risen with Him through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised Him from the dead." The great apostle of the Gentiles and his contemporaries preached "Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling block, and unto the Greeks foolishness; but unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God," unto salvation. Alas! we may see and believe from the conduct and conversation of thousands in this our gospel day, and these too in the higher walks of life, as well as in every other, without exclusion of sex, age, or condition,—that however this may be overlooked and unheeded, the same will judge these unhappy mortals at the last day. They will then remember how

they have been striven with on particular occasions, when the Lord's visitations have been extended towards them in love indescribable; staining the glory of this world in their sight; wooing, entreating, warning, and as when reasoning "of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come," making them afraid; stirring up the precious principle of life, procured by the shedding of a Saviour's blood; as when "an eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings," to strengthen, cherish, and save. A day will certainly come upon them as a thief in the night, unless averted by "repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ," when such will have, in spite of themselves, to look upon Him whom they have so long pierced; when they will find this "still small voice" to be the voice of the Lord in Spirit, "powerful and full of majesty," to the guilty soul. The judge standeth at the door—He who when on earth in the body prepared for him, told those who then disregarded His holy voice, that his words should judge them at the last day;—"I judge no man," said he;—"the word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him in the last day."

"Then let us press towards the mark for the prize immortal, the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus: let us be found striving together for the faith of the gospel; until we all come into the unity of the same, and thereby grow in grace and stature from measure to measure, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ Jesus our Lord. Let us not stop short, until we have obtained the like precious faith, once delivered to the saints;—the true faith of the gospel, which worketh by love, purifieth the heart, and giveth victory over sin, death, hell, and the grave. A historical or traditional faith, or one that admits of a continuance in sin, is dead and unavailing; but the faith of the gospel is a living, operative principle,—an impenetrable shield: it queneth the fiery darts of the wicked, disarmeth sin, justifieth his happy possessor, and giveth peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ; from whom alone it must be obtained, and for it we must all come to Him, in the humility and simplicity of little children; of whom is the kingdom of heaven, though they be upon earth "the poor in spirit." It is Jesus alone who imparts this heavenly treasure,—faith: He is the blessed author and finisher of it, and from him we must receive the precious gift into our hearts. "The righteousness of God is revealed from faith to faith," to those who walk in the obedience thereof; it is indeed the life of the just, a glorious reality to those who are crucified with Christ, and live thereby. These can adopt

the apostolic language, and say from blessed experience, "I am crucified with Christ: nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me." "Happy is that people that is in such a case: yea, happy is that people, whose God is the Lord." In Him they live; in Him they die; and with Him they are everlastingly blessed.

"The love in which this is dictated, still flows in my heart towards you, and in the same I trust it will be received. And now let me commend you in apostolic language, "to God, and to the word of His grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified;" even that eternal word, which liveth and abideth for ever.\* I remain your affectionate friend, &c. 'D. W.'

\* Henry Freeling, off Paihia, Bay of Islands,  
First month 18th, 1837.'

\* A COPY OF A LETTER FROM THE MISSIONARIES AT PAIHIA.

'Church Missionary Society's Station, Paihia, Bay of Islands, New Zealand, 18th January, 1837.

"Before you bid adieu to New Zealand, we take this opportunity of expressing the pleasure, and, we hope, the edification we have derived, by your unexpected coming to this country.

"We had heard of your benevolent mission to other islands of these seas; but we now have to record the higher gratification of having seen you and your affectionate son amongst us.

"We regret, that circumstances of war and tumult have not made it desirable for you to visit the more extensive field of our labour, south of the Bay of Islands. But we do hope, that the places favoured by your Christian example and addresses, may have seen and heard to profit, and that "at the last day" it may be found that your sojourn here has not been in vain.

"One effect of your visit to New Zealand has been to remind us, that though "there are differences of administrations, it is the same spirit" which actuates the whole of Christ's mystical body, "the Church of the first-born, whose names are written in heaven." With gratitude, also, we have to acknowledge your liberal bestowment of school-books, tracts, clothing for natives, medicines, &c., which will remain behind you as a memorial of your Christian kindness.

"The pleasure of our meeting together, is, alas! now embittered by the painfulness of separation;—but our high calling entitles us to the privilege of a friendship, which is not interrupted by distance or time. We cannot, however, at your advanced age, and the immense distance which will ere long separate us, but be solemnly reminded of the affecting words of the venerable apostle to the elders of Ephesus, "And now I know that ye all among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more!"

"It is our earnest prayer to God, for you, that if



[No circumstance attending Daniel Wheeler's visit to the South Sea Islands, appears to have more painfully affected his feelings, than the observation forced upon him from place to place, of the demoralizing and devastating effects of the intercourse of the natives with the crews of vessels visiting their shores. In some letters, not forming a part of his Journal, he thus alludes to the subject.]

We find that the voyages of the whaling vessels are much longer than formerly, their success being more precarious and uncertain, owing to the increased number of ships engaged in that employ, which constantly disturb a great breadth of ocean, by looking over several hundred square miles of its surface every day; so that the fish are becoming scarcer, and more shy than formerly. We should rejoice to hear of any cause that would reduce the number of shipping which visit these islands for supplies, and to refit; as they only tend to diminish their population, by bringing spirituous liquors amongst the people. It is the suffering case of an afflicted, injured people, and calls for the attention, and that speedily, of the legislature of every country, but particularly of England and America, which are the nations principally implicated in this dreadful traffic. Scarcely a ship arrives, but what has for sale rum, muskets, and gunpowder, for all of which the natives are extremely eager: many of these are denominated 'Temperance ships,' and yet are engaged in producing madness amongst the natives, by furnishing the means of intoxication, at the same time supplying them with weapons of destruction to complete their misery. We saw much of this whilst our lot was cast amongst them: and although in certain

consistent with His will, you may be spared to return to our beloved native land, and to the bosom of your family, to tell all your eyes have seen of "what God hath wrought among the Gentiles by the ministry of reconciliation."

'Pray for us, that the word of the Lord may have free course, and be glorified in New Zealand; and that we may be delivered from unreasonable and wicked men.

'Finally, — — — — —, we bid you farewell, and remain in the bonds of Christian friendship.

'Yours, very affectionately,

'CHARLES BAKER,  
WILLIAM COLENS, —  
JAMES STACK,  
WILLIAM THOMAS FAIRBURN.

'P.S.—A difference of location of several of our brethren, and the absence of some from home, will not allow of their signing their names; but we can confidently say, they fully agree with us in this expression of our sentiments.'

of the islands the use of spirits is forbidden, and the article itself destroyed when found, yet, even in those, there are too many who carry on the trade in an underhand manner; and of late its effects have been more and more apparent. Those who have it in their power effectually to stop it, are in their hearts desirous that it should be allowed; they not only like it themselves, but are fully aware how profitable the sale is to those that deal in it. Again, if my friends at home could witness for themselves the state of many of the islands in these seas, which we have visited,—lamentation and mourning and woe, must inevitably be their portion. Rum, muskets, and gunpowder, are articles brought in great abundance, particularly by the American ships, many of which are styled 'Temperance ships.' It is an incontrovertible fact, that vessels of this description have landed larger quantities of spirits on some islands than any other class of ships. On almost every island the population decreases, and the dreadful ravages made by disease is much aggravated by the use of spirits.

[After giving an affecting description of the consequences of disease, and mentioning that he had, in as many cases as his stock of medicine would allow, successfully checked and eradicated it, he adds:—]

The island of Bolabola is one that has suffered most of any by the introduction of spirits, as it has caused the people to distil their bread-fruit, and every kind of food capable of producing spirit. I can never forget the abject wretched state of these people, with scarcely rags to cover them, in want of every thing, and possessing nothing to purchase any thing with, their little property being consumed in order to obtain spirits: the famished appearance also, of the more than half-naked children, who abound, will long retain a place in my memory, in that love which must ever intercede on behalf of, and plead the cause of suffering humanity. The little things used to come on board to us; and when on shore, we were surrounded in a few minutes by delighted groups of them. My heart often revisits Bolabola, and gladly would I bind up her wretched inhabitants in the Lord's bundle of life for ever.

20th.—Yesterday, the weather was fine and wind fair. In the evening, the island of New Zealand was scarcely distinguishable from the deck. We are now steering a course for New South Wales, I trust, in the right line of things, to reach the port of Sydney, having nothing on my mind towards any other place. Not having sat down yesterday, we held our

little meeting this morning; the forepart was more lively than sometimes, but the latter, as regards myself, was unusually heavy. At sun-down, three whaling vessels were in company together. As night approached, a heavy swell from the north-east, and a still heavier from the southward, increased upon us, after having fairly passed the isles of the three Kings of New Zealand. The vessel lurched with such violence and suddenness, owing to these cross and heavy swells of the sea, that about ten o'clock P. M., the topmast was carried away. By midnight, the fragments of the mast, and the shattered rigging and sail were rescued and properly secured.

24th.—On first-day, the weather being too rough for us to admit much light into the cabin, and the heat being oppressive in the vessel below deck, our crew were not assembled as at other times. Fair wind and heavy sea through the day. Our captain ascertained that seventy miles had been lost in forty-eight hours, by an opposing current; to which cause the cross swell and agitated state of the sea might fairly be attributed. To-day, our people were employed in substituting our flying jib-boom for a topmast, which as a jury mast, will help to drive us along; but in point of strength it is much inferior to the old topmast, which came from England with us, and has stood ever since; happily no one was hurt when the accident of losing it occurred, which ought to be remembered with thankfulness of heart.

26th.—To-day, the weather is favourable with less wind; we made but little headway. We sat down in the forenoon in much poverty and strippedness, and yet under a peaceful covering. My Charles complains to-day of much pain in his side, owing I believe to the great damp in the cabin, produced by our having been closely shut up, to prevent the sea from getting down in a wholesale manner; but the water makes its way through so many places in the decks, as to make every article of clothing and bedding too damp for use: we have, however, no alternative, and hope in a few days, again to see better times. A sight of New Holland, will, I trust, revive and animate us.

27th.—Gentle breezes and fair all night. At three o'clock A. M., Lord Howe's Island was discovered upon the lee-bow, and at day-break Ball's Pyramid on the weather-bow. At ten o'clock, passed between them with breeze from the north north-east. Upon Lord Howe's Island, there are three Englishmen residing, who have women from New Zealand as wives. It appears that they have raised hogs, potatoes and cabbages, sufficient for the supply of fourteen whaling vessels in a year.

We are, this day at noon, four hundred miles from the shores of New Holland. Charles seems better this morning.

28th.—The heat of the atmosphere quite oppressive, and below deck almost insupportable. After midnight the lightning was extremely vivid all round us, with thunder at times awfully loud and near the vessel; the rain falling in torrents, and the wind flying about, first on one side, and then on the other. At five o'clock A. M., the breeze became strong and steady from the south south-east, which enabled us to pursue our course.

29th, first-day.—A portion of the Scriptures was read to the crew, only three of whom attended. The air much cooler since the thunder-storm. The state of feeling with me, both as to mind and body, for the last two days, cannot be easily described; the former, as if it had never known good; and yet the loss could not be felt, if the possession had never been witnessed. It is, however, to myself a relieving proof or evidence that a spark of life still remains, for that which is dead cannot feel: but outward circumstances, which affect the body, also bear upon the mind, though imperceptibly, and at the moment unthought of as having any share in the mental conflict. Below deck the water filters through upon us in many places: the deck above us is drenched again and again by the breaking tops of the waves; the motion of the vessel is so violent and incessant as to admit of no rest, either sitting or lying, and walking is altogether impracticable. Perhaps, the motto of 'Brighter hours will come,' is particularly appropriate in our case; and we may yet be permitted to realize the fact itself, and the language of David be ours,—"God hath spoken in his holiness; I will rejoice."

30th.—A fresh gale all night; but the moon rising about midnight, enabled us to run towards the land without fear. At daylight, several parts of the coast could be seen, from Port Stephen to the eastward. At eight o'clock A. M., the light-house upon the South Head appeared. Strong breezes with considerable sea from the southward and eastward. Soon after getting sight of the Heads, which form the entrance into Sydney, a bark was seen standing into the offing, that had just come out of the harbour. Not knowing but that she was one of the homeward bound for England, and thinking this might possibly be an opportunity of letting our dear friends know of our return to New South Wales, from the isles of the Pacific, the Henry Freeling's flag was hoisted immediately, but, on getting nearer to her, she was found to be a whaling vessel, by the number of boats she carried. At ten o'clock, took in a pilot and bore up for the harbour,



and before two o'clock were safely anchored in the cove. In the evening, moored close under the government domain, about thirty yards from the shore, by the side of the *Jessie*, of Liverpool. Here we found several ships preparing to take in cargoes for London, also the *Rattlesnake* and *Victor* men-of-war. Our arrival was soon known in the neighbourhood. Abraham Davy was shortly on board, and our dear friends J. B. and G. W. W. were not long before they reached us: our joy was mutual at seeing each other's faces again, and I trust that our hearts were filled with gratitude and thankfulness to Him, who had sustained us through all, and brought it about for His great name's sake. It was afterwards ascertained, that a number of letters from England and home were lying in store for us. Accounts of the welfare of our beloved family at Shoosharry, beyond my most sanguine expectations, were received up to within seven months of the present date; not having heard of them for nearly two years, they seemed now restored to us again, as a treasure enhanced in value an hundred fold indeed, but still far beyond the reach of full possession. Humbled under a sense of the Lord's everlasting love and faithfulness, my heart rejoiced before Him.

Second month 2nd, fifth-day.—Attended the meeting in Sydney at eleven A. M., held in a comfortable building, erected for the purpose during our absence from these shores. Twelve persons were the whole number present: it was a silent meeting. May faith and strength be more and more increased, if consistent with the Divine will, and a door effectually opened for the word of the gospel to be declared amongst these people; that the name of the Lord may be glorified, and the way of life and salvation, as it is in Jesus, set before them, to the exaltation of the blessed Saviour's spiritual kingdom in the heart of man; of the increase of whose government and peace, there shall be no end, but the earth shall be filled with His praise.

[Daniel Wheeler and his son remained at Sydney until the 30th of seventh month, when they sailed for Hobart Town. Much public service did not devolve upon him whilst at Sydney; when health permitted, he regularly attended the meetings for worship on first and fifth days, kept up by a few individuals professing with Friends in that town, which were not unfrequently resorted to by others. Soon after their arrival at Sydney, agreeably with arrangements made on leaving England, the *Henry Freeling* was sold, the ship's company were discharged, and the numerous surplus stores belonging to the ship disposed of; these

engagements undertaken in an exhausted state of health, occupied much time.

The following extracts from his journal and letters, refer to this period.]

To J. K.

Sydney, Third month 3rd, 1837.

——— I consider it no small favour that our crew have passed through the voyage amongst the islands in so exemplary a manner. Their good behaviour was remarked and commented on by the missionaries and others, at various places. They seemed to consider themselves bound to do nothing that would be likely to bring reproach on the vessel, on account of the object which she was engaged to promote. Instead of being shunned and feared as dangerous people by the missionaries, which is the case with the generality of sailors, they were looked upon as quite a different class of men, and treated with marked kindness on account of their orderly deportment. Towards the latter part of the voyage, their patience began to get exhausted: they longed for home; and on reaching New Zealand they were like people "weary in well doing;" but I think this arose in great measure from our unavoidably coming into close contact with other vessels, where they could not fail to be assailed with continual jeers; and the ridiculous stories as to the supposed strict discipline they were under in our vessel, (such as their having to pay a dollar for every oath they swore,) seemed to make them think they really were rigidly treated, and their just rights withheld from them. Two or three of them at one time seemed desirous of settling in New Zealand; this served to amuse, and keep their thoughts engaged, and I promised them their discharge on reaching New Holland. Sometimes in the night watches, I used to lay before them the comfort they might enjoy when they got to England, if they took proper care of their money; and some of them seemed quite to enter into the idea of not having to go to sea again, which with a little assistance might certainly have been realized.

It was my earnest desire on first setting out, that our voyage together might truly be one towards the kingdom of heaven; but now, if I except two or three individuals, every hope of this kind has vanished, and has been exchanged for the painful certainty, that after all the advantages they have enjoyed, and the victory they seemed to have gained over the temptations which in former days had so often prevailed over them, they have again relapsed to their old degradation. Perhaps they may not have gone to the full extent that it is common in this horrible place; yet there is little

doubt that they have nearly got through their money in a dissipated manner.

However much this is to be deplored on their account, it is a consolation that nothing of the sort occurred while they belonged to the Henry Freeling, and that whatever infamy they may bring upon themselves, it is altogether unconnected with that vessel, and cannot bear in the least on the object of her late voyage. Their conduct here is thought nothing of, and passes unnoticed amidst the general mass of wickedness with which this place overflows. Let the conduct of those sailors be ever so notorious, no one asks to what ship they belong; the thing is so common, and of hourly occurrence.

#### TO THE SAME.

Sydney, Third month 18th, 1837.

Our dear friends J. B. and G. W. W. took their departure from these shores last first-day, the 12th instant; so that we are sitting desolate, and somewhat resembling those that are forsaken; but, alas! not amongst an afflicted people. Would that I could say so; but instead of this, I think this is as wicked a place as any I have seen, which have not been a few in my day. Pride and haughtiness abound, and lamentable ignorance of spiritual religion is manifest on every side: indeed few seem to make even an outward profession of it. Drunkenness appears to be the prevailing sin, which leads to the most deadly amongst the working part of the community, although it is not confined to their grade. The major part of the lower order are bound in the fetters of popery; and for the most part are prisoners who have obtained tickets of leave, or they are what are called assigned servants, many of whom have been accustomed to crime from their very youth. The contrast is very and painfully striking with what we have seen among the poor and benighted islanders, with whom our lot has lately been cast; the situation of many of these may be considered enviable, when compared with the miserable wretchedness of many here, who consider themselves Christians. Cursing and bitterness resound continually through the streets; and extortion and deceit prevail almost universally among the shop-keepers, on whose promises hardly any dependence can be placed. Many have amassed considerable wealth by extortion and the sale of spirits; and having risen only as from a dung-hill, are living as if there was no God, no judgment, and no world to come,—and length of days at their command. Those who come out as settlers are generally of a better stamp, though even among these there is little stability of character.

This is the state of the rising and fast flourishing colony of Sydney and its neighbourhood; but the most grievous thing we witness is the miserable condition of the aborigines of the country, who are frequently seen rolling about the streets in groups, altogether intoxicated; whilst their emaciated frames declare, that they are fast wasting from the surface of the earth. They too, are following the dreadful example set before them, of cursing and swearing in the English tongue, which they have learnt from their exterminating visitors.

How long we may have to remain here, I know not; but I desire to be resigned to wait the blessed Master's time.

26th.—In the forenoon meeting yesterday I had a close, searching testimony to bear, standing up with the words of our Lord,—“If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out: it is better for thee to enter into the kingdom of God with one eye, than having two eyes, to be cast into hell fire; where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.” Stating that I believed it safest for me to revive these expressions in their hearing, lest there should be any present who were sensible that something stood in the way between them and eternal life; and though this might be dear to them as a right hand, a right foot, or a right eye, it would be their soul's true interest to pluck it out, or cut it off, and cast it from them, before it was too late to enter into life, even halt or maimed or with one eye, and before the day of the Lord's visitation was passed away for ever. Entreating all to lay aside every weight and every burden, and that sin which most easily besets, and “run with patience the race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of our faith; who, for the joy that was set before Him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God.”

Fourth month 3rd.—Yesterday the forenoon meeting was better attended than is frequently the case; in the course of which it was with me to recite the words of the Saviour to his disciples,—“If ye love me, keep my commandments;”—stating my belief that it would be difficult to find any who profess to believe in Christ, who have not a hope that they love Him. But let us prove what ground we have for this hope by the test of obedience, and examine how far we really have obeyed the commands of Christ: His commandments, as His promises, are “yea and amen for ever.” “Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness.” Have we obeyed this important command? Has this been the



employment of our life, as the first and primary object of our search, by which all things needful shall be added unto us? Or have we only occasionally remembered it, whilst following with eagerness after the follies, and vanities, and riches of the world; instead of laying up for ourselves "treasure in heaven?" Have we been securing to ourselves the enduring riches of eternity, by seeking this kingdom as it should be sought, "first" before all other things? It is time for some of us who are advanced in life, diligently to examine how we stand in this important search, and more especially so for those who make mention of His name before men. It is evident, that those whom our Lord enjoined to "seek first the kingdom of God," were fearful that whilst in pursuit of this heavenly treasure, they should fall short of the food and raiment necessary for their poor perishing bodies. "Behold the fowls of the air:" "Consider the lilies of the field," &c., said our Saviour, as encouragement to these of "little faith."

8th.—Attended the funeral of the wife of William Satterthwaite. The privilege of interment in the ground recently bequeathed to the Society of Friends, was granted at his request, his wife having formerly been a member. This being the first interment at Sydney conducted after the manner of Friends, it is probable that many would have attended out of curiosity, had not the morning been extremely wet. The whole was conducted in a consistent manner. I had to remind those present, that to our own Master we must stand or fall: the work is our own, and the reward is our own. "No man can save his brother." And although nothing said or done by the living can possibly affect the dead; yet the dead are often powerful preachers to the living, warning them to flee from the wrath to come, by preparing for their latter end. "For we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in the body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad." "Every man's work shall be made manifest, for the day shall declare it." Blessed and happy are they that are building on the ancient and sure foundation, which the righteous in all ages have built upon;—even Christ Jesus, that tried corner-stone;—"unto the Jews a stumbling block, and unto the Greeks foolishness; but unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God." This is a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence to all unbelievers now, as in the day when this declaration was made; but to those who believe, it is "a chief corner-stone, elect, precious,"—and the blessed means appointed for

the salvation of all mankind, who are willing to submit to the power of the Holy Spirit of the Lord Jesus in the heart. Although it was a scene never before witnessed here, those present were very attentive and solid, and I had peace: it appeared afterwards, that two Jews were present in the grave yard.

9th, first-day.—In the forenoon meeting I had to set forth the righteousness of Christ Jesus; without which, none can enter the kingdom of heaven. There are many highly professing Christians in this our day, who like the Scribes and Pharisees of old, have a righteousness of their own making; but a more excellent righteousness must be attained to, than any that man is capable of clothing himself with, before the heart is converted unto God. "Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven," was declared by our Lord. Now this righteousness which excelleth, is of the Lord; and none but His children who have been taught of Him, are acquainted with it. There are many who take upon themselves to teach others the way to the heavenly kingdom, who "being ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteousness, have not submitted themselves to the righteousness of God." Nothing but the righteousness of Christ Jesus believed in, and operating in our hearts, by the power of the Holy Spirit, and submitted to on our part, will be availing. It is this alone that can purify us as He is pure, and procure for us an entrance into the everlasting kingdom of "righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." Whatever may be our profession before men, if we have not the righteousness of Christ Jesus, we shall be like the poor man of whom we read; who, destitute of the wedding garment, was speechless, when the question was put to him by the king,—“Friend, how camest thou in hither, not having a wedding garment?” After this manner I was largely opened amongst them. Some strangers were present, but the whole number did not, I think, exceed eighteen persons. The evening meeting was smaller, but held under a comfortable quiet.

15th.—This week the passengers from the ship *Lady Macnaughten* have been landed; after being some weeks under quarantine, which the vessel was subjected to on arrival. We understand that there has been great suffering among them during the latter part of the voyage for want of the actual necessities of life: many of them have been swept away by a contagious disorder, which prevailed on board. It is much to be regretted that no efficient measures are in force, to protect the

emigrants from the cruel rapacity of some of the ship owners and agents.

23rd, first-day.—This morning attended the funeral of William Satterthwaite. During a solemn pause before the coffin was lowered into the grave, I had to call the attention of the by-standers to the awful instance before us, of the necessity of being prepared individually for the great change: "prepare to meet thy God," was sounded among them. None of us know how soon the undeniable messenger may be sent to our houses:—are we then acquainted with the appointed means of salvation? Nothing will avail us in that hour of extremity, but an interest in the Lord Jesus, unto whom all power in heaven and earth is given. He died for the sins of all mankind, that all mankind might live. Are we acquainted with the power of his Holy Spirit in our hearts. Have we not felt this power in our hearts when we have committed sin, convincing us of sin, and reproofing for it. Have we bowed to it in obedience, and acknowledged its might, and thereby known its sufficiency to save from our sins? If so, we have hearkened to the voice of the well-beloved Son, in spirit. But if we have resisted this power when striving with us, set it at naught, and rebelled against it, the day will yet come upon us, when we shall have to bow before it, but it will be in judgment for sin and transgression unrepented of, in anguish of heart for having thus disregarded the Holy Spirit, purchased by the blood of the Lamb of God. There might be some present of various religious sentiments; but however our opinions differ in some things, in one we shall all agree, that we must all die, and all stand before the judgment seat of Christ: then, how needful it is for us to be ready, when called upon to return the spirit unto God who gave it, with joy and not with grief.

30th, first-day.—In the forenoon meeting it was with me to revive the language of the apostle when addressing the primitive believers, who had witnessed the beauty and spirituality of the gospel dispensation, when every man may sit under his own vine, and under his own fig tree, and none shall make him afraid; which is realized at this day, to all true believers in the second coming of the Lord Jesus, by the Holy Spirit in the heart of man;—"The anointing which ye have received of Him (Christ) abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you; but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no lie, and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in Him." What a great and precious privilege it is to be permitted to sit as at the feet of Jesus, to hear the gracious words that proceed from Him;

it is the one thing needful for all to do,—the part which Mary chose, and which our Lord declared should never be taken away from her. It is this inward teaching of the Holy Spirit, that I want all to believe in, and be acquainted with for and in themselves. Those who have received from Him the anointing which abideth, are qualified to give an account of the hope that is in them, not only in meekness and fear, but from heart-felt knowledge of the coming of the Son of God in spirit. "We believe and are sure that thou art that Christ," said Simon Peter, when many had turned back and walked no more with Him, on account of the narrowness of the path which leads to life. "Will ye also go away," said our Lord to the few remaining disciples:—"to whom shall we go?" said Peter,—“Thou hast the words of eternal life; and we believe and are sure, that thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God.” Of this, and of the blessedness of those who come to this knowledge, I had further to impart.

[It was whilst at Sydney that Daniel Wheeler received the deeply affecting intelligence of the death of his eldest son, William Wheeler, who had succeeded his father in his agricultural concerns in Russia. He died on the 24th of eleventh month, 1836, at the Sand Rock Hotel, near Niton, on the Isle of Wight, to which place he had resorted for a more genial climate: his illness was a consumption, which rapidly terminated his life. The first intelligence of this event came to hand in a public journal, and proved a keen stroke; but was borne with much Christian resignation. The life of William Wheeler had been marked by watchfulness and prayer; and a conscientious regard to the pointing of Divine wisdom in the discharge of his religious duties, as well as by an active and diligent attention to his concerns in business;—his end was eminently crowned with peace, and an humble and confiding trust in redeeming mercy.]

Fifth month 30th.—A letter has reached us by way of Hobarton, from our beloved Joshua, conveying the long anticipated confirmation of the painful report already in our possession, that our dear William has finished his earthly course.\* Although we have lost what never can be regained in this world; yet the accompanying particulars of his last

\* His son Joshua was removed by death about four years after; his decease took place at Clifton, on the 29th of Third month, 1841. He was mercifully permitted, towards the close of life, to enjoy a trembling, but we trust a well-founded hope of acceptance.



days administered great consolation and relief, and raised in my heart a tribute of humble thankfulness to the great Preserver of men, who indeed "loveth his own unto the end;" at once removing all my doubts, and causing me in the depths of distress, to triumph with admiration at the loving-kindness of the Lord to the poor and to "him that hath no helper." On reviewing with calmness the provision which has been made for every exigency of the case, I was constrained to acknowledge, that had it been practicable, I could not have made any arrangement more satisfactory to myself; so that while I am enabled to say Amen, so be it, to this dispensation of His holy will, who wrought the work,—I can rejoice in the sustaining belief, and give thanks at the remembrance of His holiness, that the loss sustained is only ours; to the dear departed soul it is eternal gain, through the tender mercy of God in Christ Jesus. And now, some things which at first sight only seemed to aggravate and add to our affliction, appear to have formed a part of the great whole which has been vouchsafed, by having in degree prepared our minds for the mournful event, of which we were afterwards more fully to be informed. Although the tidings received through a channel so unexpected and abrupt, plunged us at once into deep affliction, as a stern harbinger of woe; yet even this could afterwards be viewed as a blessing in disguise, gradually to lighten the weight of an overwhelming reality, and lessen the density of the gloom about to envelope us. "By watering, he wearieth the thick cloud," saith Job; so doth the tear of affection when shed in meekness and submission, soften the heart's keenest anguish, until the dark cloud of grief dissolves into resignation to the Divine will, and is sanctified to the praise and glory of God. For some days my dear Charles could not divest himself of the idea, that such a report might have got into the newspaper accidentally and without any foundation in fact; but this slender ray of hope was of short duration.

Sixth month 11th, first-day.—Since the 30th ultimo my pen has been laid aside as to a record of passing events, either outward or inward. My harp has been hung, as it were, upon the willow, and my lips have been sealed; but at seasons my heart has been softened by the love of God, and my peace has been permitted to flow as the stream of a mighty river, sheltered from every ruffling blast, and too strong to be impeded by trifles. In the meeting this evening a word of encouragement was spoken to the poor and needy, that are hungering and thirsting after heavenly food, and looking to the Lord alone for their soul's

nourishment: verily the Lord will hear them, and they shall be fed.

18th.—Since last first-day, various have been my trials and provings; but the Divine hand has sustained through all; and by letters now received from England I am greatly comforted, inasmuch as the belief so strong in my heart, of the mercy and compassion of my God, is more than ever confirmed as regards the close of my precious William,—in several particulars far more abundantly than I could have conceived; and above all, in the certain evidence that He hath crowned him with everlasting life:—I had nothing more to ask. "The Lord hath heard the voice of my weeping;—the Lord hath heard my supplication;—the Lord hath received my prayer;" and the kingdom, and the power, and the glory are His, for ever.

26th.—The way seems now to open more and more for us to leave this place: I humbly pray that we may be rightly directed, both as to the time, and the next place of our destination.

At our morning meeting yesterday several persons attended, who were evidently unaccustomed to sit in silence: they stayed till near the conclusion of the meeting. A Friend who has lately come to settle here, spoke a few words, though perhaps from diffidence too long withheld, to the effect that, the most eloquent language, if the heart be not right, however esteemed among men, is an abomination in the sight of God, who seeth not as man seeth. "Man looketh at the outward appearance, but the Lord looketh on the heart."

Seventh month 10th.—On first-day the 2nd, both the meetings were held in silence throughout: this cannot be wondered at, when the expectation of many that attend on these days is evidently placed upon man, instead of gathering inward to the great Teacher of his people. Yesterday, the forenoon meeting was also held in silence: in the evening the new covenant and its holy Mediator Christ Jesus, were proclaimed amongst the people, to my own relief. A solemn feeling was vouchsafed, under which we separated.

17th.—The fore-part of the morning meeting yesterday was greatly disturbed by persons coming in, and shortly going out again: towards the conclusion more settled quiet prevailed. The evening meeting was altogether more comfortable. The complaint of the Most High, through the holy prophet to His people formerly, it is greatly to be feared, is equally applicable to many professing Christianity in this gospel day, as when uttered by Divine inspiration, in that period of degeneracy:—"The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib; but Israel doth not know, my

people do not consider." I was largely opened to speak of the means mercifully afforded to all, through the blood of Jesus; by whom alone we can come to a saving knowledge of God the Father, and of His beloved Son, on which knowledge eternal life depends.

During the past week a cargo of male convicts arrived from London; and one of female convicts from Dublin. A vessel also came in with male emigrants from Scotland; and another with females from Ireland; the former having lost twenty-three of her passengers in typhus fever during her voyage, was placed under quarantine on arrival.

15th.—Attended the funeral of our landlord, who died after a severe illness four days ago. It was not a pleasing task, to bear our public testimony against the forms and practices adopted on such occasions; but I did not feel satisfied to absent myself. The service was performed according to the usual forms of the Episcopalian establishment; and although consisting of Scripture language was painfully inapplicable to the occasion. Our standing the whole time with our hats on, might be a new thing in the colony, but no notice was openly taken of it.

22nd.—Arrived the Marian Watson from Hobarton. Went on board and secured our passage on her return. Two days ago we very accidentally ascertained, from a public print, that the house and furniture where we are lodging are advertised for sale almost immediately. This circumstance, for want of any previous notice, has subjected us to much inconvenience, and no light expense, as the Marian Watson will not be ready for sea for some time to come, so that we must occupy fresh quarters in the mean time. It may, however, serve renewedly to remind us, that here we have no continuing city of habitation; but if when the conflicts of time are ended, we should be mercifully favoured to reach one that hath foundations and is everlasting, every earthly change and suffering will be light as the dust of the balance, and not worth a thought; save only as they may have contributed to work for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.

24th.—Having with much fatigue removed all our baggage to a hotel near the head of the cove, to be in readiness for embarkation, we expected to have ample time to make our final arrangements in a comfortable manner; but my Charles is so much indisposed, that I scarcely know whether to venture the risk of removing to Hobarton at this inclement season. He does not, however, appear willing, notwithstanding present discouragements, that the voyage should be delayed. Our lodgings are so infested with rats, that little undisturbed

rest can be obtained at night; though we have exerted all the skill we are masters of, in blocking up their numerous holes, and have the assistance of an excellent cat.

30th, first-day.—In the forenoon attended the meeting; I had to bear testimony to the power of Truth in the heart, if believed in and submitted to. Just as we are concerned to dwell near to this power in our daily walks through life, shall we be permitted to witness its influence upon our minds, when met together for the purpose of worshipping that God who is a Spirit, and must be worshipped in spirit and in truth. It was declared by the Saviour of the world, when personally on earth, that where two or three are gathered together in His name, there is He in the midst of them. But it would be well for us all to examine, whether we are met in His name; whether His name, which is His power, doth rule and reign in our hearts; whether our thoughts are brought into obedience to the Spirit of Truth. None can meet in His name, in the expectation of witnessing His presence in the midst of them, but those who are subject to his power. It is for want of submission to this power in our hearts, that so many sit in dry places, where there is neither dew, nor rain, nor fields of offering. Such go from meetings as they came, barren, unfruitful, and unrefreshed; yet the Divine promise stands fast: "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."

31st.—Left the colony of New South Wales with a gentle and favourable breeze. There are on board ten prisoners in chains, with a guard of five soldiers, making up with the captain, crew and passengers, thirty-nine persons.

[After a voyage of eleven days, they reached Hobart Town, where they rejoined our friends J. B. and G. W. W. Here again the ministerial labours of Daniel Wheeler, appear to have been pretty much confined to the meetings for Divine worship, kept up in this town by persons professing with Friends, and regularly held on first and fifth-days.]

[Extract from a letter dated Hobart Town, Eighth month 16th, 1837.]

It is encouraging to observe, that the number of those who profess with us in this place is considerably increased, since our visit three years ago; but the house where they meet is so small, that the addition of Charles and myself amounts almost to an inconvenience, and the members are not in a capacity of themselves to remedy the difficulty. On first-day last, in the morning,



eight persons appeared in the ministry; and I think the persevering manner in which several of these attend, under very discouraging circumstances, and the solid deportment they manifest, is a strong indication of their having found something, which "the topaz of Ethiopia cannot equal" in value, nor the wealth of the universe purchase. About forty persons were present. Of the above individuals alluded to as having spoken, six are of those who have joined the Society by conviction. I am told that occasionally a still greater number than this open their mouths; and is it not a natural consequence, that as the heart believeth unto righteousness, with the mouth confession is made unto salvation. If these were to hold their peace, would not the very stones cry out? In my apprehension it does not necessarily follow, that such as these must become hereafter, or be extensively employed as gospel ministers; although they are thus constrained, like the tenth leper that was cleansed, to return and give glory to God, from a sensible conviction of the working of the power of the Spirit of Him, who speaketh in righteousness, is mighty to save from sin, and that to the very uttermost. I need not say more of these interesting people, as I find from dear J. B., that their case is already known to Friends in England in every particular.

22nd.—We attended a meeting of the temperance society, held in Hobart Town: my mind is more and more impressed with the great importance of this institution, from a conviction that next to the gospel of life and salvation, and the circulation of the Holy Scriptures, it is of the highest importance to the well being of the human race. Nothing stands more opposed to the benign influence of the gospel than intemperance. I believed it my duty to speak on this important subject.

27th.—In the forenoon the little meeting-house was filled. J. B. had good service both in testimony and supplication. The afternoon meeting was somewhat smaller: J. B. had again to exercise his gift. Although much of what was expressed during the day passed before the view of my mind, yet not feeling what I deem sufficient qualification to warrant my standing up, I had no part in the vocal service; and although under much poverty of spirit was not conscious of having withheld what should have been uttered.

Tenth month 1st, first-day.—In the forenoon an individual who has attended meetings for some time, expressed a few words under much exercise of mind: he said, it has been strongly impressed upon his mind to say, "the meek shall inherit the earth,"—adding, and the humble Christian doth inherit all

things. After some other communications, I had to remind the meeting that the two mites cast into the treasury by the poor widow, were of more value than all that had been given by the rich; these gave of their abundance, but she had given all that she had. It is not the magnitude of the offering that insureth its acceptance with the Lord: He seeth not as man seeth. "Lebanon is not sufficient to burn, nor the beasts thereof for a burnt offering."—"To obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken to the voice of the Lord than the fat of rams."—"If ye know these things," said our Lord to his immediate followers, "happy are ye, if ye do them." Knowledge will profit us little, unless obedience keeps pace therewith. It is not the hearers of the law, but the doers, that are justified in the sight of Almighty God. "It is not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord," said Christ, "that shall enter into the kingdom, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven." Therefore whilst we labour after humility and resignation of mind in sincerity to say, "not my will but thine be done,"—let us at the same time be earnestly desirous to ascertain what is the Lord's will concerning us. But this can never be done in the noise and mixture of the world; it must be sought for in retirement, in the silence of all flesh, and that more frequently than the returning morning, and in the night watches also. We cannot reasonably expect to be entrusted with a knowledge of the Divine will, if we conform to the world and its practices. "Be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind; that ye may prove what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of God." The judgments of the Lord must pass over the transgressing nature in our hearts to redeem us therefrom; and it is only by and through the righteousness of Christ believed in and operating in us, that our minds can be transformed and renewed unto God. The meeting was in the fore part very unsettled and discouraging, but it ended well under a very solemn feeling.

31st.—Not feeling bound to remain any longer on this side of the globe, we this day engaged places in the Lloyds, which arrived yesterday, with part of her cargo of oil, to load out here for London.

Eleventh month 3rd.—Accompanied J. B. and G. W. W. on board the Eudora, who were about to proceed to some of the South Australian settlements. We did not think well to add to their unsettled situation by remaining long on board; but soon took leave, parting from them in much love, and under a feeling of Divine regard. Whether we shall ever meet again in this world is very doubt-

ful; and as regards myself at least, I consider it a final parting; yet we know the Lord can lengthen out our days at his pleasure. To Him I desire to commend both them and ourselves. The *Eudora* was crowded with passengers, and in my apprehension a very undesirable vessel to sail in; but our dear friends seemed to have no alternative left.

27th.—This day completed my sixty-sixth year. May the Lord be graciously pleased to make me more and more, a living monument of his everlasting mercy; and to humble me before Him under a sense thereof, until He shall say “it is enough.”

30th.—Visited a young man in the hospital, who has just arrived here as a convict. His family were formerly in comfortable circumstances in England. He appears to have long strayed from the paths of virtue; but the laws of his country have now arrested his wild career, and he is sensible of his deplorable situation. I was led to commiserate his case, thinking it very possible, that though the hand of human justice has overtaken him, and he is doomed to several years of painful and degrading exile; yet that in reality he may not have been more evil-disposed than some others, who have escaped the laws of man, and who have in a still greater degree transgressed the laws of a righteous God, and been still more offensive in His sight. Amongst these I feel willing to number myself, remembering as I write, the words of the compassionate Saviour, “Or those eighteen on whom the tower of Siloam fell and slew them, think ye that they were sinners above all men that dwell in Jerusalem? I tell you nay; but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.”

Twelfth month 7th.—Received a letter from our cousin J. K., communicating the mournful intelligence that my precious Jane had finished her course, and entered into rest. These tidings had truly flown apace, as it still wanted eight days to complete the fourth month since they were despatched from Petersburg. Although this was sudden at last, and truly overwhelming for a time, yet the mercy and goodness of our heavenly Father soon changed the strain of sorrow, into that of adoration and thanksgiving,—binding up all the wounds of affliction in the healing virtue of His everlasting love: for her end had been truly peaceful; death was deprived of its sting, and the grave of its victory. Thus, the eldest and the youngest of my flock, have been gathered, since we left them, into the arms of everlasting mercy; whilst we are left a little longer in this vale of tears. May the Lord Most High be graciously pleased to prepare us also in like manner, for the heavenly kingdom.

After calling upon all our friends and ac-

quaintance for the last time, and desiring their welfare in the utmost signification of the word ‘farewell,’ we embarked on board the *Lloyds* late in the evening of the 9th; and early next morning, being first-day, the 10th of twelfth month 1837, we began to glide gently down the Derwent towards Storm Bay. We should have been rejoiced if the first-day could have been spent in harbour; but I believe the captain was desirous to get to sea, in order to keep his crew from getting intoxicated on shore, which often happens on such occasions, and causes serious delay to the shipping.

In the course of our stay at Hobarton we paid several satisfactory visits to the Lieutenant-governor Sir John Frankland and his family. Although the sphere in which they are accustomed to move, is not one that comports with those who profess to be followers of the lowly Jesus; yet we were not satisfied to shrink from such exposure altogether, however the non-compliance on our parts with the usual practices at such times, might entitle us to the appellation of fools by some of the more gay and thoughtless part of the company; if however the watch was properly maintained, our conduct may prove beneficial to others, by leading them to inquire into the cause of our differing so widely in life and conversation from our fellow-men.

[The voyage to London, by way of Cape Horn, was completed on the 1st of fifth month, 1838.]

[The following are the closing extracts from the *South Sea Journal* :—

After a voyage of four months and twenty days from Van Diemen’s Land, and the changes from heat to cold twice experienced during that time, my own health seemed scarcely to have been impaired; but from the weakly state of my dear Charles, whose constitution had been much shaken by a lengthened illness previous to our leaving Europe, he was less able to bear the total want of vegetables for many weeks, to which we were exposed, and the small quantity of fresh water, and that of a quality scarcely wholesome, to which we were subjected the latter part of the passage. With these disadvantages, which there is a reason to believe contributed to reduce his already diminished strength, he landed in a very feeble and languid condition; but I humbly trust, he is under the immediate and protecting care of the great Physician, who alone hath power to heal, and to bless every endeavour to restore.

I should not be satisfied to conclude this unconnected and imperfect narrative, without saying, how greatly I have been aided in the



course of this religious engagement by the missionaries from different societies in Europe and North America; who very kindly acted as interpreters on my behalf to the native congregations on the islands where my lot was cast, and opened their meeting-houses for our accommodation in the most brotherly manner; to whom, for this assistance and Christian kindness many ways exhibited, we feel gratefully and highly indebted.

I may also be allowed to add at the same time, that having been encouraged by my dear friends at home to accept the company of my son Charles Wheeler, I have found him very useful and strengthening to me, during our long sojourn in foreign parts, in a variety of instances, and on many important occasions.

For the best welfare of the dear and interesting people, who inhabit those isles afar off, which in the love of the gospel, I have thus been drawn forth, and enabled to visit,—a petition however feeble, must ever dwell in my heart; and on whose behalf I would earnestly and affectionately crave the fervent aspirations of all my dear brethren and sisters, when it is well with them: and may they unite with me in commemorating the mercy, loving-kindness and faithfulness of Him, who for His great name's sake, and for His beloved Son's sake, wrought the work,—hath so marvellously sustained us through every season of trial and conflict, and delivered us out of every distress: that the thanksgiving of many may resound to His praise, to whom the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, belong for ever.

#### CHAPTER XXXV.

*Attends the yearly meeting in London of 1838—his prospect of religious service in America—visits his family in Russia, Eighth month, 1838—sails to New York, First month, 1839—travels in the United States—attends yearly meetings of Philadelphia, Virginia and New York.*

SHORTLY after leaving England on my way to the islands of the Pacific, an evidence was granted me that I should have to visit North America, after the service on which I was then entering should be accomplished. Such a marvellous unfolding of the Divine will as to the future, so condescendingly vouchsafed and permitted to make an impression on my mind at so great a length of time beforehand, could not fail to support, comfort, and strengthen me in every season of trial and conflict both inward and outward, which I had afterwards to pass through; and although at seasons my mind was put closely to the test,

it was again and again renewed from the heavenly treasury of living faith, to strengthen my confidence in its holy Author and Finisher: for the brightest gleam of that soul-sustaining loving-kindness which is better than life, soon loses its lustre, unless renewed from time to time by Him in whose presence only there is life.

The statement which I felt called upon to render to the yearly meeting held soon after our return to England was very short, as my beloved friends were already in possession of the extracts from my Journal; and the time was not come for me to disclose how I had been favoured with such an evidence beforehand of a safe return to the land of my fathers. My exercise of mind during the yearly meeting may more easily be conceived than described: and though my countenance might sparkle with joy at once more beholding my brethren and sisters in religious fellowship, my heart was full of a subject which nothing could relieve but disclosure; and that seemed denied until the appointed days were fulfilled that the seal should be opened, and the thing proclaimed as on the house-top. At times I would gladly have taken counsel as to the right path of proceeding with my concern; but it seemed my place not to confer with flesh and blood, but to keep my eye steadily fixed on that Almighty power, which alone can qualify us like the left-handed sons of Benjamin, to throw a stone to a hair's-breadth.

Eventually my way opened with clearness to attend Balby monthly meeting, and York quarterly meeting in the sixth month; and having returned the certificates granted five years and a half ago, after a brief statement of my late journey, and mentioning the earnest of a return in safety, which the Lord had granted me, I had to inform Friends that I no longer stood before them as one returning, but as one requesting a certificate to enable me to visit various parts of North America. As regarded my children, for whom I think I felt more than for myself, I remember telling York quarterly meeting when my concern was laid before it, that though human nature keenly felt the separation from, and would gladly remain in possession of its greatest earthly treasure, yet I did believe I could not promote the welfare of my beloved family in any manner so much, as by my own faithfulness to what I apprehended to be the duty required of me. A certificate was granted, setting me at liberty to pursue the prospect then before the view of my mind. That I might not be chargeable in the sight of any, with neglecting to look after the affairs of my own household, it seemed best for me before embarking for America, to visit the residence of my family

on the plains of Shoosharry; although if my own inclination only had been consulted, I should have preferred, on several accounts, proceeding immediately across the Atlantic, after having passed the Morning meeting in London.

[This visit to Russia was satisfactorily accomplished: setting out on the 1st of eighth month, Daniel Wheeler passed about as many weeks at his former abode as he had been years absent; returning through Finland and Stockholm, he reached London again on the 22nd of tenth month, and finally embarked from Liverpool on the 25th of eleventh month following. It was no small trial to leave behind, in a drooping state of health, his son Charles, the faithful companion of his long journeyings. From the boyhood of the latter they had, with but little exception, dwelt under the same roof; and after the very close association of the last few years, almost by day and night, the separation now demanded was more than ordinarily painful to him. In a letter from D. W., written at sea, it is thus alluded to.]

Twelfth month 26th, 1838.

— Having for so many years had the society of my dear Charles, under all circumstances, and through each wintry season as it revolved, I have never before felt so friendless and childless, as is now my portion. This circumstance, and the recollection of the bereavements which have befallen us about this dreary season, combine to darken the shade of the gloomy picture, with a deeper hue than it is wont to have, when clad in its own natural and beautiful, though cheerless garb. Truly may I say, "I had fainted if I had not believed," to see the loving-kindness of the Lord, and the greatness of his goodness, which is laid up for them that fear Him, and that trust in Him before the sons of men. In the time of trouble He doth hide them in His pavillion, in the secret of His tabernacle shall He hide them; He shall set them upon a rock. Although weak and feeble, and utterly unworthy in my own estimation, without might or power, storehouse or barn; yet, through that "mercy" which is "from everlasting to everlasting," I am at seasons, whilst floating on the mighty deep, permitted to feel an inward support in the belief, that I am moving in my heavenly Father's will,—for truly it is not in mine own,—there is one that knoweth and judgeth righteously: of this thing I am sure and certain from incontrovertible evidence, and herein is my rejoicing and hope.

Let none be cast down or discouraged; for greater is He that is for us, than he that is

against us: and although many are the trials of faith and patience, the deep baptisms, and the tribulations which the Lord's children have to pass through, yet He delivereth out of them all; and He will deliver, and that to the very uttermost, all that in sincerity trust in Him. And how doth He mercifully vouchsafe unto such, in the abounding of His love, a blessed portion of that "peace which passeth all understanding," to sustain them in the way that they should go.

[Towards the conclusion of his voyage to America, he thus writes.

First-day, Twelfth month 30th, 1838.—We have seventeen cabin passengers, and amongst this number, several very dissolute characters; who have passed most of the voyage in drinking and gambling, almost day and night: but the succession of storms which have followed us of late, and their disappointment at not reaching our port as they expected, upon which event they have even risked several sums of money,—seem at length to have brought them to their senses in a remarkable manner. This morning, I found my mind brought into deep thoughtfulness; and was willing, if way should open, either to do or to suffer on their account. I thought of mentioning the subject to one of my fellow-passengers, of whose integrity of life and conversation I have had some proof; but no opportunity offered, until he came to me, saying it would be very agreeable to some of the company, and to the captain, if I would address them when assembled together. I told him the subject had rested with me, and that if we could have a time of silence, if any thing arose for expression, it should not be withheld. This he readily undertook to arrange, and at a fixed time, the whole party was collected. I was not aware that this person had previously selected a Psalm to be read by himself, until all was quiet; he then opened the Bible and commenced: it was the thirty-seventh Psalm, and it appeared very appropriate to the occasion. A general silence followed, until my mouth was opened to declare what arose in my mind in the "word of the truth of the gospel;" setting forth the terms of discipleship, and the necessity of a preparation of heart, before true worship can be offered; it was at considerable length, and to my own peace and comfort. They appeared measurably sobered, and have passed the afternoon in a rational manner, some of them for the first time since coming on board. We had a heavy blow last night, and lost the main-top sail before morning, which I think contributed to humble them.



31st.—This evening we were saluted with the joyful sound from a fast sailing clipper schooner, ‘Do you want a pilot?’ which being answered in the affirmative, ‘then heave to’ was the word. Our decks rang with the cheers of all on board I believe, but myself, when our courses were hauled up, and the main-yard immediately thrown to the mast. The pilot soon boarded us to leeward, and the ‘guessing’ shortly commenced,—such as, ‘I guess you are from Liverpool?’ ‘I guess you have had pretty smart weather?’ &c. For my own part, I ‘guessed’ from the rapid motion of the clouds, that we should have another rough night, and so it proved. As the ship was beating to windward, the crew were toiling incessantly through the whole of it; and such was the noise, and confusion on board, that very little sleep could be obtained.

[The Extracts which follow are from Daniel Wheeler’s Journal and letters.]

First month 1st, 1839.—This morning the Never Sink hills were in sight, and we worked up the bay amidst fields of floating ice, drifting from the mouth of the Hudson river. The morning was so foggy in the neighbourhood of the city, that the signal of the telegraph announcing the approach of the George Washington, was not discovered by the ‘look out,’ so that we were within three miles of the wharf at New York, before a steamer came to assist us through the ice. By the way, I think the method of steering the American steamers is admirable: the helmsman is stationed in the fore part of the vessel, where he can see all before him, instead of being in the after part, where he can scarcely see any thing for the masts, &c., of his own vessel: he is also sheltered from the weather in a large lantern, the windows of which, he can open or shut at pleasure. Before noon we were at our desired haven, and I trust that some of our hearts were filled with gratitude and thankfulness.

Though unexpected and a perfect stranger, as by some means I had left England, without any introductions for New York, I was kindly received on shore by J. R. W. In the afternoon, it was finally arranged that I should become an inmate with John and Phebe Clapp.

2nd.—Attended the week-day meeting for worship and the monthly meeting held at its close. In the former, I had a short testimony to bear to the faithfulness of that God with whom we have to do.

4th.—Had a most unexpected visit from my much loved friend S. G., who had come from his home to see me. He struck me as very little altered since we parted in Petersburg

twenty years ago. It was truly delightful to meet him again, though the interview could not fail to awaken many painful recollections of days that are past, when our little family circle was unbroken, and, as far as we can expect enjoyment while on earth, happy in itself. But though many seasons of sorrow were brought to remembrance, the never failing mercy of the Lord could be traced to have compassed us about as with a shield, for His great name’s sake, from the time of our separation up to this very day.

6th, first-day.—In the early part of the meeting this morning I was greatly bowed down; but in the Lord’s time was raised up to declare the way of life and salvation, and the necessity of the whole heart being given up to follow the Son of Man in the regeneration. In the afternoon I had to revive the words of the apostle,—“the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds;”—querying, what we knew of this for ourselves.

15th.—We were favoured with a blessed meeting, when the poor in spirit were declared to be those, to whom the gospel was ever and is still preached. E. C. afterwards knelt down, and gave the glory to Him, who had thus condescended to grant us that drop of heavenly refreshment.

20th.—In the forenoon meeting, I had to declare the necessity for all to come to the knowledge and possession of true faith; which can only be obtained from its ever blessed author and finisher.

23rd.—Attended the Select meeting at Westbury, where I had to encourage Friends to faithfulness in the maintenance of that cause, which is as precious at the present day as when David replied to the remonstrances of his elder brother, “What have I now done? Is there not a cause?” Although in the promotion of this dignified cause, we may have to drink of the cup which the Master drank of, and be baptized with the same baptism that he was baptized withal. The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord, &c.

24th.—Attended the quarterly meeting, in which I had to sound an alarm amongst Friends, declaring that the Most High will have a church, He will have a people for himself, that shall show forth his praise. Many were willing and ready to join in the “Hosanna to the son of David;” but how few were found to confess Him, and to stand by Him, at the blood-stained cross: one betrayed his Master, another denied Him, and they all forsook Him and fled. I stood long on my feet, and had peace afterwards.

On the 25th, the meeting for public worship

was again held, and I was largely opened amongst them. The young people were earnestly entreated to hearken to the voice of wisdom, and offer an early sacrifice to the Lord: and I had to acknowledge the loving-kindness of the Lord in spreading the mantle of His heavenly presence over us, to my own comfort, and I trust to the satisfaction of my brethren also. In the evening, some opportunities were afforded to address large companies of Friends, assembled at each other's houses.

27th.—Attended the meetings for worship, and had service in both, to my own peace.

28th.—Set out for Burlington, by steam-boat to Amboy, from thence by rail-road: the route led by the house and grounds of Joseph Buonaparte, on the banks of the Delaware. A heavy storm of wind and rain on the 26th, had raised the water in many parts to an unusual height, and occasioned much loss of property by sweeping the quays even of heavy articles, such as coal. The rising of the Delaware had spread large masses of ice over the neighbourhood; and the rail-road by which we have travelled was in places entirely hidden by the water, which was still too high to be confined within its usual limits. The car in which we rode held about forty persons, with a stove in the middle of it, well supplied with fuel, which made it sufficiently warm. Reached Burlington as it became dark, and were soon conducted to the abode of dear S. G. Remained here over their preparative meeting on the 31st, and had an opportunity of calling on many Friends.

Second month 1st.—Took leave of the family, where my residence had been delightful. Friends of this place appear to live in much harmony, and have not witnessed many of those afflicting circumstances, in which many other meetings have shared, from the Hicksite apostacy. Proceeded to Philadelphia in company with my country-people T. and E. R., S. G. and other Friends; crossed the Delaware opposite the city by steam bridge: we lodged at the house of Ellis Yarnall, a quiet retreat indeed. Next day I attended and had service in the Select meeting.

3rd, first-day.—Attended the meeting for the Western district in the morning, and was largely engaged therein. In the afternoon was at the Arch Street meeting, and from the oppressive heat of the house, had to labour under discouraging circumstances as to the body, but was enabled to declare the way of the Lord amongst them.

4th.—The quarterly meeting was held this day: it was the largest meeting of Friends I ever saw, except the yearly meeting in London: the attendance was greater, perhaps by

one-third, on the women's side of the house, than on the men's; and this is more or less the case wherever I go. I had to press upon Friends the necessity of attaining that state, which characterizes all the living members of the gospel church.

8th.—Attended the meetings in the northern and western districts, and had good service therein. The former is considered the largest in Philadelphia.

On the 12th, 13th, and 14th, I attended the North, the Orange Street and the Arch Street meetings, in all of which my mouth was opened.

On the 15th, I visited an afflicted family, the mother having died two days before. After seeing the corpse, we had a contriting opportunity with the father and children, under the wing of the Prince of Peace. Coming to Philadelphia seems to have opened a wide door for me in the minds of a large body of Friends, and gives strength again to move forward: leaving New York has I trust been in the right ordering, in which I humbly pray to be preserved.

17th.—At the forenoon meeting under much discouragement. Had to stand some time amongst the people, and to insist on the necessity of our doing the will of the Holy Father, if we would know the doctrine of the Son; unto those thus found in obedience, his doctrine shall distil as the dew, and as the small rain upon the tender herb: they shall inherit substance, and shall certainly know that they have not followed cunningly devised fables, but living and substantial truth.

Third month 11th.—Since the last entry very much confined to the house with an attack of influenza, which has prevailed here very generally. My mind has often been brought very low; but my gracious Master has been pleased to enable me to stand resigned to every dispensation of His holy will. Many Friends have called to console and comfort me, and the estimable family with whom my lot has been cast, have lost no opportunity to administer to my relief in every way; so that in every thing I have abundant cause to give thanks to Him, through whom all my wants have been so mercifully supplied. Yesterday got to meeting, and had a short testimony to bear,—that the path to the kingdom changeth not, but is the same now as in the beginning; and this way is Jesus, the first and the last, the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the ending, the bright and morning star.

17th.—At the Western district meeting. Shortly after gathering, the silence was broken by one of the Hicksite preachers. His doctrine was guarded, and condemnable rather



for what he had not spoken, than for what he did speak. I thought that those who really knew what he was, were certainly blame-worthy in not appraising the elders, so that the meeting might not have been disturbed by him. The discourses of these people are frequently very extravagant; denying the divinity of the Lord who bought them, in terms little short of blasphemy.

19th.—Attended the North meeting, after which the preparative meeting was held. In the meeting for worship, seven ministers were present, but not a word spoken. It is truly and sorrowfully a low time, in which the rightly concerned must be willing to suffer with their suffering Lord, and be crucified with Him, in the spiritual Sodom and Egypt of the present day.

20th.—Attended the Western meeting; after which the monthly meeting was held. I have been silent in several meetings of late, and at times much depressed from day to day. In the meeting for worship, a Friend from another meeting spoke encouragingly to my state, as one acquainted with the Lord's dealings, and the trials his servants have to pass through.

24th, first-day.—Attended the Western district meeting in the morning. My mind was under exercise, and a woman Friend standing up, led the way for my declaring, that the Lord most assuredly is looking for fruit, even the fruit of the Spirit; afterwards reciting the words of our Saviour to his disciples,—“Herein is my Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit; so shall ye be my disciples. Every branch in me that beareth not fruit, He taketh away; and every branch that beareth fruit, He purgeth it, that it may bring forth more fruit,” &c. I felt some what relieved at the close of the meeting.

In the evening attended a meeting appointed by E. R. for the young people particularly. Dear E. R. had to speak of the blessedness of those who take up the cross, and follow the Lord Jesus, and of the impossibility of serving two masters: towards the conclusion she supplicated on their behalf. It might be termed a solid meeting; but it seemed to me that the minds of too many of our young people have already been so much dazzled with the glare of creaturely activity and excitement, as to have but little relish for the plain but incontrovertible truths of the gospel in their primitive purity. O! the beguiling influence of human wisdom! how doth it corrupt from the simplicity that is in Jesus: it strikes at the very life of spiritual Christianity.

25th.—The day rough and cold with showers of snow. My health through favour is much restored: my only want is more and

more of the Divine presence, and more ability to exalt the cause of truth and righteousness in the earth.

26th.—Attended the North meeting, after which their monthly meeting was held, and my certificates were read.

27th and 28th.—Attended the Orange Street and Arch Street meetings, after each of which the monthly meeting was held. At all the monthly meetings I have recently attended, it is very painful to witness the number of young persons who are leaving the Society. These for the most part were minors when their parents became Hicksites; and as they become of age, are disowned for non-attendance of meetings. Others, again, are selling their birthright for a mess of pottage; and it is evident, from the inconsistency of conduct, how lightly they esteem the principles in which they have been educated. Alas! Alas! what will they do in the end.

31st.—Attended the meeting of Merion, consisting of thirty-six to forty persons. I had to stand up amongst them and testify, that “the law is holy, and the commandment holy, and just, and good:”—that the true worshippers are no longer under the law of sin and death, but under the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus, which makes free from the law of sin and death. They are not under the dominion of sin, but under grace,—that grace and truth which came by Jesus Christ: the Truth hath made them free, and they are free indeed. It is only such that can worship the Father in the beauty of holiness, and newness of life.

Fourth month 1st.—Accompanied I. W. M. to Haverford. Here is established a school for Friends' children, where the higher branches of learning are taught, at present to about seventy boys; but as the vacation is near at hand, and preparations making for an examination before that commences, I saw no part of the usual routine of the institution.

4th.—Attended the meeting at Haverford. It was a restless and trying time to me. I had to revive among them the passage, beginning, “Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might. Let not the rich man glory in his riches; but let him that glorieth, glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, that I am the Lord, which exercise loving-kindness, judgment, and righteousness in the earth; for in these things I delight, saith the Lord.”

7th, first-day.—Attended both meetings at Burlington, having come by steam-boat yesterday. In the forenoon I stood up with these expressions,—The royal Psalmist, than whom none could bear a more ample testimony to the loving-kindness, mercy, and faithfulness

of the Lord, had nevertheless his share of trial, and had at seasons to mourn as a dove in the absence of his Beloved; as when we find him making the solemn appeal,—“Will the Lord cast off for ever, and will He be favourable no more?” &c. In the afternoon, I revived the words of our dear Redeemer,—“Strive to enter in at the strait gate;”—which strait gate remains to be the only way to the kingdom. If “we live after the flesh, we shall die: but if we through the Spirit, do mortify the deeds of the body, we shall live:” the life of the Christian is a continual warfare,—the flesh against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh; but the weapons of his warfare are inward and spiritual, and “mighty through God,” &c.

8th.—Spent the afternoon much to my satisfaction with our ancient friend John Cox, eighty-seven years of age: he is a minister and alive in the Truth. In the evening J. J. G. arrived from New York, whom it was very pleasant to meet again.

9th.—Returned to New York, and found J. C. and family well, and as kind as hertofore. The next day attended the meeting here, which proved satisfactory. I had to allude to the blessedness and peace that are the portion of the children of God, who have been ransomed from their sins by the blood of Jesus, and redeemed by submission to the operation of His Holy Spirit in their hearts: reviving the language of the prophet,—“Look upon Zion, the city of our solemnities; thine eyes shall see Jerusalem a quiet habitation,—a tabernacle that shall not be taken down.” Several others spoke.

11th.—Returned by rail-road to Philadelphia, having the company of A. A. J. and her companion from Providence.

12th.—Attended the meeting for Sufferings, which was large, nearly all the members being present. The subject of slavery came before it; and the case of the oppressed slaves, as well as of the slave-holders, was treated with much feeling. Many Friends seem under much concern on this subject; and on account of those of our members who have joined the Colonization Society, which is not unlike sanctioning the continuance of this cruel system. May the Lord be graciously pleased to break this inhuman yoke asunder.

13th.—Attended the first sitting of the yearly meeting of ministers and elders: it was a low time with me, and I believe with others also.

14th, first-day.—Attended the meeting in Twelfth Street, in the fore part of which A. A. J. appeared in supplication. A young minister followed in a lively testimony; after which I found an exercise which I was ena-

bled to throw off, and had to encourage the young man who preceded me. A Friend who sat by me, afterwards said, that he was sensible when my concern came on, it was suddenly, and so it was; under the feeling of which, I stood up almost immediately, and was afterwards comforted.

15th.—The yearly meeting at large sat down. I little thought that it would be my lot to break in upon the solemnity that prevailed, until a short interval before I found that I could do no other than petition on the bended knee, that the Lord in his everlasting mercy would be pleased to lift up the light of His heavenly countenance upon us. After taking my seat again, my soul was melted in humble contrition before Him, who liveth for ever and ever.

The yearly meeting continued by adjournments until the 19th instant inclusive, and was an exercising time, on account of the too general departure from, and ignorance of that light and truth, which distinguished the meetings of our worthy predecessors in so eminent a manner. On the subject of meetings for worship, I had one remark to make; and to declare that if ever we suffered the righteous testimony to the teachings of that Divine grace which hath appeared unto all men, to fall to the ground, or be lowered by departure from a silent waiting upon God for the blessed influence of the Holy Spirit, to enable us to worship Him aright,—the glory would depart from our Israel, and nothing be left us but an empty name.

On the morning of the 15th, before the sun was up, the love of God flowed through my heart towards our beloved sisters in their yearly meeting; but this blessed visitation soon passed away as a morning cloud, leaving not a trace behind; and yet it was in the same manner, but shorter and in a less degree, as that which once prompted me to visit the distant isles of the ocean. I felt no more of it, although my mind often recurred to the manifestation during a time of great weakness and self-abasement for several successive sittings; wherein was remarkably verified the necessity for the feet of the priests to stand firm in the bottom of Jordan with the ark of the testimony, until all the people had clean passed over. When all the minutes were gone through, and the principal cases disposed of, dear E. R. came into the men's meeting, and bore an awakening testimony among us. This opened the way for me to follow, exhorting all to turn to the Lord with full purpose of heart, in the very depths of humility. My soul had mourned over the low state of things among us: the sorrowful and manifest declension, which had so greatly marred and defaced our



religious Society, might be traced to our having departed in heart from that precious principle of light and life, bestowed in redeeming mercy on every individual of the human race. It is high time to lay aside the unfruitful works of darkness, and to put on the whole armour of light; for the day is far spent, and the night is at hand.

On the 19th, the prospect above-mentioned again revived before me, and in the afternoon I thought I could not allow the meeting to conclude without making some attempt to bring it about. I hinted my situation to an elder in the meeting-house yard, when our meeting was gathering, who advised me to proceed with it; and as soon as the clerk had opened the meeting, I spread my concern before it, and Friends rising in quick succession with a word of encouragement, I was soon set at liberty. I had full opportunity to clear my mind in a crowded meeting, to my own great relief; and perhaps some longing desires might be raised in the hearts of individuals after that purity of heart and life, in which the Lord delighteth: the result I desire to leave to Him, who seeth the end from the beginning. As the men's meeting gathered, my exercise had become stronger and stronger, in tender mercy confirming me that it was of the Lord; and truly His heavenly power and presence went with me, and enabled me to open the way of life to my beloved sisters, and to encourage them to press toward the mark for the prize immortal, the high calling of God in Christ Jesus. I understood afterwards, that no other time during the whole yearly meeting, would have been so seasonable as the one I was pressed to resort to. Trust in the Lord, O! my soul!

21st.—Attended both meetings; in the forenoon I had to deal very plainly: in the afternoon was silent.

23rd.—Attended the funeral of Timothy Paxson, a worthy elder, whom I had visited in the course of his sickness. The crucified Saviour was declared to a large assemblage, including I suppose many Hicksites, but all was quietly received.

27th.—Proceeded to Wilmington and was kindly received at the abode of S. H. This city is built in a well chosen situation, with the noble Delaware in its front, and the Brandywine and Christiana rivers navigable up to the wharfs. At the foot of the Brandywine, many mills are established.

Attended both meetings in Wilmington, in which I had some service. In the afternoon an ancient Friend spoke, which opened the way for me to quote the apostolic declaration, "That which may be known of God, is manifest in man, for God hath showed it unto

him;"—making a solemn appeal to some present, whether they were not treating the Spirit of the Lord in their hearts, as His holy person was treated when on earth by the Jews; when "He was despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief." Assuredly, a day will come when He who now pleadeth with them for their own soul's sake, in matchless love and mercy, shall be their judge. "I judge no man. The words that I speak, the same shall judge them at the last day."

Fifth month 3rd.—Went over two whaling vessels, lately returned from the Pacific,—in one, found a poor solitary New Zealander; of course little could be done in the way of conversation, as he spoke but little English. One of these vessels had been out only twenty-two months, the other nearly four years, and at last returned with only a scanty cargo.

4th.—Attended the monthly meeting: to myself a lifeless season. A number of young persons at schools kept by Friends in this neighbourhood attend meetings; which tends very much to make them unsettled and unsatisfactory, as some of the boys particularly are very restless, and appear insensible of the true intent of our meeting together. I found that unless they came to meetings, their teachers would have to remain at home with them, and Friends on this account make allowances, and bear these things with much Christian charity.

5th, first-day.—Had good service in the forenoon meeting, declaring the blessedness of those who do the will of the Father, by hearkening to the voice of His well-beloved Son. In the evening I had a public meeting, to which the inhabitants at large were invited: a considerable number assembled, but the house was not filled. It was an exercising time to myself, arising in part from the weight of responsibility resting upon me. I sat pretty long before I felt strength to stand up. At length the following expressions crossed my mind, and brought with them the ability to testify, that "the God of Israel is He that giveth strength and power to his people. Blessed be God!" I had abundant cause as on many former occasions, to magnify that Almighty power, which enabled me to declare His mercy and His truth among the people; enlarging my heart, as I proceeded to speak with innocent boldness of the things of His kingdom. It was with me to set forth the glories of the present gospel day, and to query how far we were individually contributing or otherwise to promote its fulness, as we have each a responsible part to act in the great work. My late visit to the South Seas was adverted to, and the message with which I was charged

by Paofai, one of the principal chiefs of the island of Eimeo, was faithfully delivered.\* I had to point out the dreadful national responsibility we were incurring, and the imperative necessity for all earnestly to consider, whether they were clear of contributing in any manner to the sacrifice of those poor islanders, who are fast vanishing from the surface of the earth, in consequence of their intercourse with foreigners; reviving the words of the prophet of the Most High, "shall I not visit for these things; shall not my soul be avenged upon such a nation?" It was a solemn opportunity, and was overshadowed by the wing of everlasting love: so that my soul could truly say, I trust with humble reverence, at the end as at the beginning,—“Blessed be God,” who alone “giveth strength and power to His people.”

10th.—Attended the meeting this day, which was a highly favoured season. A precious remnant was present, capable of appreciating this signal instance of Divine regard vouchsafed even in this degenerate day, as a brook by the way.

11th.—Took leave of Friends, and left Wilmington by rail-road, with a peaceful mind. We crossed the noble Susquehanna river at Havre de Grace, and several branches of the Chesapeake bay and the Gunpowder water, on the way to Baltimore: we reached this city early in the afternoon, where I am now kindly entertained at the house of R. H. T. The passage of the Susquehanna, which I have just mentioned is by steamer, and is so managed that from leaving the railway car on one side, till again seated in a fresh car on the other side, the passenger is constantly under cover, so that whatever be the weather, he is provided for.

12th.—In the forenoon meeting I was closely engaged, standing up with the words of the blessed Redeemer,—“Ye worship ye know not what.” However abrupt and unpalatable the accusation might appear, I found that I had no other course to take. Many Hicksites were at the meeting, for whom what I had to say might seem to have been previously prepared, if I had known that they would have been at the meeting: it was, however, a solid meeting. The afternoon meeting was silent as to myself, but we had the ministry of another Friend to satisfaction.

14th.—Believing that I could no less than

endeavour to meet the sailors, and others connected with a sea-faring life, arrangements were made for this purpose; and the privilege obtained of the use of the Bethel chapel, when it was ascertained that the stranger for whom it was requested was not a Hicksite: the meeting was held at a suitable hour in the evening, and was considered large. As regards myself, it was a low season; and I believed while sitting in silence before them, that but few were present of the description whom my soul longed after. I was strengthened to declare the everlasting gospel amongst them; but seemed led along to a class making much higher profession of religion than those whom I expected to assemble. It was I believe, considered a satisfactory meeting; but the feelings of the unprofitable servant were mine.

15th.—Called on some of the sick and afflicted, to my own comfort and peace. In the evening a large number of Friends and others collected at the house of R. H. T., where a precious opportunity was vouchsafed to us.

16th.—The week day meeting held in course was small, but very precious to a living remnant. I had much to say among them of an encouraging and comforting nature; but I hope it was done in such a manner, that none could take that to themselves which belonged to another: the terms were rigidly specified. I had to commemorate the tender mercy of our God, and the continued regard of our holy High Priest, Christ Jesus; whose presence was livingly felt amongst us. It was a blessed season to myself; and I believe will not soon be forgotten by some others.

In the afternoon, took leave of my truly kind host; and accompanied by S. C., proceeded by railway towards Virginia. After crossing the Patapsco river, and passing through the city of Washington, we were embarked on board a steamer; we proceeded down the spacious Potomac, as far as the head of Potomac Creek, which runs up from Chesapeake Bay. Here we were packed in crowded clumsy stages, and conveyed nine miles to Fredericksburgh, where we were again seated in a railway car, holding about sixty persons; many of them in rocking chairs, which seemed quite a *sine qua non* with all classes here. We reached the station near Taylorsville about four o'clock the next morning; but as this is merely a boarded shed, where whiskey and cider are sold, we walked on to the village, carrying our luggage with us. Here we found comfortable quarters; but owing to some failure of letters, a carriage which was to have met us here was not to be found. We were now in a land of slavery, and the delay which this disappointment occasioned, afforded some opportunity of remarking the effects

\* “Go,” he said to “Britannia, and tell the people to have mercy on us;—and then go to America, and tell the people there to have mercy on us; for it is these countries that send the poison amongst us;” alluding to the introduction of rum, &c. See page 168.



of the system; but although perhaps here, in its mildest form, both the country and the people wear an aspect of wretchedness and poverty, quite striking to a stranger. The land has grown tobacco, until in places it can scarcely cover itself with a plant of any kind. Here and there a patch of Indian corn is to be seen, which, with hogs, seems to constitute the principal food of the inhabitants. In the afternoon we hired a pair of horses that had been ploughing, a very old shabby vehicle, and equally shabby harness, and set forward for Montpelier in Hanover county. Had to ford a small river by the way, in the middle of which the horses became awkward, probably from a desire to drink; when the harness broke, and the poor animals drank their fill, whilst our negro driver repaired damages, cutting up parts of the harness to strengthen what had given way. The weather was very sultry, and we reached the mansion of N. C. C., just at the commencement of a heavy thunder storm. We were most hospitably received, although a large party of Friends had already assembled, like ourselves, on their way to the yearly meeting of Virginia, to be held the next day at Cedar Creek, five miles distant.

18th.—Attended the Select meeting in the forenoon, which, though small, was satisfactory; and afterwards the meeting for Sufferings.

19th, first-day.—The people collected for the forenoon meeting in great numbers. The neighbourhood of the meeting-house exhibited such a display of equipages, as I could not have supposed the country hereaway was capable of making. Many of the coloured people also attended. The meeting-house was of large dimensions, so that there was room for all; but for a time we were much disturbed by the very loose behaviour of some of our well dressed white visitors. I was grieved with their conduct, and at length told them, that in order to get into a settled state, it would be well for each individual to consider in whose presence we were assembled, as became men and Christians, &c: we were afterwards favoured with a solemn season together. A few went out, but the more solid part remained, until the meeting ended. At my request a public meeting was held that afternoon. It was not so large as that in the forenoon, but the company were much more solid; and I humbly trust the great Name was exalted that day, and His power felt to reign in the hearts of many.

20th, second-day.—It is the practice for the business of the yearly meeting to commence this morning. The men and women usually sit together for a short interval, and then the shutters are drawn up, which separate them into distinct meetings; but before this could

be done, the people flocked in so numerously, as almost to compel the holding of a meeting for worship with them; and through favour it proved a season worth coming several hundred miles to witness. It was, I believe, a day of solemn warning and renewed visitation to many, and particularly to the young people in membership with us. I felt bound to revive among them the fatherly invitation of the Most High, "Come out of Babylon, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues." "Come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and I will receive you: and I will be a father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty." Let not the Babylonish garment, nor the wedge of gold, be in our camp; but save yourselves from this untoward generation, &c. The Lord's power was felt to prevail among us, to the softening of many hearts, and the encouragement of the faithful of this sequestered little flock. On the way afterwards to the house of W. C., in company with his daughter, and S. C., we experienced a marvellous preservation from being hurled down a precipitous bank. Owing to something being wrong about the harness, one of the horses got off the road, and dragged the other with him; and had the driver attempted to turn them again, we must have been overturned. Our escape seemed brought about by the horses being kept as it were directly end-on, and almost on their haunches, sliding straight down the hill to level ground below. Had the carriage been turned ever so little on one side, it must immediately have toppled over, and probably would have rolled several times over before it reached the bottom; and yet such was the mercy extended to us that no one was hurt, and neither carriage nor horses apparently injured. Such unmerited favours demand our humblest gratitude.

Attended the different sittings of this yearly meeting on the 21st and 22nd. In the afternoon of the latter day, the business was nearly concluded, and I took leave of Friends, being desirous of attending the yearly meeting in New York, which is fast approaching. I was comforted in the belief, that in this yearly meeting, although small indeed to what it formerly was, there is yet a living remnant, to whom the cause of truth is precious. May the Lord preserve them, in this land of oppression; and may their hands be unpolluted by the blood of the suffering sons of Africa. We set out the same afternoon, and were favoured to reach Baltimore the next morning, and were again hospitably received by R. H. T. and family. During the night there was a succession of thunder and lightning: my at-

tention was much attracted by the brilliant little lamps of the fire-fly, which were perceptible between the flashes of lightning, pursuing their nightly excursions, and filling their place in the marvellous works of this beautiful creation, according to their order and the part assigned them; showing forth the praises of their Almighty Creator.

Rested on the 23rd, and the next morning, again left my kind friends of Baltimore, and pursued my way alone to Philadelphia, where I reached the abode of my ancient friend Ellis Yarnall the same night; and finally got to my quarters in New York on the 25th: here I found many Friends from Canada and other parts arrived for the yearly meeting. Attended the various meetings as they came in course, and sat for the most part in silence.

31st.—The last sitting of the Select meeting was held. In this I had to state in plain terms my fears as to the present state of the ministry; and had to remind Friends of the devastation in our Society in England, from this very cause of unsound ministry having crept in among us. My mind found some relief.

In the evening attended a meeting appointed at the request of E. R. for the young people, in which she had largely to labour amongst them, in the love of the gospel,—I trust to the relief of her own mind, and to the benefit of many. It appeared from the different epistles, that there is a prospect of a succession of burden-bearers amongst the young people, which I sincerely desire may be amply realized; but to myself the prospect is very gloomy as regards our Society in this land.

Sixth month 2nd.—In the forenoon, J. J. G. appeared at some length; and greatly do I desire that lasting impressions may have been made on some: but alas! how often doth the ear listen with gladness, and even the heart desire to become acquainted with those things that accompany life and salvation, whilst it still remains in the unregenerate state, for want of that self-denial and daily cross to our corrupt wills and inclinations, without which we cannot advance one step nearer the heavenly kingdom.

#### CHAPTER XXXVI.

*Attends New England yearly meeting, etc.—visits Nova Scotia and Canada—returns to Philadelphia and proceeds to Ohio—attends the yearly meeting at Mount Pleasant—returns to England.*

Sixth month 7th.—**EMBARKED** in the steamer for Newport, Rhode Island, with a company of two hundred and seventy-five passengers,

including several Friends. We were favoured with a beautiful night, and rounded Point Judith next morning under the most favourable circumstances: this point being exposed to the swells of the Atlantic, is often a very rough part of the voyage. We reached Newport at five A. M., and proceeded in stages towards New Bedford, arriving by noon at F. T.'s; where I found a family dwelling much in the ancient style and simplicity of our early Friends, both the heads being elders in the Society. Here I was again a stranger, and without any defined prospect of duty before me.

The next day the 9th, being first-day, my path was greatly opened; and at the close of the forenoon meeting the way was clear for me to request that a meeting should be appointed for the inhabitants generally, seamen, and those connected with a seafaring life; which was arranged for the following evening. We were favoured with two comfortable meetings that day; and in the evening, before separating from a large company assembled at the house of a Friend, it was with me to recognise that Almighty power, which “maketh the outgoings of the morning and the evening to rejoice;” and to acknowledge the unspeakable favour, after a day full of mercy and full of love, to be sensible that the heavenly wing still overshadowed us,—a great and precious privilege, demanding all our admiration, gratitude, and humble praise.

10th.—In the afternoon attended the funeral of a young person who died after a severe illness, occasioned by sitting on the ice, when heated and fatigued, six months ago. Many were collected on the occasion, and after two other Friends had spoken, I had to urge the necessity of our individually becoming acquainted with Him, who is “the resurrection and the life;” and thus be prepared for the day of death appointed unto all men. The meeting in the evening was largely attended, and proved a solemn season. Friends of New Bedford were hearty in the cause, and had taken great pains to apprise their fellow-townsmen by advertisement, the circulation of hand bills, and in some instances, by personal application. Notwithstanding the responsibility was heavy upon me, and the prospect truly formidable, I was supported under it to my own admiration; well knowing Him in whom I had believed, by His heavenly grace, to be sufficient for me in all things. That Almighty power which is the crown and diadem of every religious assembly, was mercifully pleased to own our gathering, and this evidence of Divine regard was acknowledged, I trust, to His glory and praise.

I came here poor and low enough; and now how eminently have I witnessed the gracious



dealings of the Lord for His great Name's sake! My heart feels more and more constrained to trust with humble confidence in Him, and to cast all my care and burden upon Him alone; desiring earnestly that self may be so kept down, that the Divine glory may be the only motive to action, in my feeble endeavours to promote the precious cause of truth among my fellow-creatures, as from time to time, I may apprehend required of me.

13th.—Came to Nantucket by steamer on the 11th, and was kindly received by P. G. and family, with whom I am now staying. Yesterday visited several sick and infirm persons; I trust the time was profitably spent. I tried the fleece last night until pretty late, and at length concluded it safest for me to propose that a public meeting should be held here this evening; and Friends uniting in this prospect, notice has been given of the same.

This morning attended the week-day meeting, and although a considerable body of valuable Friends was collected, every thing was like iron and brass about us; my mouth was completely sealed up, until the meeting was about two-thirds over, when a Friend stood up in the body of the meeting and expressed a few sentences. This was what had to be waited for, and now my bonds were broken asunder, and my tongue loosed. Thus "day unto day uttereth speech," and instruction is sealed to the mind, more and more to cast our care upon Him, who careth for us,—although wholly unperceived, until He is pleased to reveal Himself to our finite understanding.

Newport, Rhode Island, 22nd.—Unable from a variety of circumstances to resume my pen until this day. The public meeting on the 13th proved a highly favoured season, and much larger than the one held at New Bedford. Thus was this, (to me) eventful day rendered memorable to the very close, through Him who doeth all things well. At an early hour the next morning embarked with a goodly company of Friends on our way to the New England yearly meeting;\* and reached the house of E. W. at Tiverton the same evening, the 14th instant, having travelled by land and water about one hundred miles. Here I found a house apparently filled with guests; but was cheerfully accommodated, our host telling us they were never so full, but that one more could be admitted. In these parts, their neighbours of other societies freely open their doors to Friends on such occasions.

15th.—Attended the Select meeting, and the meeting for Sufferings at Portsmouth, eight miles farther; and the same evening continued our course towards Newport, reaching the

house of D. B. before sun-set, about two miles from this town. Here I found a hospitable family, and many Friends with whom I had already become acquainted.

16th, first-day.—Attended the meetings for public worship, to which the town's-people flowed like a living stream. The meeting-house holds, I was informed, about two thousand people; and it was so filled before the appointed time, that it was difficult to reach the gallery. In the morning, after our aged friend E. C. had broken the silence by a solemn petition to the throne of grace, I had largely to declare the way of life and salvation, to my own comfort and relief; though no light matter to have to stand forward in the presence of so many weighty ministers and elders of both sexes.

The yearly meeting was considered large; and was favoured at seasons throughout its sittings with the Divine presence. Although it comprises many living members, yet there was much found to mourn over, and render getting along very heavy work, when the true state of the Society was opened out by the answers to the queries. There were many present I believe, who could say with the prophet,—“I was bowed down at the hearing of it, I was dismayed at the seeing of it.” An address was drawn up by the Committee of Correspondence, and sent down to the different quarterly meetings, containing much excellent advice, very applicable to the state of things, in many of the meetings. Non-attendance of meetings, want of love, and in several instances an attachment to military parade, were the principal causes of mourning.

The last sitting of the yearly meeting was held yesterday the 21st, and many Friends left Newport last evening: but the foggy state of the weather having prevented the arrival of the usual steam-boats, some hundreds, I suppose, are still in the boarding-houses. I met here my country-people T. and E. R.; also J. W., my acquaintance in old England. To-day I am lying upon my oars, and resting a little; it is probable that Providence may be the next point of destination; but I am waiting to see what to-morrow will bring forth.

Whilst looking round a little at New Bedford, I met with Matthew Luce, a captain who has made several voyages up the Baltic; but what makes the circumstance worthy of record, and attaches me to him, is the fact of his having been a fellow-passenger from Cronstadt to England with my ever dear and lamented William, a few weeks before his decease. Finding that, during the voyage, Captain Luce had rendered much kind assistance to this darling object of my hopes in his weak and declining state, I could not but feel

\* Held at Newport, Rhode Island.

him greatly endeared to me. He spoke with much feeling of dear William's pious resignation, and humble but firm confidence in the arm of everlasting strength; and that although he had no care-taker with him, or precious acquaintance to lend a hand of help, yet he comforted himself in the belief, that this and every other lack would be supplied: telling Matthew Luce that he considered him an instance of what would be cast up for him in his friendless condition. Matthew Luce said he considered it quite a privilege to have been with him. To hear this from so authentic a source was indeed very comforting and cheering to my heart, in the midst of a renewed sense of the treasure I had lost; and to find that he had been thus cared for, when in a peculiar manner cast out, as it were, upon the wide world. Truly,—“as the mountains are round about Jerusalem, so is the Lord round about his people, from henceforth and for ever,” however widely separated from their families and connexions, I can abundantly testify.

23rd, first-day.—Attended both meetings at Newport: in the forenoon many attended besides members, and I had good service. In the afternoon meeting E. R. was drawn forth to minister among them.

24th.—Attended a public meeting held at my request. The evening proved wet; and the gathering not so large as was expected, but remarkably solid: and I was favoured with an open time among them. My mind afterwards felt peaceful; and I think I never was more sensible that help and strength had been administered in the needful time.

25th.—Came to Lynn by way of Providence and Boston, arriving about sun-set; and was kindly entertained at the house of I. B. Before reaching Providence, the site of the dwelling, and burying place of Mary Dyer was shown me; and before crossing the ferry to East Boston, the place where she was executed, with Marmaduke Stevenson and William Robinson.

26th.—Attended the week-day meeting of Friends at Lynn; where we had renewed cause to bow in humble reverence to the great Preserver of men, for the extension of His goodness to His poor unworthy creatures, wherewith he was pleased to comfort us together in an eminent degree. After a long silence, and a female Friend had expressed a few sentences, I had to revive the sealed promises to the wise, and to them that turn many to righteousness, in the words of Daniel the prophet; and to declare the sure way for every individual to be numbered with those, who inherit such transcendent glory.—“Behold, thus shall the man be blessed that fear-

eth the Lord.”—“The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.”—“The secret of the Lord is with them that fear Him; and He will show them His covenant” of light, life, and truth;—which, if obedience keep pace with knowledge, will make us wise in heart, and enable us so to let our “light shine before men, that others seeing our good works, may glorify” God in the day of their visitation; and be strengthened more and more to follow after righteousness, that their example also may produce the like happy result. Thus many, by our faithfulness, may be turned to righteousness; and the language of inspiration will be fulfilled,—“They that be wise, shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever.” The Lord was with us of a truth, to the tendering of the hearts of many. Reached the house of A. C. of Salem, that evening.

27th.—Sat with Friends of Salem, in their usual meeting. I had a close testimony to bear, and, I trust, did not withhold any part of what came before me. Returned to Lynn in the afternoon.

28th.—In company with several Friends, went to Boston. As no Friends reside there, we put up at the Marlborough, which is one of the first hotels in the city; and is a temperance house, where we were well accommodated. In the evening attended a public meeting appointed for me: and for which arrangements had been carefully made beforehand. We met in a house belonging to Friends, nominally at half-past seven; but it was much later before the meeting became tolerably settled. I had largely to labour among them, but found it heavy work.

29th.—Returned as far as Providence, in company with W. J.; and next day the 30th, attended meetings there. In the forenoon it was a dull season;—one of those when deep calleth unto deep. E. R. was present, but both of us were silent. We sat as fools among them: I would that this might operate as a sign, that man can of himself do nothing.

In the afternoon a public meeting was appointed for E. R., and good attendance given: E. R. had the whole weight of the service; and was helped through to my admiration and rejoicing. The day altogether was one that confirmed me in my belief of the sympathy and fellow-feeling of the living members of the one body. In the morning we shared the humiliating but wholesome season together; and in the afternoon were favoured to share in the love of the Master, which flowed to both in an encouraging manner. Before E. R. had uttered one word, I believe I could have foretold what she would say; such is



the fellowship of the gospel flowing from the one holy Head: and how precious is this unity, in the one Spirit, even as we are called in the one hope of our calling,—in the one faith and baptism of the same gracious Lord. It was a highly favoured meeting.

Seventh month 2nd.—Embarked in the steamer for Nantucket to attend the quarterly meeting. Near one hundred Friends in company arrived the same afternoon.

3rd.—Attended the Select meeting, which was a low time; in which I had to speak of the awful responsibility attaching to those in the stations of ministers and elders: and to warn those present, of a day of farther trial awaiting our Society; which, from its nearer approximation to the world, would have more difficulty to maintain its standing, than in former instances, when Friends, like Israel of old, dwelt more alone.

In the afternoon attended the funeral of a young man whom I had seen on his dying bed when last here.

4th.—The meeting for worship was held, and several searching testimonies were borne, in which a warning voice went forth to the young people. The business of the quarterly meeting was completed the same day. Returned to Providence next day.

7th, first-day.—Attended both meetings, in which I had some service.

8th.—Had a public meeting with the inhabitants. It was not large, but proved a very solemn and favoured time. Few, I believe, were present, but such as had something of the true hunger begotten in them; and I trust that these were fed with food convenient for them. The Lord was my helper, in humble thankfulness be it spoken.

On reaching this place on the 5th, I received accounts of the declining health of my dear Charles. I trust that these things, although deeply painful, may not be suffered to trouble me, nor hinder the service of the blessed Master; but rather have a tendency to promote His cause, by keeping me clothed with humility, and watchful towards Him in His fear and in His love; who so often filleth my heart with His praise.

10th.—In company with A. A. J. attended the meeting at a public school belonging to Friends, and had some counsel to offer, which perhaps might hurt neither teachers nor scholars.

11th.—Shortly after the week-day meeting gathered, a thunder-storm came on, and lasted for some time in a very awful manner, doing considerable damage in the neighbourhood. Had some service of an encouraging nature to the little ones. In the evening, at a public meeting held in a temperance board-

ing house. It was well attended, and proved a comforting season, although commenced under feelings of much strippedness. Some sailors were present, and many of the wives and connexions of seafaring men.

12th.—Proceeded to Lynn, and on the

14th, first-day, had a public meeting in the evening, which was well attended and proved an open time; utterance being freely given. It was cause of thankfulness with me, and the more so, as I had felt unwell during the afternoon, and for a time had been doubtful whether I could attend the meeting. But my gracious Master was pleased not only to raise me up for the work, but abundantly to strengthen and furnish for it, beyond what has often been vouchsafed to me.

17th.—Reached Portland by six o'clock A. M. Arrangements were immediately made for holding a public meeting that evening. It was smaller than anticipated, but on the whole was a solid comfortable season. I found it very hard and exercising work to bear a testimony to the Truth, under existing circumstances at this place. Lodged at P. N.'s, expecting to leave in the morning, but on rising did not feel satisfied without sitting with Friends of Portland in their own meeting, although most of them had attended the public meeting.

18th.—Attended the meeting, which was small. After a plain stranger Friend had twice said a few words, I was opened out amongst them, to my own peace of mind, though in much plainness of speech.

19th.—Left early by stage for North Berwick, passing in the course of the day, a large Shaker's settlement, and were favoured to reach the house of J. D. L., the same evening. Since being in Portland my mind has been much turned towards an infant people residing in Nova Scotia, who make profession with us; and I felt freedom to make several inquiries as to the best mode of getting there; but did not see how I could proceed farther without a suitable companion. At one time, I intended passing through North Berwick, and endeavouring to reach Newburyport the same night, but not feeling quite easy to do this, I concluded to stop there accordingly.

The next day, the 20th, I found that J. D. L. had been looking towards visiting Nova Scotia in the fall of the year, and had a certificate from his monthly meeting, granted some months ago, still in his possession. It soon appeared that he had given up to accompany me. To myself this was a confirming evidence that my going to Nova Scotia was in the ordering of the great Master, who had thus led me in a way that I knew not, and in paths that I had not heard of, to a companion of his own choosing; of whose

intentions, and having a certificate in readiness, I had not had the slightest intimation. Our hearts in this thing soon became as the heart of one man, bound together in the bonds of the everlasting gospel.

J. D. L. accompanied us to Newburyport, where efforts were made to arrange for a public meeting to be held the next day; but it appeared that so many meetings of the Universalists and Methodists would occur that day, that it would be unwise to attempt it, however much desired. As I had done all that I could to obtain a meeting with the inhabitants of this port, having purposely come about eighty miles to the place, my mind felt easy on the subject.

21st.—Attended the meeting at West Newbury where the neighbours came in, and a comfortable season was vouchsafed to us. In the afternoon travelled about twenty-eight miles to Lynn, and the next day went to Providence.

24th.—Attended the monthly meeting, in which I had to bear testimony to the ample and simple means for salvation bestowed on every mortal, through Christ the Saviour, who died that we might live. In the evening went by rail road to Stonington, and there embarked in the steam-boat, with two hundred and seventy-five passengers for New York.

25th.—Arrived in good time this morning, and after attending to some needful arrangements, left the city the same day, via Providence and Lynn to Boston, where we arrived on the 27th, and prepared to embark in the Boundary sailing-packet for Eastport, which is the boundary port of the United States.

Left Boston on the 28th, and entered the passage towards Eastport on the 30th. Saw several Indians in their canoes fishing, as we entered the Narrows. In the hope of meeting the steam-boat on her way from Eastport to St. John's, in the British province of New Brunswick, had our luggage prepared and brought on deck. The paddle of the steamer was heard for some time before she could be seen, the fog was so dense; but her captain told me afterwards, that he saw our masts above the fog, and had steered for us. We got safely on board the steamer, to my rejoicing, having scarcely ever been more uncomfortable, or suffered more for want of rest, than while in this packet. Reached the city of St. John's the same evening. Here we found two members, and several more or less connected with the Society, in all about twenty persons, with whom we had a sitting. My companion broke the silence, and we were afterwards favoured with an open time. I trust that some were encouraged to hold on

their way, and the lukewarm and indifferent, as well as those who had been wholly neglecting the Lord's talent, were warned and entreated to avail themselves of their day of visitation. Returned to the steamer, and started at midnight for Windsor, in Nova Scotia. Arrived there early next day, and proceeded by stage to Halifax, which we reached the same night, the 31st.

Eighth month 2nd.—Having secured places to Pictou yesterday at an early hour, this morning repaired to the coach office, and found that instead of a covered carriage, an open wagon was provided for our conveyance, and this to all appearance very unequal to the journey. After crossing the water by steam to Dartmouth, we mounted our vehicle, and proceeded much better than we had calculated on, through a very rough and uncultivated country. The roads were in fair order, and small detachments of a British regiment were employed for their farther improvement. Lodged for the night at Truro, a pleasant country village. Reached the neighbourhood of Pictou next day, and when within three miles of the town, a Friend seeing our garb as we passed, came out of his shop by the way side to greet us. This was J. K.; and we had intended stopping at the house of his brother, some distance further on: but finding that he was from home, we at once concluded to accept the hearty invitation of J. K., whose cottage was hard by. The father of our host, who made one of this large family, was originally a member of Society, and had emigrated from Whitehaven seventeen years ago. In the evening after a portion of the Scriptures was read, we had a religious opportunity with the family, and were comforted together.

4th.—Sat down with the little remnant that meet regularly at J. K.'s. Several persons attended, until every seat was occupied. Notwithstanding there was a precious seed in this company, we found it hard work to wrestle against those who are making only a lifeless profession of the Truth, and are led away by the pursuit of the perishing things of this world, to the neglect of those which are of eternal consequence. It was however a season, in which the Lord's faithful children were contrited together.

In the evening attended a public meeting in the meeting-house of the Seceders from the Scotch kirk, for which arrangements had been made the day before. For some time it was heavy work to labour amongst them, but towards the latter part, the blessed Truth had the dominion; and a number seemed loath to separate from under the precious covering that prevailed.

5th.—Early in the morning the stage stop-



ped to take us up, when we took leave of this family, who had become dear to us in the love of the gospel. J. K. accompanied us the first stage, where we breakfasted; and before separating, we were refreshed together in that love which makes one in the Lord. Travelled hard till nightfall, and got to Halifax by one P. M. the next day. The 6th, having previously engaged horses, after dining on wild raspberries and milk, we resumed our journey in an open wagon, and reached Windsor about midnight; not without difficulty procuring a lodging place, many persons having arrived to embark in the same steamer with ourselves on the following day. We had been travelling nineteen hours. After it became dark, about fifteen miles from Windsor, we found that a bridge over which we had to pass, was broken up and impassable. As we drew near it, we were hailed by two negroes, who told us we could not go that way, but must drive through the water, across which they had themselves waded. These men were on their way to Halifax, and had it not been for them, we must have been quite at a loss how to dispose of ourselves for the night. My companion J. D. L., to lighten the wagon we rode in, had at the last halting place agreed to join another traveller who had overtaken us in a gig, and like ourselves was going to Windsor. As we were then in advance of the gig, we waited on that side of the water till they came up, as they were equally strangers to the state of the bridge; and in due time we drove through the water in company. I thought the Divine arm was in this thing.

7th.—Left Windsor in good time, but our progress was greatly retarded, by having to take in tow a vessel, which had only just been launched. Soon after ten at night, the fog became so dense as to oblige us to anchor until daylight, when we again pursued our way, still towing the other vessel, and reached the town called St. Johns, by ten o'clock A. M., of the 8th. We were kindly received at our former quarters, and arrangements were immediately commenced to procure a meeting with the inhabitants the same evening: the Wesleyan Methodist meeting-house was cheerfully granted for the purpose. At the first collecting of this meeting, things appeared not a little discouraging; but before its conclusion our compassionate Lord condescended to magnify His power amongst us in a remarkable manner, and to own it with the life-giving influence of His heavenly presence.

9th.—Early this morning we again embarked in the steamer for Annapolis on the other side of the bay, touching at the village of Digby by the way. About twenty-five miles farther is Annapolis, where we were

favoured to land safely that afternoon. This neighbourhood and for many miles up the river, is thickly studded with farm-houses, at the foot of a high mountain. On landing we were met by an individual connected with Friends, who eventually took us to his residence, about fourteen miles up the country.

10th.—In the evening attended a public meeting in the Wesleyan meeting-house at Bridgetown: being a seventh-day, and the hay-harvest in progress, it was small; but a comfortable season was vouchsafed, and the blessed Truth was freely declared to the people.

11th, first-day.—Rising early, we crossed the North Mountain to Chute's Cove, where a number of people were collected, some of whom profess with us. Both my companion and myself had a searching testimony to bear among the latter, and an awakening one also to others present, amongst whom were some tender spirits. As another meeting had been appointed to be held at Bridgetown that afternoon, there was but little more time than was necessary to take some refreshment, and again to cross the mountain. This was heavy work for both man and beast, as the road in many places lay over steep bare rocks, where it was difficult for the horse to obtain foot-hold. The distance is said to be eight miles; but it took us three hours to perform it. We were favoured to arrive in time for the meeting, for which the use of the Baptist meeting house had been granted: this proved the largest meeting we had in these parts, and was mercifully owned by the Master's presence. We had largely to declare the word among them, and I believe we both felt peaceful minds afterwards.

12th.—Returned to Annapolis by stage, which was merely an open wagon. We soon found there was no probability of the people being collected, so as to hold a meeting to profit, as they were fully engaged in the fields with their harvest; and to many of them it would have been difficult to convey the requisite information.

13th.—At two A. M. went on board the steamer, not inappropriately called the Maid of the Mist, on account of the misty atmosphere of the bay. After touching at Digby, where we waited an hour and a half before the mail bags were given out, we had to make a considerable round to take in tow a new vessel; but on reaching the point, we had the mortification to find she was not yet launched, and we should have to wait in an exposed situation until high-water, then six hours distant. Every appeal to the captain, and even the threatening of a lawyer passenger were disregarded, so that instead of getting to St. John's by nine in the morning, it was

not till long after sunset that we entered the harbour.

14th.—Took passage in the same comfortless boat to Eastport, state of Maine; here our luggage was slightly examined, as coming from a foreign country. We went forward again by stage to Bangor, on the Penobscot river; thence by steamer to Portland on the 16th; and finally reached the house of my dear companion J. D. L., at North Berwick, on the 17th, I trust with feelings of thankfulness for the many deliverances we had witnessed in the course of our journey. A considerable quantity of religious tracts, and the writings of Friends were circulated, and in some instances deposited as libraries, along our route.

18th, first-day.—At the meeting at North Berwick, to which several seeking people came; we were favoured with a blessed season. In the afternoon attended a funeral at Dover, thirteen miles distant. The meeting was not held at the regular place, but at the house of the deceased.

20th.—Attended the monthly meeting at Dover. The meeting for worship was a heavy season, as when "death is in the pot;" the one succeeding it was equally painful.

21st.—Attended the Dover Select meeting. We sat long in a low state, as in the deeps; when it was with me to break the silence with this language,—“Awake, O! north wind, and come, thou south; blow upon my garden, that the spices thereof may flow out. Let my beloved come into his garden, and eat his pleasant fruits;” endeavouring to show the necessity of our being willing to pass through that stripped wintry state, in which nothing can live that is not of the Lord’s planting, and which can prepare our hearts to bring forth fruit, such as the beloved of our souls delighteth in. Several others spoke to the edification of the meeting. The quarterly meeting commenced with a large meeting for worship, in which I had some labour: it was the first held in a new meeting-house.

22nd.—Feeling bound to attend the Ohio yearly meeting, and having the opportunity of accompanying a Friend, we set out together this day, and reached New York, on the 25th; the latter part of the journey in the steamer Lexington. I was no stranger to the character of this vessel, and had on a former occasion avoided travelling by her; but now I had no time to lose, and trusting in that Almighty power, which has so often been my preserver, we were favoured to reach New York without accident. Here I found distressing accounts from my family. In addition to the continued indisposition of dear Charles, it appears that the health of my eldest son Joshua had so

much declined, as to oblige him to return to England. I cannot but feel tried under this increased affliction, but I desire to be resigned to the will of my heavenly Father, in the belief that he doth indeed not willingly afflict the children of men. Attended the forenoon meeting for worship, and was strengthened to declare among them the way of salvation from sin.

On the 26th, we reached the house of my kind friend Ellis Yarnall of Philadelphia. Whilst here, I felt best satisfied to write to my children, holding out the probability of my returning to England after the Ohio yearly meeting, if the way should appear to open for this measure with clearness. Reached Harrisburgh, the capital of the state of Pennsylvania, the next day, and from this place proceeded by packet drawn by three horses on the Pennsylvania canal, along the beautiful valleys of the Alleghany mountains. Beyond Lewistown the valleys become wider and better cultivated, and the general appearance of things strikingly different to what we had lately seen in the State of Maine, in New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia.

28th.—After a night disturbed by passing many locks, we are still winding our way through beautiful valleys, backed although rather more distantly by well-wooded mountains. Have employed the interval of leisure in bringing up my journal which had fallen into arrear, believing that I shall not soon have a more favourable opportunity.

On the 29th reached Hollidaysburgh, where the railway over the Alleghany mountains begins. Drawn sometimes by locomotive, at others by stationary engines, then by horses, and eventually descended an incline, and again proceeded by canal to Pittsburgh. From this town we proceeded by steamer along the Ohio river and arrived at Mount Pleasant on the 1st of ninth month. The yearly meeting is held here.

Ninth month 2nd.—The yearly meeting at large commenced, when my certificates were read, and I had to give the meeting some account of the Lord’s merciful dealings with me. The yearly meeting ended on the 7th, and was favoured to its close with great solemnity. In the last sitting of the Select meeting, I had some remarks to make on the great responsibility of those in the station of elders, who, if not anointed from on high, are incapable of discerning from whence the ministry proceeds; and to add my belief, that there is a ministry growing in the Society, which, if not checked, would fill the minds of the hearers with things like the “abomination of desolation,” spoken of by the prophet, that would stand in the holy place, where it ought not,—in the place of vital religion,



and would make truly desolate and destitute of the presence of the Lord. It was the elders of Ephesus who were sent for, and charged to take heed to themselves, and to the flock, by the great apostle. Set out the same evening in company with several Friends, on my return towards Philadelphia, which we reached on the 12th, after a fatiguing journey.

15th, first-day.—In the forenoon meeting [at Philadelphia] I was largely engaged in declaring the blessed Truth. I had taken cold, and my cough troubled me during the early part of the meeting; but on standing up, to my admiration, it was no more felt.

16th.—Went to Burlington, and spent the night at the house of dear S. and R. G. In the evening many Friends came in; and we were comforted together by the life-giving presence of the gracious Master.

22nd, first-day.—In the forenoon my mouth was opened, and my heart enlarged to declare, in the love of the gospel, the new and only way to the everlasting kingdom. In the afternoon, silent.

25th.—At a marriage in Twelfth Street meeting-house, Philadelphia, which was numerously attended by the public; I was strengthened to declare the day of the Lord amongst them, and to show that it is not to the mighty or the noble, not to the wise or the prudent, that the things of the heavenly kingdom are revealed; but to the weak and despised, to the unassuming and child-like: rehearsing the beautiful and instructive acknowledgment of our blessed Saviour,—“I thank thee, O! Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes: even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight.”

26th.—Took leave of Friends as extensively as time and circumstances would permit; and the next day proceeded to New York. Here I examined the British Queen steamer, and the Mediator packet ship; and concluded, for various reasons, to take passage in the latter.

Tenth month 1st.—Finally embarked for England. Several kind friends accompanied us as far as the vessel was towed out to sea, returning with the steamer. Forty passengers were on board, twenty of whom are in the cabin. May the Lord preserve me in watchfulness and prayer amongst them. We were favoured to get sight of the Scilly Islands on the sixteenth day, when the wind changed and blew strong from the eastward, so that we did not anchor on the Mother Bank till the 23rd instant. The company on board proved one of the most agreeable that has ever fallen to my lot.

Left the vessel at Portsmouth, and after writing to inquire where the wreck of my family were sojourning, crossed the Isle of Wight to Niton, where I was comforted by the particulars I gleaned of the close of my precious William; and I had an opportunity of acknowledging personally, the Christian kindness of several whose hearts had been opened to administer to the comfort of his last days. Spent a solitary evening at the hotel, and occupied the chamber whence his immortal spirit had returned unto God who gave it, purified I humbly trust, through the blood of Jesus, and prepared for an admittance into the everlasting kingdom.

#### CHAPTER XXXVII.

*Alarming illness of his son Charles, then in France, Daniel Wheeler proceeds thither before the death of Charles—returns to England—again sails for New York—last illness and death.*

ON the 25th of tenth month, I learned that my children had left England, with the idea of wintering in the South of France; but that my dear Charles had been so much exhausted with travelling before they reached Paris, that the hope of continuing the journey had been relinquished. I also learned that they were accompanied by our true friends W. and C. B., which was quite a relief to my mind. Having now accomplished my mournful purpose, and visited at Southampton the grave of my first-born, I should have proceeded immediately in the track of my children; but that several circumstances compelled me first to return to London. This detained me till the 29th, when having obtained my passport, I went down to Dover by the night mail, intending to join the steamer for Calais in the morning. The day, however, proved so stormy, that it was with some difficulty I could procure a boat to take me on board the steamer, at that time hovering off the Foreland. At length I succeeded in hiring a stout boat with five men, who were willing to make the attempt. The risk was not a little; but on viewing the storm, and remembering the situation of my drooping child, who had so faithfully shared all my toils and cares during our long voyage in the Pacific, the thought of danger was at once outbalanced; and trusting in Him who knew my motive for making the attempt, at a suitable moment we launched into the surf, and were favoured to get well off the strand; and the steamer being judiciously placed to enable us to reach her, I was favoured to gain her deck without accident. After leaving the coast the captain soon found

that we could not fetch Calais, and very prudently bore away at once for Boulogne, without making any fruitless efforts to reach the other port.

After a lonely winterly journey, arrived in Paris late in the evening of the 31st, and the next day was favoured to reach the bed-side of my sinking Charles, in the little town of St. Germain, twelve miles distant. The peaceful feeling that pervades the atmosphere around him is, I humbly trust, an earnest that the arms of everlasting mercy are open to receive him, when the awful change shall come. I found him apparently in a far advanced stage of consumption, and my dear Joshua looking very much shrunk, and altogether in very delicate health, although not actually confined to the house.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER TO S. S.

St. Germain, [so called,] near Paris,  
Eleventh month 2nd, 1839.

—— Little did I then anticipate that it would ever be my lot to address thee from this neighbourhood; but I was very unexpectedly prompted to look towards crossing the Atlantic, if only for a season, should the way fairly open after the close of the Ohio yearly meeting, and the step be approved by my American friends. During the first sittings of the above meeting, I felt discouraged, and doubts arose in my mind whether I could possibly clear myself towards that large assembly so as to feel at liberty when it was over, as I had been prevented by the lowness of the water in the Ohio from arriving in time for the two public meetings held previously to the sitting down of the yearly meeting; but at the conclusion an opportunity was afforded me of seeing the whole body of Friends collected under one roof, I suppose two thousand persons; when to my unexpected consolation, a most relieving season was vouchsafed. During the last sitting, I had a full opportunity with women Friends, and afterwards in the men's meeting, before the concluding minute was read. I now felt perfect freedom to leave Mount Pleasant, and proceeded eastward the same night. —

We have the comfort of having our friends W. and C. B. with us; so that amidst our sorrows we are still favoured with many blessings, which sweeten the bitter cup; and when I reflect that I have not to grieve for the misconduct of my children as having brought this affliction upon themselves, my heart is humbled under a sense that the present dispensation is of the Lord;—desiring to bow very low before Him, and believing that it is by these things we live, and in all these things is the life of our spirits. Our dear friends will

I hope remember us, as I am sure we stand in need of the prayers and sympathy of the faithful, if ever any poor creatures did, under the accumulated trials of a dark and cloudy day; that so we may be preserved in humble resignation to the unerring will of our heavenly Father, and that others may see by our patience, the blessed effects of the power of the Spirit of the Lord Jesus, “in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity.” —

[Although it is not proposed here to record the details of illness which follow in Daniel Wheeler's M. S. journal, it was thought that the following sketch which occurs after the decease of our brother, possessed sufficient interest to warrant its insertion.]

Although my dear Charles had been nearly two years in a critical state of health, and for the last six or eight months rapidly declining, he did not appear *entirely* to lose the idea of recovery, until about a fortnight before his decease: of its great *uncertainty* he was fully aware. In the early part of his illness he would say, ‘if it be the will of my heavenly Father, I could enjoy life a little longer;’ but in its more advanced stages he would acknowledge, that ‘life is no longer desirable, under such an accumulation of suffering: but the will of the Lord be done.’ About twelve days before his close, he said to me, ‘I am going, I see it plainly;’ and then adverted to a check which had occurred in his disorder, and had been the means of allowing him to see all his family; speaking of it as a mark of Divine condescension, quite incomprehensible to himself. ‘It is one of the links in that chain of providences, with which I have been so marvellously encompassed.’

He used frequently to compare his own case with those of others in the family who had preceded him. Speaking about this time of dear William, he observed, ‘I know little about his death, but I know how he lived; he fed on heavenly food. O! that I were as much prepared for the change as he was,—to him, to die was but to sink into His Father's arms;’—adding with much emphasis, ‘blessed are those who can die as he did.’

He often spoke of his own unworthiness, saying, that his only dependence was on the mercy of God in Christ Jesus; and on this he seemed to rest without a sense of fear. Once or twice, when referring to the composure he felt, he said, ‘surely I am not self-deceived;’ shortly adding, ‘O! no; it cannot be that the mercy, which has so signally followed me up to the present time, should now forsake me.’



On one occasion, he said to one of his brothers, 'heed not the world, nor the things thereof;' I wish I had heeded it less; and once when in great bodily extremity, he exclaimed, 'here is the end of pride!'

He frequently engaged in fervent prayer for patience and support, for the pardon of all transgressions, and a release in the Lord's time. Three days before his death he was heard to say,—“Bless the Lord, O my soul! and forget not all His benefits.” Even though He slay me, I will trust in Him. Blessed be His name, He has granted me a little relief. One crowning mercy yet remains; and for this I desire to wait His time. O! grant me grace for this. Thou, O Lord! art full of compassion and gracious, or thou wouldest long ago have abandoned a wretch like me: even yet I feel my proneness to rebel. O! let thy Holy Spirit support me through the few fearful hours that may remain; and grant me patience to wait thy time. I ask it for the blessed Saviour's sake.

A text on which he frequently dwelt, was that in Revelations, “They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more,” &c.; and perhaps his own sufferings from thirst, which were at times distressing, led him to realize more fully the blessedness of those thus set free from the infirmities of the flesh. A few days before his death, when parched with fever, and much exhausted, he exclaimed, ‘I shall soon be where all is rest, and more than rest,’ referring to the passage, “Eye hath not seen,” &c.

One evening when in a very suffering state, he remarked, that this was a new kind of conflict to him,—he had long been accustomed to mental conflict; but such positive physical suffering, he had neither known nor imagined. On being asked which he thought the more difficult to endure, he replied, that in his present state, he greatly preferred the contest allotted him; but, that when in health, when the mind was vigorous, he thought the mental struggle less severe.

On the morning of the 5th (of second month, 1840,) we thought him very near his close; but he afterwards revived, and seemed disappointed at being again delayed. On the same day, when in severe pain, he supplicated thus: ‘O! Lord, if it please thee, grant me a little patience; for without thy holy aid, it is past all mortal endurance.’ As evening approached, he seemed to have an extraordinary dread of the coming night, exclaiming despondingly, ‘another night, another night;’ and truly it proved a season of severe conflict, though the last of mortal suffering. About nine P. M., a change was noticed, which he soon detected himself,—saying, that

he thought he was dying; and shortly afterwards, ‘O! Lord, if it please thy righteous will, release me. Blessed be thy holy name!’ A short time before the close, on being asked if he felt peaceful, he replied calmly, ‘I feel no fear.’ He bade us separately farewell; and I believe his last connected expressions were,—‘You are very kind—the Lord Almighty bless you.’ The pains of the body seemed all he had to contend with: the struggle continued until four A. M., when he quietly expired, being apparently sensible till within a few minutes of the last.

Dear Charles’ desire that I should pray for him, when on the bed of sickness, often tended greatly to my own humiliation, it being at that time frequently my lot to be as one unable to pray even for myself; and when the spirit of supplication was at seasons permitted to influence my mind, it was not that length of days should be added to his life, or that it should be shortened; but that the will of his heavenly Father should be done, whatever it might be; and that all his afflictions might be sanctified to his eternal benefit: and strong were my cries to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though the dear sufferer might not be permitted to give us any strikingly comforting assurance of his being “accepted in the Beloved;” yet that an evidence might be vouchsafed of his having been admitted into that heavenly kingdom, which shall never have an end. On looking at his remains some hours after his departure, to my unspeakable comfort, I saw on his placid countenance that evidence for which I had besought the Lord. In the midst of death, there was a sweet angelic smile, surpassing that of life, its loveliness none can describe.

In the course of the illness of my dearest Charles, and the frequent opportunities we had of close converse on subjects of the highest importance, he never once brought into view his having forsaken all from an apprehension of duty to accompany me on the long voyage in the South Seas. To have reminded him of a sacrifice which had cost him so much; and which I humbly believe was not only called for, but accepted at his hands, by Him who had prepared the offering, would but have raised a feeling of honest indignation in his mind,—that an idea should be entertained of any merit being due to him, or that he had any act of dedication to lean upon, or to plead his cause. On the contrary, he seemed truly to possess nothing of his own, but the infirmities incident to the frailty of human nature; often dwelling on his own unworthiness of the least of all the Lord’s mercies extended to him, and alluding to them

in humblest gratitude. Doubtless it was best that he should cherish so humble a view of himself; and I never found it my place to throw out any hint, by way of encouragement to his often drooping mind: preferring to commit him into the hands of Him who judgeth righteously, whose compassions fail not; and who never faileth freely to forgive all that have nothing of their own to pay unto their Lord,—who are truly poor and of a contrite spirit.

[The remains were removed to Southampton and] interred within a few feet of those of his beloved brother William: dear M. S. F. kneeling at the grave side, offered the tribute of thanksgiving and praise to that gracious Being, who had thus prepared and taken to Himself, him for whom we mourned. The meeting afterwards proved a solemn, and I trust, an instructive season, wherein the life-giving presence of the great Master was felt.

My attention was next turned towards finding a suitable situation for my dear Joshua, whose declining health rendered it needful to remove into some of the more sheltered parts of the island; and the west being strongly recommended, we made our way towards Bristol, and succeeded in obtaining apartments for him at the Hot Wells, (sheltered by the stupendous cliffs from which the place above takes the name of Clifton,) which were considered very suitable for him in his present weak state.

Third month 8th, first-day.—Attended both meetings at Bristol; and in the forenoon had to declare the truth among them, to my own relief.

Feeling my mind attracted towards Balby monthly meeting, I set out in time to attend the Select meeting at Sheffield on the 11th: I was comforted in beholding the addition that had been made to their numbers during my absence; and my mouth was opened amongst them, in an encouraging manner. Next day attended the monthly meeting. In the meeting for worship that preceded it, my heart was enlarged towards my dear friends; and the way of life and salvation was proclaimed amongst them.

15th.—Attended the meetings at Dewsbury, in both which my mouth was largely opened.

23rd.—Bristol. Through all the vicissitudes which have of late attended my tribulated path, the inhabitants of the western world have been renewedly brought to my remembrance, under a feeling of that love, which would gather all mankind into the one great sheep-fold of rest and peace,—though I have felt no liberty to take any decided measures

till lately: but the way has within the last few days so remarkably opened, as to remove every doubt from my mind of the propriety of making preparations for my departure thitherwards.

Finding it was in vain to attempt seeing my long loved friends in other parts of Yorkshire, I took leave of my Sheffield friends on the 18th, and proceeded to London, where a place was secured for me in my favourite ship the Mediator. After settling some affairs there, I returned to this place, to spend with my children the few days yet remaining, till the sailing of the packet.

27th.—At the week-day meeting in Bristol, I stood up with the words,—“Then restored I, that which I took not away;” stating that these expressions had attracted the attention of my mind; and although the mysterious language of inspiration, I believed they might be understood by all who had passed through the great work of regeneration. The Lord Jesus restoreth the heavenly image in man, which was lost by transgression: and which the shedding of His precious blood had placed all in a capacity to have restored to them, who believe in Him, and are willing to submit to the power of His Holy Spirit in their own hearts. The poor of the Lord’s people were encouraged; and the heaven-born sons and daughters of Zion strengthened to trust in their God.

28th.—Took leave of dear Joshua,\* and accompanied by my dear S., went to Portsmouth to meet the ship, which was to leave London on the 26th. The next being first-day, knowing of no Friends residing in this town, we remained at home, and enjoyed a quiet and peaceful sabbath together before the Lord,—something like a little passover before the painful moment of separation which was fast approaching; it brought with it the bitter cup of which we had before so largely partaken, but now under the pressure of more sorrowful circumstances.

30th.—Embarked in the Mediator; it was late before our final departure, and it grew dusk soon after sailing.

31st.—Worked all day against a head-wind, of sufficient strength to confine the major part of our company to their berths. To myself, I seemed like a poor outcast among them; and could I not have felt something like a foundation cause for being there, sufficiently firm for me to ground an appeal in brokenness of spirit to Him from whom nothing can be hid, there would have been nothing for the feet of the mind to rest upon. It is no light matter, at my age, to embark single-handed for

\* Joshua Wheeler survived till the following spring.



the American shore; but I have been so mercifully led, guided, and sustained through all my late trials, that I dare not for a moment doubt my being in my right allotment; and particularly because of the peace and love which have not unfrequently been permitted to flow through my heart, since having again forsaken all that is dear to me in this world for the blessed Master's sake.

Fourth month 1st.—The wind backed so far to the southward of west, that we made a good slant down the British Channel. In the night the Mediator was enabled to point to the right course, though with nothing to spare.

2nd.—Wind to the eastward of south, and in the night became still more favourable, when all sail was crowded to the breeze, and every advantage taken of it. Eventually it became a strong breeze from the north-east. The ship now made rapid progress, and but for an old north-west swell, the motion would have been comparatively trifling. On the 3rd we were found to be in longitude  $13^{\circ} 30'$  west; and now the 4th, being seventh-day afternoon, we are still rolling on with a fair wind, though its strength has somewhat lessened. Yesterday before breakfast the sea made its way through the cabin windows, some of which had been raised for the admission of air. Happily no material quantity of water got in, though it ran to the far end of the main cabin; my cabin escaped, which I consider a privilege and favour.

Here our dear father laid down the pen never more to resume it, except to address a few trembling lines to his children from his sick bed. It appears that after he had been about a week at sea, he took cold, which soon settled on the chest, and was accompanied by great oppression in breathing, and inability to use a recumbent position. As there was no surgeon on board, he could not have the medical treatment which his symptoms so urgently demanded, and though in every other respect he received the utmost attention and kindness, his disorder gained a fearful ascendancy during the three following weeks which he remained on ship-board. A few days before the vessel reached her destination, he was so extremely ill that his fellow-passengers doubted his surviving till they entered their port. He had himself, however, no apprehensions on this head; and on the 28th of fourth month, he was landed at New York, in a very feeble and suffering state. He was immediately taken to the house of his kind friend John Clapp, from whose family he was favoured to receive the most unremitting and tender care, during the remainder of his illness.

The change from the inconvenience of ship-board, to comfortable accommodations on shore, combined with the tender assiduities of the dear friends around him, appeared to be refreshing to him. The night after landing he rested well, and the next morning seemed so much better, that those around him felt quite cheered respecting him. Towards the evening of the 29th, however, he became greatly oppressed, and lay in a very suffering state. After passing a restless night, in the morning of the 30th the oppression returned with increased violence; and from the coldness of the extremities, and the state of exhaustion to which he was reduced, it was thought by his medical attendant that he could not long survive. On being informed of this by a dear friend, he replied calmly, 'All has been done that could be done; only write to my dear children how it is. The work has been going on with the day. Love to all my friends on this side of the Atlantic, as well as the other. It is a great thing to be clear of pain. I want nothing but the love of my heavenly Father, and I witness it.' After remaining for some time in this state, the oppression gradually subsided, and he enjoyed some hours of tranquil sleep. This refreshed him much, and towards evening he had so far rallied, as himself to address a few lines to his distant family; they are written in a very tremulous and almost illegible hand. In these he remarks, 'I have been landed a very sick man in this city; but my most gracious Lord hath borne me up in a marvellous manner through a multitude of distress and difficulty, for His great name's sake, and for His dear Son's sake;—to His own everlasting praise be it spoken:—thus evincing, that thankfulness and love to our heavenly Father, so conspicuously the covering of his mind in the time of health, still pervaded his spirit on the bed of languishing.

For several succeeding days his disorder fluctuated greatly: at times he appeared very comfortable, and then again laboured under great oppression. On the night of the 1st of fifth month, a friend sat up with him, whom he had not seen since his return to England the preceding autumn. On observing him, he said, 'Ah —, I have had a suffering time since I left America; but I have been mercifully directed as to an hair's breadth.' Then spreading out his hand, he added, 'Yes, plainly, as if I had had a scroll of directions in my hand.' Towards morning, when apparently in a very exhausted state, he said to those around him, 'Well now, my dear friends, I want to be left entirely alone with my heavenly Father;' and several times during his illness he made a similar request.

On the 2nd, he was bled from the arm, which produced considerable relief to the breathing: the following day the bleeding was repeated, and again the oppression appeared to be diminished by it. During the operation, he remarked to his medical attendant,—‘without blood, there is no cleansing.’ Dr. W. replied,—it is “the blood of Jesus that cleanseth us from all our sins.” ‘Yes,’ said his patient, ‘but not in our natural unregenerate state: when we are in the light, as he is in the light, then I believe it will cleanse us from all our sins. Yes,’ he added with much emphasis, ‘I know it.’

Through the day he appeared more comfortable; but in the evening the oppression returned, accompanied by great prostration of strength. This continued nearly an hour; when a little revived, he said, ‘I have had a hard struggle. At one time I did not know but it was the cold sweat of death.’

On the 4th, 5th and 6th, he remained in a suffering state. On the morning of the latter day, after making some arrangements respecting his papers, &c., he said he had now done with the things of this world; he had no wish to live, but for the sake of his family, and that the Lord Jesus might live in him;—He had been his guide for many years, and he had declared His name unto thousands: he had no hope but in Him;—He was the same Lord over all. It was not the prospect of an immediate release that led him to speak thus, for he did not see that; but it was in his heart, and he must say it while he had words. Many other remarks he made at this time, in a very impressive manner, and with a strong voice. After this he had some refreshing sleep.

In the afternoon of the same day, he received a visit from his beloved friend S. G., which proved an occasion of deep interest. His mind seemed to overflow with admiration of the goodness of his dear Lord and Master, which had constantly attended him in his varied pilgrimage. He recapitulated briefly what had occurred since he left America, alluding to the consolation he received at the death of his beloved Charles, when he was made to rejoice in the midst of grief. He added, ‘the Lord is good to them that love and fear His name. Great things hath He done for me,—things so wonderfully marvelous, that they would hardly be believed were I to tell of them. If I have experienced any shortness in my journey Zionward, it has been on my side, not the Lord’s,—for He has been faithful, and his promises have been and remain to be, yea and amen for ever. Whilst I was on shipboard, and thought by some of the passengers to be nigh unto death, how did

the Lord appear for my help and consolation; and since I have been in this chamber, how has He appeared for my comfort in the night season; and I have been enabled to sing hymns of praise and thanksgiving unto Him. When the ship made her soundings, I made my soundings upon that Rock, whose foundation is from everlasting to everlasting. I saw that I should be safely landed, though extremely weak in body; and I was enabled to say, should the Lord see meet to raise me up, and strengthen me still to show forth His wonderful works to the children of men, or cut the work short in righteousness, “Thy will O God, not mine be done.” I do not see how the end will be.’

He spoke of the last first-day he spent in England, and of the precious season before the Lord, which he had then enjoyed. It was like a little passover, but whether unto death or unto suffering, he could not tell.

For several succeeding days, the disorder appeared very stationary: he lay in a languid state, but apparently suffering little positive pain. On the 11th, he received a letter of sympathy from a kind friend, who remarked that he felt a very comfortable assurance that the Lord would still continue to protect him, &c. The dear sufferer said that he was too ill to write himself, but wished those about him to do so, and to tell his friend that he believed it would be as he had said; adding, ‘I feel the Saviour to be near me every hour of the day.’

After this period, considerable mitigation of the symptoms occurred, and for two successive weeks, he appeared to be slowly gaining ground, so that his anxious friends were ready to take comfort in the hope that his life might yet be spared to them. For a time, he seems himself to have participated in this expectation; and a very cheering letter written on the 13th to his children, led them also to indulge the hope, that the bitter cup might for the present be permitted to pass from them. His full heart seemed to overflow with the love and praises of the Lord, for all His rich mercies towards him; and in the feeling of some degree of returning health, he was afresh animated to pursue with unreserved dedication of soul, the service of his dear Lord and Master.

On the 19th, he addressed a few lines to his family for the last time, which breathed the same spirit of encouragement and thankfulness as his preceding letter. The following is an extract.

My very dear children,

I wrote you a few lines on the 13th instant, by the Stephen Whitney packet-ship for Li-



verpool; and again, through Him who died that we might live, I am enabled this day to send you a still better account of myself; at which, with me you will rejoice in the true fear that keepeth the heart clean. You must accept it in the gross, as in the present state of my convalescence it is impossible for me to delineate one-half of the Lord's gracious dealings with me. — I trust I shall be able to ride out for air daily in a short time. The weather here is very hot, which makes writing more irksome to me than it otherwise would be; but I know that you will make every allowance for me. Scatter abroad my love, wherever you go,—take as much as you can desire for yourselves, and believe me, your ever affectionate father,  
D. W.

At this time he had rallied so much, as for several days to be able to rise and be dressed, and to walk with assistance into an adjoining room; and the improvement in his appearance, and the cheerfulness of his spirits quite encouraged those around him. Soon, however, these pleasing prospects were overcast, and the last fondly cherished hope of his restoration to health entirely faded. On the 26th of fifth month, he appeared rather drooping, and more feeble than before; and after passing a restless night, on the morning of the 27th, he sank into a state of insensibility, accompanied by a convulsive movement of the hands and feet: in this situation he continued several hours. When partially recovered from it, a kind friend called to see him. On being told she was present, he held out his hand, saying, 'thou seest a poor creature.' 'Yes,' she replied; 'but rich I trust in the Master's favour.' 'If it were not so,' said he, 'I should be poor indeed.' She was afterwards engaged in supplication by the bed-side, fervently imploring the continuance of Divine love and mercy towards him; but he seemed scarcely sufficiently collected to be aware of what was passing around him. Towards evening, the stupor was in degree relieved, and he passed a more tranquil night than the preceding one.

In the morning of the 29th, he laboured for some time under great oppression of the breathing; when this had a little subsided, our friend J. G. who was about returning to his home in Ireland, called to take leave of him. At the conclusion of their interview, our dear father observed that as to himself, he had no doubt:—he had the same faith that had been with him through life, founded upon the gospel of Christ; and which enabled him to say with the apostle, "nevertheless I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me; and the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the

faith of the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me."

30th.—This morning, in reference to the ship in which he had come over from England having again sailed, he remarked that the captain had gone and left him; but added in a moment, 'if my heavenly Father cares for me, I shall fear nothing: He will carry me safely through:—He is my only hope.' For several days after this, the dear sufferer remained in a very sinking state, and the measures resorted to in the hope of relieving the disorder, added to his debility.

On the 3rd of sixth month, a friend from a distance who had come to see him, remarking how glad he should be in any way to help him, our dear father replied,—'I have but one Helper, but He is Almighty.'

On the 6th, when his kind hostess entered the room, he was engaged in vocal prayer, but she was unable to collect much that he said. On some friends who were leaving the city calling to bid him farewell, he said they must leave him in the hands of his heavenly Father,—to his love and mercy. He could not tell half what had been done for his soul; but the time might come when it would be proclaimed as on the house-tops. On a previous occasion, when the same friends were seated by his bed-side, one of them remarked, that it was a great favour to see him preserved in so much calmness and quietness. 'Ah,' he rejoined, 'you *would* think so, if you knew all;' at other times he intimated the favoured state of his mind.

For several succeeding days he remained in a state of great feebleness and exhaustion, apparently without much suffering, except from occasional oppression of the breathing, and generally in a drowsy state; so that he entered very little into conversation of any kind. During this period, he took little nourishment; and his weakness increased rapidly in consequence. From the state of the mouth and throat, he could not swallow without pain and difficulty; and on one occasion as one of his affectionate attendants was urging him to take something,—saying she thought he stood in need of it, he replied—'I think not; and when there is need, my heavenly Father will enable me to take it, for there is not a pang I suffer, but what is known to Him; and I have evidence, that though far from home and my native land, I am not forgotten.' Thus mercifully was he sustained, and his faith and confidence permitted to remain unshaken, amidst the sinking of nature.

On the morning of the 12th, he appeared unusually feeble, though not apparently worse in other respects. He was wheeled into the adjoining apartment as usual; and shortly

afterwards remarked to one of the family, who had most affectionately watched over him, 'perhaps this day will end all your cares and troubles.' It was an unusual remark; but as it was supposed to arise from the feeling of present weakness, it did not excite any particular alarm. The heat of the weather being oppressive, he was placed in a current of air, and was almost constantly fanned. His mouth he said was better; but still it was with difficulty that he was induced to make the effort to take any nourishment. In the afternoon, one of those around him, making some allusion to his returning to England, he remarked,—'it is very doubtful whether I shall be permitted to return to England.' His friend expressed her hope that it might yet be permitted; for though he felt very weak at that time, his symptoms were better than they had been: his only answer was an incredulous smile. After this he was supported from one bed to another; but it was observed that his steps were more faltering than before.

Between four and five o'clock that afternoon, a young friend who had been much with him during his sickness, and had watched by him a part of the preceding night, called to take leave, as he was about to attend a distant yearly meeting. Our dear father acknowledged his kindness, adding,—'give my dear love to all my friends. God reigneth over all: His mercy and goodness have never failed me. The end I have not been able to see.'

About eight in the evening, being offered some tea, he remarked, that he could not see it; and it was evident that his sight had quite failed. Shortly afterwards he fell asleep; but his breathing was more laboured than usual. This being observed, he was twice asked if he was comfortable, to which he replied, 'yes.' The difficulty of breathing continued, and he was turned partly on one side, which not arousing him, his friends became alarmed; various means were resorted to, but nothing seemed to afford any relief. In this state he continued, apparently breathing with the same difficulty as before, till a little after twelve at night, when he gently passed away without sign or struggle.

The funeral took place on the 15th of the sixth month: it was largely attended, and proved a season of much solemnity; in which survivors were loudly called upon to follow the departed, as he had been concerned to follow Christ. Afterwards at the grave side, the voice of thanksgiving and praise ascended to Him, who had sustained His devoted follower through all the conflicts and trials of his pilgrimage,—who had prepared him for Himself through the sanctifying operation of His grace,

and had now been pleased in His abounding mercy to gather him in peace into the heavenly garner, even "as a shock of corn cometh in his season."

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS.

It is far from being the intention of the Editor to attempt any elaborate delineation of the character of the subject of these Memoirs; this he thinks will be best gathered from the correspondence and memoranda which have preceded. There is however one feature, on which he hopes the reader will bear with him, whilst he offers a few remarks, which appear to be called for by the peculiar opportunities for observation which he enjoyed,—viz., the mingled fidelity and tenderness with which his beloved father sustained the responsible character of a parent. In reverting to this particular, those who enjoyed the privilege of a filial relationship, feel that they have abundant cause to rise up and call him blessed. From their early years, the benign influence of his devout and pious spirit was forcibly felt; and it is now a mournful satisfaction to the survivors to recollect, that their earliest impressions of good were associated with the affectionate counsels of their departed father. His was not the language of precept only,—that of his strikingly consistent example was still more powerful. It was impossible to observe from day to day the thankful, cheerful, humble frame of mind which he so uniformly manifested,—his watchfulness to check every rising of improper feeling,—and above all, the deep reverence and filial love which pervaded his heart towards the great Author of every mercy,—without being made sensible of that blessed and all-pervading principle, which regulated the daily tenor of his life. His children at once loved and honoured him; for while he possessed their entire confidence, and the fullest hold on their affections, they knew that he was unflinching in the refusal of whatever he felt to be inconsistent with his principles or their highest good. Notwithstanding the kindness of his nature, and the strength and warmth of his parental feelings, his known firmness precluded all hope of inducing him to yield to their inclinations, when these stood opposed to their eternal interests. Many perhaps may have been more systematic in their instructions; but few could keep more steadily or practically in view the superior importance of heavenly things.

From their early years, he patiently laboured to imbue the minds of his children, with the love and fear of the Almighty. He instructed them diligently in the holy Scriptures;



and endeavoured to explain in a manner suited to their capacities, the truths they contain. He was also persevering in his efforts to exhibit to them the example of the righteous of other generations: and especially that exemplification of the fruits of his own principles, which the lives of the early members of our Society so strikingly display. For this purpose he set apart a portion of time daily, in which he read to his family works of this description; a practice that was continued up to the period when his religious labours called him from them. Perhaps some might be ready to think that such a course would be found irksome by the young; but certainly in the present instance the result was widely different, and his children can now recall the feelings of solemn interest and enjoyment that often attended these readings, and the short period of quiet by which they were invariably followed. It was also his custom each evening, when his children had retired to rest, to visit their chambers, and endeavour to direct their hearts to their great Creator and Preserver. On these occasions, he would repeat, or teach them to repeat passages of Scripture, or poetry of a devotional character, to which his own admonitions were frequently added; and he generally closed these sweet and well remembered seasons with a solemn pause: during which, doubtless, his pious spirit was often engaged in committing them to the Lord.

As his children advanced towards maturity, instead of relaxing his watchful care, he felt that there was need rather of redoubled vigilance to shield them from surrounding danger. Ever anxious for their best welfare, yet deeply sensible that through Divine grace alone, their youthful minds must be awakened, quickened, and enabled to lay hold of a Saviour's love; he was earnest in imploring for them this heavenly gift, and diligent in watching for opportunities to impress upon them the importance of spiritual things. One instance of the condescension of the Lord, in hearing and answering his prayers may be here introduced. As his eldest son attained the age of manhood, earnest were the cravings of his father, that the Lord would direct his heart "into the love of God, and into the patient waiting for Christ." He knew well that to the natural man, the things of God must ever be a mystery; and he longed that through submission to the operations of the Spirit of truth they might be opened to his understanding. Often with parental tenderness, he silently watched the opening convictions of his inquiring mind, and as opportunities presented, he laboured to explain to him the views he had himself received. At one time the sentiments of his

son on these all important subjects were exceedingly unsettled, and he passed through deep mental conflict before he yielded to the light of Divine truth in his soul, which dispelled the doubts and reasonings by which he was assailed. It was at this period, that one evening his father and he being alone together, they had much conversation on the points which then pressed heavily on the mind of the latter. Before retiring to rest, his father handed him the Bible, and requested him to read a chapter: he took the book and read the third chapter of Malachi. Deep seriousness overspread his countenance, and after a considerable time of silence he repeated, "The Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his temple, even the messenger of the covenant whom ye delight in;"—and he shall be "like a refiner's fire, and like fuller's soap:" adding, 'yes, he will come into his own temple, the temple of the heart, and there do his own work. I never understood this chapter before, nor saw, as I now see it, the spiritual nature of the gospel dispensation.' The impression thus made was not soon effaced; and it was evident to his thankful and rejoicing parent, that the prophetic declaration was indeed fulfilled in his experience,—that the Lord had come into his temple, and was there working to the purifying of his soul. The change which gradually succeeded was most striking; clearly evincing to those around, that the day had indeed dawned and the day star arisen, in a heart long oppressed with darkness, and a prey to many doubts. In reference to this period his father once remarked with much emotion,—“this kind can come forth by nothing but by prayer and fasting,” intimating the long continued exercise of soul through which he had been led on behalf of his son.

Two avenues to evil, he guarded with especial jealousy in his domestic sphere,—the introduction of books of an injurious tendency, and the association which he allowed to his children. With respect to reading, he was liberal in supplying whatever he thought calculated to improve or expand the mind, and furnish profitable exercise to the understanding; but very few productions of a frivolous or hurtful nature escaped the vigilance of his watchful eye. On these occasions, he regarded not the inclinations of those he so tenderly loved; and he has been known, when works that he disapproved had been lent to his young people, to return them himself to the parties from whom they came, accompanied by a frank avowal of his sentiments respecting them. With regard to society for his family, his situation in a foreign country, far separated from those of his own religious views, would doubtless have appeared to many to

present unusual difficulties. These he endeavoured to obviate, by rendering home as pleasant and cheerful as possible, and thus leaving his children little to desire beyond its precincts. Perhaps few domestic circles ever presented a happier scene than his own, while its links were permitted to remain unbroken. Doubtless the result of such a system has been to make the changes and separations, inevitable in a world of fluctuation and mutability, fall heavily on the hearts of survivors; but the shelter thus afforded to their inexperience, and to the unfixed principles of early years, was an invaluable safeguard; and they can now look back with grateful hearts to the wisdom and care of their departed parent. If his labours have not always been attended with adequate results, his children can freely, though with shame acknowledge, that the fault rested not with him but with themselves; and as respects those who have been called from this state of probation, the survivors are

permitted to believe the counsels and prayers of their pious father were blessed on their behalf, and that they were made partakers of that redemption which is in Christ Jesus, and favoured to know their robes washed and made white in His precious blood. And how full of consolation is the belief, that their spirits are now united with his, who so fondly and faithfully watched over their early years,—shielded them from temptations to surrounding evil,—and turned their feet into the path that leads to blessedness:—"Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in His temple: and He that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them. They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more; neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat. For the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters: and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes."

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## APPENDIX.

A. p. 56.

*Letters of the Empress Elizabeth to her mother, relative to the last illness and death of her husband, the Emperor Alexander of Russia.*

Dear mother,

I was not in a condition to write to you by the post of yesterday. To-day, a thousand and a thousand thanks to the Supreme Being, there is an evident improvement in the state of the Emperor, this angel of patience in the midst of his sufferings: for whom—upon whom—will God manifest His infinite mercy, if not upon him? Ah, my God! what bitter moments have I passed! And you, my dear mother! I figure to myself your anxiety; you have received the bulletin; you have seen to what we were reduced yesterday, and last night. But Wylie\* himself says to day, that the state of our dear invalid is satisfactory. He is excessively weak. My dear mother, I confess to you that I am not myself, and that I cannot say more. Pray with us, with fifty millions of men, that God will deign to complete the restoration of our beloved invalid.

ELIZABETH.

Second Letter, *which soon followed.*

I have lost all—the angel is no more;—dead, he smiles upon me, as he was wont to

do whilst living. There now remains to me only you my dear mother, with whom I wish to come and weep, and to be present at the interment. I shall remain near the deceased, and shall follow him as fast as my strength will permit.

ELIZABETH.

B. p. 57.

In the *Petersburg Gazette*, of the date of twelfth month 15th, 1825, is contained an account of this insurrection; the extract from which, although originally intended for insertion, want of space has compelled us to omit.

C. p. 163.

*Extracts from the account of the last illness of Jane, wife of Daniel Wheeler, inserted in the Annual Monitor for 1835.*

It was on the 10th day of the twelfth month, 1832, N. S., that the fever which was to terminate the life of our dear mother first appeared; but its form was for some days so mild, and our fears were at that time so strongly excited by the situation of another member of the family, who appeared to be on the very brink of the grave, that at first little apprehension was entertained of its serious nature. At length, however, the high degree of excitement which was obvious, amounting to a degree of delirium, awoke us to a sense of the

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\* Sir James Wylie, a Physician.



awful reality, but rational conversation was already nearly impracticable, and we have no reason to think that our beloved parent was sensible of her situation, till within a few hours of her final change, which took place on the 19th of the twelfth month. During this brief period, she appeared quite free from delirium, and remained composed and sensible nearly to the close; but her strength was so completely exhausted, that her attempts to speak, which were many, mostly ended in a tremulous inarticulate motion of the lips, which left those about her painfully unconscious of the meaning which she appeared solicitous to convey. Her countenance was, at this time, beautifully serene and peaceful; and once the words "Jesus" and "God" were clearly distinguished, though the import of the sentence could not be collected. At another time, observing one of her children in tears, she said distinctly, and with the utmost composure,—*Look up for help:* thus proving at once the tendency of her soul in the hour of extremity, towards the great object of the Christian's faith and hope; her consciousness of her own situation, and of surrounding circumstances; and her practical reliance on that Omnipotent Arm, which alone was sufficient to support at such a moment.

At length her respiration, which for some hours had been laborious, became more gentle, till the beloved sufferer passed away without sigh, groan, or struggle, leaving those around her bed unable to fix the precise moment at which the spirit fled. A holy calm spread itself over our feelings, and we remained for some time as silent as she on whom we gazed. The swell of sorrow seemed completely hushed, and the silent tribute of thanksgiving ascended to Him who had graciously led our departed mother all her life long, and had at last, in infinite mercy, taken her to Himself. It was a moment of solemnity and favour, never to be forgotten by us; in which all doubting was swallowed up, and the soul reposed, with a richness and fulness of peace, altogether indescribable, on the boundless goodness of God.

The external circumstances of our bereaved family at this juncture, were, in some respects peculiarly trying. One of us was still alarmingly ill, and the others were shattered by disease, or worn down with anxiety and watching: in the middle of a Russian winter, our beloved father, as has been stated, absent, and not having a single member of our own Society, out of the family, within our reach, we could not but feel our situation: and a new difficulty immediately arose respecting the interment of the mortal remains of our departed parent. No burying-place belonging to the So-

ciety of Friends existed here, and the adoption of any of those possessed by other bodies of professors, was not satisfactory to the minds of some of us. But Divine goodness never faileth those who trust Him, and desire to obey Him. The precise path of duty became gradually plain, and way was ultimately made, in a manner we had by no means anticipated, for the enclosure of a small space of ground near our dwelling, for the purpose of interment. This necessarily produced delay, and the successive illness of three of the survivors, still farther postponed the performance of the last sad duty to our deceased mother, and drew our attention from the dead, by most painful solicitude for the living. In mercy, however, the lives of these were spared; and on the 28th day of the third month, 1833, our mournful and solitary band, bowed down at once by sickness and sorrow, followed to her isolated resting-place, the remains of our late venerable mother.\*

He who had graciously promised, that where two or three are gathered together in his name, there will He be in the midst of them, was pleased to support our afflicted and drooping minds, and to strengthen us for the painful duty which succeeded. Thus through the mercy of Him, whose "compassions fail not," a day, the anticipation of which had been so appalling, was crowned with peace; and we felt in its close, that the tribute of praise and thanksgiving was due to that gracious Being, who had thus been pleased to manifest His strength in our exceeding weakness.

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*The following statement of the result of Daniel Wheeler's agricultural labours in the neighbourhood of Petersburg, was received too late for the insertion of a reference to it in the body of the work.*

THE land placed under Daniel Wheeler's care in 1818, consisted chiefly of certain parcels in the immediate vicinity of Petersburg, the cultivation of which to private enterprize appeared impracticable, on account of their barrenness, or their marshy nature. At the time of D. W.'s departure in 1832, about three thousand English acres were in full cultivation, on part of which fifteen farms had been established, varying in extent from thirty-five to one hundred and five acres each. About two thousand seven hundred acres

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\* Some of our readers may not, perhaps, be aware, that such is the severity of the frost near Petersburg, that no difficulty would arise in keeping the remains for the long period, which circumstances rendered expedient.

more had been drained, the cultivation being either left to other hands, or was in progress, when D. W. resigned his appointment. Besides the improvement thus effected in the neighbourhood of the capital, the most satisfactory evidence of the utility of the undertaking had been afforded, by the extensive adoption of various implements and methods of culture, heretofore unknown in Russia; and by the consideration which agriculture and rural economy in general had obtained. The suggestion of letting out land to *free* tenants, had not met with all the success that could have been desired.

*Extracts from the letters of Charles Wheeler, relative to the South Sea Islands, addressed to his family.*

*South Pacific*, Second month 26th, 1835.—Some fresh marine phenomena were seen to-day, among which none were more beautiful than a species of jelly fish, (probably *Pyrosoma Atlantica*,) in form resembling a glass tube, six or seven inches in length, with one end closed, and covered with opaque protuberances. With these the ocean was illuminated at night in a brilliant manner, and many of those that we took, exhibited, on being touched, a splendid phosphorescent light, sufficiently strong to show the time by a common watch, when it was placed near a single specimen. They showed perhaps few signs of animation, excepting this power of emitting or retaining light at pleasure. Several other species varying in form and size, are numerous here, but from their half liquid and perishable substance, it is almost impossible to preserve them. Probably most of these several varieties are luminous; some of them are of a mushroom shape, (*medusa Peluceus*) and have the power to move along through the water by dilating and retracting their richly fringed head. Grampuses, sharks, porpoises, dolphins, and some small striped fishes, called by the sailors, pilot fishes, are common in this part of the Pacific. The little pilot fishes attract a good deal of notice from their propensity to accompany the vessel: they are seen for hundreds of miles, (perhaps I might say thousands of miles,) frolicking close before the vessel's stem, and occasionally darting aside after some particle that attracts them for a moment, from their favourite position in the van. On the morning of the 27th, a sail was discovered ahead, and watched with shipboard interest, as it gradually augmented in size, till about noon a large whaler "brought to" close alongside us. English colours were displayed on both sides, and Captain —, of

the Elizabeth, of Sydney, accompanied by the surgeon of the vessel, came on board. They had been out eight or nine months, and succeeded in securing twelve hundred barrels of oil—which amounts to about one-third of a full cargo. After obtaining a few fresh provisions for some of their oil, and accepting some tracts, &c., our visitors returned to their ship, and in a few hours we lost sight of each other. The call from these marine sportsmen, was quite an incident in our monotonous life; though from the natural and acquired characters of the parties, such interviews are not generally productive of much enjoyment. What a strange life is that of a whaler, roving the wide ocean for months and years in quest of fish,—banished from almost every comfort that the humblest landsman may ordinarily possess! But the prospect of gain reconciles to present privation, and the promise of hope stimulates to exertion, and supports them in their dangerous career. There were five men at the mast-heads of this ship, looking out for whales, as she ranged over the blue swelling expanse. The space of ocean surveyed by these rangers is incredibly large. If we estimate the horizon as seen from the mast-head at about thirty-six superficial miles, which are changed every hour and a half, nearly three hundred square miles will be overlooked in twelve hours; and there are several hundred ships employed in the South Seas. Each of these is probably out from two to four years at a time.

Third month 5th, 1835.—The settlement on Norfolk Island, which is on the south shore, has a neat and respectable appearance, the houses being built of limestone, and with some degree of regularity. The whole population is about one thousand persons, and of these the greater part are prisoners of the lowest grade. The boats which came off to our vessel, were each of them manned with six or eight convicts, and two or three armed soldiers. Two government vessels were cruising round the island, waiting an opportunity to land their cargoes. One of these had brought about seventy prisoners, who had risen during the passage from Sydney, and very nearly succeeded in taking the ship. They would be tried, and it was the opinion of an officer who was speaking of the circumstance, that some of them would be executed.

*Papeiti Bay, Tahiti*, Fifth month 1st.—

There is nothing, perhaps, in Tahitian habits more striking or pitiable, than their aimless, nerveless mode of spending life. The community, with the exception of a few foreigners or foreignized natives, might seem to exist to fish, pluck and eat fruit, bask in the sun,



dabble in the water, or frolic on the sand. I mean to say that things have *this appearance*; and that according to our notions, their habits are deplorably indolent; and it is difficult to imagine any very different state under their circumstances. From the size and strength of their frames, they would appear to be of a stock capable of great exertion; yet they seem to inherit all the lassitude and inactivity of tropical residents, and the climate is so extremely hot, that by day every movement is an effort. Their wants are few and remarkably supplied, clothing being an encumbrance, desired only because associated with ideas of superiority, and tolerated occasionally in compliment to imported notions;—and food of the kind most adapted and grateful, teeming around them, almost independently of their care. If the faculties were developed, and all effeminating indulgence discarded, I cannot but think that an adult Tahitian would be a more respectable human being than he now is, even though external circumstances remained the same.

Their outward circumstances, there can be no doubt, have derived material benefit from the introduction of Christian teachers and civilized regulations, so far as they have been introduced: these, beside preventing certain Pagan enormities amongst the natives, constitute a valuable check to the vicious and overbearing conduct of foreigners, which so lamentably sullies the history of these islands. Adventurers of all kinds are not now at liberty to take up their abode on shore, without reference on the part of the government, to their respectability and motives in coming; but certain credentials or recommendations, as we are told, are required, without which no one is encouraged or openly allowed to remain. This is a very useful restriction, as previously to its adoption, the most worthless characters have caused much disorder and misery, by settling among the natives and marrying, to remain only till caprice has dictated the desirableness of a move, when their families have been deserted without scruple or redress.

Trial by jury, which has been introduced here, is a great blessing, and one which perhaps Englishmen are better able to appreciate than any others, from their long experience of its value at home. The Tahitian jury consists of six men instead of twelve; but the principle, as I understand it, is precisely the same.

Fifth month 13th.—After attending a missionary meeting held at Papaoa, Charles Wheeler remarks: “We were pleased with the appearance and manners of the chiefs, and with what we saw of their queen. Some of

the former are fine intelligent men, and in their general appearance reminded me of North American Indians. Many speeches were made by the principal chiefs, who avowed their sentiments with great animation; and throughout the whole affair, very considerable order, and respectful demeanour were observed by all parties. The queen is a decidedly intelligent looking woman, of about four and twenty years of age: and has by no means an ignoble appearance; though her artless, unassuming manner and simple attire, accord little with our notions of regal dignity. Her dress was much less showy than that of many of her inferiors, and far from inelegant. A long robe of beautifully white muslin flowing loosely round her figure, a little embroidery and silk about the neck, and a jet black bonnet, comprehended all that was apparent.

“We have since been visited by the king, (properly speaking he is only the queen’s husband,) and some of his chiefs, who breakfasted on board our vessel. The former appears to be about twenty years of age; and is a mild, intelligent, unassuming youth. His countenance is not strictly handsome, but it is truly Tahitian and pleasing; and his slender form, dark expressive eye, and gentle manner,—which are completely Asiatic,—give something feminine to his appearance. The chiefs who accompanied him were of a much sterner school, and all of them considerably older than himself. They behaved with great propriety and good nature, and conversed in a friendly, sensible manner, expressing their satisfaction with the frank, unceremonious way in which they had been received. Before they left us, a telescope was presented to the king, and a shawl to each of the party. Nothing like selfishness was shown by the leading personage, who did not attempt to select the best article for himself; but taking that which happened to be next him, he allowed the rest of the company to do the same. The chiefs playfully vied with each other, as to who should take charge of their master’s property, which was left in their hands. On going away, the king asked the steward for a *little bread for the queen*. He had evidently relished this article himself as a rarity, and therefore I suppose intended her to share. They were all dressed in the native style, but in foreign articles of good quality. A fine white shirt, and an ample piece of print wound round the waist, and reaching to the knees, with a straw hat encircled by a broad ribbon or piece of silk, seem to be the favourite dress.”

16th.—We took a walk for exercise along the high road, which is a path formed by the

soil thrown out of two ditches, affording in dry weather, a tolerable causeway. The want of bridges over the rivulets that cross it on their way from the hills to the sea, obliges passengers to wade through the water occasionally, or else adopt a mode, to which, on this occasion we were compelled to have recourse,—that of getting a native to carry them over on his back. The formation of these roads is an occupation in which criminals are employed by way of penalty: so many fathoms of the queen's road, or so many fathoms of sea-wall on the queen's island, are frequently imposed as punishments on male, and the making of a certain quantity of native cloth or matting, on female delinquents; and these punishments, if equitably put in force, are well adapted to the people.

It is a singular fact that there are no wild beasts on any of the Pacific islands, lying distant from the continent of Asia.

Sixth month 16th.—The remains of idolatry have been so effectually destroyed, that scarcely a trace of them is to be found. Perhaps the objects most intimately connected with them are the natives who persist in rejecting the profession of the gospel, a numerous class even now. The government compels all to attend worship, it is said on pain of forfeiture of landed property;\* but this coercion of course does no more than enforce a ceremony,—if indeed from its unchristian character, it does not operate rather as a hindrance to the progress of Christianity. The portion of the community not professing the new religion, often retain the true native dress, and are thus conspicuous among their professing countrymen, who have to a great extent adopted foreign articles of clothing.

Eighth month 9th.—After a sojourn of three months and a half at Tahiti, during which considerable opportunity for observation has been afforded, I shall now offer a few remarks, that may enable you to estimate more easily its present state. Without reference to what it may have been, my observations will apply simply to what it *is* at the present moment.

I need not describe the geographical position of Tahiti: it is the largest island in the Georgian and Society cluster; and considered

to be about one hundred miles in circumference. Together with Eimeo, (a small adjacent island to the westward, subject to the same government and laws) the population is estimated at upwards of 10,000 persons; there is no doubt that the above is a tolerable approximation to the truth, and that, however it may have been formerly, the islands are now very thinly peopled. In fact, the interior of Tahiti is not inhabited at all,—the low lands next the sea, which constitute but a small portion of the whole, being universally selected by the natives for the place of their abode. Upon this fertile margin along the coast, their little huts of poles, mats and thatch, are scattered with great irregularity,—not in well defined clusters or villages, but singly or otherwise, as the course of a stream, or the boundary of a plantation, may suit best. The mountainous tracts inland are little frequented, although from the luxuriance of the vegetation, I conclude that many parts are capable of cultivation. Some fruits are produced spontaneously, and in the remoter valleys these are never gathered by human hands. The highest ridges, reckoned about seven thousand feet above the ocean, are covered with rich forests, whose verdure never fades; and the deep shade of valleys, vocal with the thunder of descending waters, is of course still more prolific of vegetation. But whatever the inland districts may produce, or may be capable of producing, the low tract of country stretching along the circumference of the island, seems to be fully adequate to maintain the present population, without requiring much culture or care, on the part of those who gather the fruits. The taro, (*caladium esculentum*), an excellent farinaceous vegetable, the yam (*Dioscorea alata*) and the sweet potato (*Convolvulus batatas*), involve some little labour; but many of the fruits demand only occasional weeding from the overwhelming growth of guavas, and protection from the ravages of hogs, with which the place is over-run. The gigantic cocoa-nut tree bears fruit without intermission the year round, and furnishes at once the means of shelter, food and clothing. The leaf is used for mats, and thatch, and fuel; the bark is converted into cloth; the timber is valuable for many purposes; the nut-shell is the native basin; the kernel is ground up into a nutritious food; the milk is universally drunk; and the ripe nut affords abundant oil, both for home use and exportation. The bread fruit too is highly prized: as a vegetable it is both palatable and wholesome, and from the bark of the large trees is made the cloth in common use by the Tahitians. Oranges, lemons, limes, melons, viz., (*spondias dulcis*;) papaw, (*carica papa-*

\* A respectable resident told us, that one flagrant instance of this came within his knowledge some time back. A poor man had been out fishing, and returned too late for the week-day service. He was tried, and his land was taken from him by men empowered to enforce this abominable regulation. It is not enrolled in the Tahitian code of laws, but is said to be a "command" only. Remove the penalty, and the command might very safely remain unrepealed.



ya;) bananas, (*musa sapientum*;) pine apples and pumpkins abound among the indigenous and exotic fruits and vegetables of this island. If the shore is thus teeming with spontaneous provision for the wants of the inhabitants, the surrounding ocean is not less prolific in affording an endless variety of fish. Turtles, shell-fish, and many half-animated marine substances used as food, are found within the reefs.

When I mention the reefs, I cannot forbear making a few remarks on these extraordinary natural break-waters, which are of the highest value to the South Sea Islands. Take Tahiti for instance. Without this coral breast-work there is not a single harbour in the island; but with it, the coast, with few exceptions, is sheltered from the ocean, and circumnavigated with safety in the smallest canoe. In one or two places the coast is exposed; but excepting these openings, and a number of narrow passes for boats or ships, a bank of sand and coral, nearly even with the surface of the water, varying in distance from the beach from half a mile to perhaps a mile and a half, extends round the whole island, and defends it from the sea. On this wonderful barrier, the mighty Pacific breaks in ceaseless thunder, from age to age; but within the providential limit the raging deep is chained, and all is tranquil as a lake: ships of the largest size may enter and ride securely, and the light canoe of the native has a safe access to every part of the coast. We have all heard of coral reefs long ago; but till we reached this place, I may confess I had not the least idea of the characteristic peculiarity, in the natural shelter furnished by them among the South Sea Islands.

The government of Tahiti is nominally vested in one person, but as might be expected, the principal chiefs possess a large share of power. The queen and two of the most influential chiefs entertain a very friendly feeling towards the missionaries, and consequently their wishes are consulted, and their interest supported in most cases; but there is an opposite faction who would doubtless be glad if it were otherwise. Although Pomare appears to favour the cause of the missionaries, and by enforcing the laws against the sale of spirits, &c., to consult the welfare of her people, she is by no means a woman on whose principles full dependence can be placed. At a national assembly held annually, when nearly the whole population of the island come together to see, hear, and enjoy themselves,—which took place a week or two back at Papea, she is said to have sanctioned great disorders, and allowed some of the ancient heathen customs, of a shameful nature, to be indulged in.

In almost all the dealings which we have had with the natives, one principle of action appears predominant, to obtain *all* they can: and this is in precise accordance with the practice of our countrymen among them. The people of the neighbourhood of the Bay, labour under the disadvantage of being constantly exposed to contact with unprincipled foreigners, who encourage what is wrong, and introduce large quantities of ardent spirits among them, in spite of the legal prohibition. This fact alone is enough to account for the prevalence of vice, and sordid venality; and the formal, unwilling conformity to established restrictive regulations.

But though much of evil may be underneath, and great thoughtlessness may be obvious, yet there are doubtless alleviating exceptions; and *external* tranquillity is for the most part preserved.

It is nearly impossible for a visitor, who cannot even speak the language, to pronounce with much certainty on a subject of such moment, as the religious state of the community. Certainly appearances are unpromising; and however unwilling to adopt such a conclusion, there is reason to apprehend that Christian principle is a great rarity. Far, however, be it from me depreciate the labours of those who have been the instruments of the change produced in this island. So far from considering the beneficial results of their efforts as unimportant and insignificant, I regard them as of the highest moment, and as fully equal to what could in reason have been anticipated. In my opinion, if nothing more had been effected by the Tahitian mission than the translation of the holy Scriptures into the language of the country, every sacrifice that has been made, would have been abundantly rewarded. But the translation of the Sacred Writings is not all. Idol worship, the adoration of non-entities, or of supposed divinities, in the form of images, with all the frightful train of debasing ceremonies and human sacrifices, are abolished. Open infanticide, which prevailed to such a dreadful extent, is done away; and some degree of attention is paid to the improvement of the minds of children. Many salutary civil restrictions have been introduced, and a check imposed on the unbridled licentiousness of foreigners.

There is a singular custom prevailing in Tahiti, which I have not yet noticed. Every child possesses an indefinite number of adopted parents, who, at its birth, or perhaps even before, promise to cherish and assist in after life, in case of need. This practice confers great independence on the children, who remain with their real parents, only so long as is agreeable to them; and if maltreated or cor-

rected, they take up their residence with another family, to desert it hereafter in the same way. This is a great barrier to the right management of the native children, who can at once forsake their parents, should the correction or restraints they impose, become irksome to them.

The Tahitian mode of living is certainly very much in the simplicity, or perhaps more properly, in the rudeness, of nature. Their houses afford a shelter from the rain, and a receptacle for their little property; which consists of a few imported articles of clothing for special occasions, some food, nets, sleeping mats, and a display of firelocks: comforts, conveniences, and luxuries, (according to our ideas,) are for the most part unknown. One apartment usually accommodates the whole household, which generally consists of individuals of all ages, more or less related to each other, and herded together in considerable numbers. When at home, the usual employment of the men appears to be the preparation of food or oil, gardening and making nets, and that of the women the manufacture of native cloth, cooking and sewing; but both sexes are very frequently found unemployed, perhaps smoking, or playing with a ball and string. The men ordinarily wear very little clothing: the women a loose piece of print or calico thrown round the waist, leaving, except in the presence of foreigners, or when 'dressed out,' the upper part of the figure nearly or entirely exposed. The young children frequently go quite naked. A true native hut contains neither table, chair nor bed,—the reed-covered soil which forms a floor, serving the purposes of all. The food is spread on leaves, and the people sit round on their heels, squatted on the ground; and when recumbent, they lie upon mats, covered with folds of their native bark cloth. This cloth is made from the bark of several trees,—a large proportion of what is used here, from that of the bread fruit tree. This is beaten into thin sheets, which are rendered tenacious by the gum they contain, when properly dried in the sun. When fit for use, this ingenious substitute for woven goods, resembles coarse paper: it is, however, less easily torn, and generally somewhat thinner. It forms but a harsh, uncomfortable drapery, and will not bear properly washing, being injured by moisture, without much friction; but habit and necessity render it tolerable, and it is very readily made. When dressed for chapel, the men generally wear a foreign shirt, and a piece of print or blue cotton wrapped round the waist: the women a similar girdle of some light material, and either a kind of loose gown, or a shawl, of calico, thrown over the shoul-

ders, with a bonnet generally made of pressed paper, in imitation of straw, and profusely decorated with broad bright coloured ribbon. The last mentioned article is in very extensive use, and is sold to great advantage by almost every body here. I was one day trying to purchase a piece of ornamented native cloth, and offered an equal length of English print for it; but the owner refused this remuneration, demanding a similar length of ribbon instead. The gay colours worn by the whites, are, of course, zealously imitated by the poor natives, whose clothing seems to be adopted rather from vanity, or deference to foreign customs, than from necessity, or a sense of decorum.

Taloo Harbour, Island of Eimeo, Ninth month 12th, 1835.—This is a most romantic spot, surrounded by almost perpendicular hills, towering nearly four thousand feet, with a broken fantastic outline. As in Tahiti, there is a margin of lowland next the water, which produces abundant crops of fruit and vegetables; but the proportion of this fertile soil is small, and as a whole, probably, this is the less productive island of the two. Its scenery is wilder and more diversified, and the ridges are much more angular and rugged than those of Tahiti, some of them, where huge black rocks and foliage blend in the obscurity of distance, resembling the broken fragments of a stupendous ruin. Many parts are nearly perpendicular for hundreds of feet, and of course quite inaccessible. The summit of a mountain that skirts one side of Taloo Harbour, extending for a considerable distance at an elevation of three thousand feet, is yet so narrow, we are told, in some places, that a man cannot walk along it, but is obliged to push himself forward in a sitting posture, grasping the mountain with his legs.

On the 23rd, arrangements were made for visiting the opposite side of the island, where a number of natives, and one English family reside. The direction of the trade-wind rendered the longest route most eligible, and we pursued our course among coral rocks within the reefs. In a few hours we arrived opposite a famous entrance through the reef, formerly held sacred on account of a large marai, called Orua, situated on the beach near it. Here we landed and explored the marai, with its ruined piles of rock, its consecrated enclosures, praying-stones, and venerable grove of Aitos and Tamanus.\* The whole neighbourhood is

\* The Tamanu (*calophyllum Inophyllum*), was formerly held sacred in the South Sea Islands. It is a noble tree,—in general appearance something resembling the oak.



overgrown with trees and climbers, and the ruins are so completely dilapidated, that it is difficult to appreciate the original design. Many smaller heaps of stone, and the remains of pavements, steps, and praying-stones are seen near the principal pile,—the whole forming an enduring relic of superstition, and a proof of the laborious zeal of idolaters. After surveying this gloomy grove, once associated with scenes of horror and death, we continued an intricate passage through innumerable beds of coral, till we reached Afareaitu, and were cordially welcomed by the resident English family.

27th.—We heard some days since that more ardent spirits has just been brought to Tahiti by a schooner from Valparaiso, which is now trading in them. When we left Tahiti, another American vessel was there selling all she could of this destructive poison; in fact, the chief articles of barter for cocoa-nut oil and arrow-root that she seemed to have, were fire-arms and brandy, and these she was retailing round the coast. Her supercargo told me himself, that he had sold all the brandy he could get rid of, and between one and two hundred muskets. He is quite a youth, but well enough suited for the task he has undertaken, being a profligate, thoughtless fellow, initiated into the trade, which he avows his intention to continue. What could be more completely barbarous than this traffic, carried on with uncivilized nations at the present day; and that too by professing Christians!

During the afternoon of tenth month 15th, we rambled for exercise on the public road, along the coast, and saw a curious salt-water lake, situated about two miles to the northward of the harbour. It is a magnificent sheet of water, encircled by mountains and tropical forests; and probably would have been still more gratifying to eyes less familiar with the water than ours. There is, however, an essential distinction between the prospects to which *we* are accustomed, and inland lake scenery. The characteristic of the former is ceaseless fluctuation,—that of the latter unbroken tranquillity.

Among the enclosures of the natives here, there is greater indication of industry than we remarked in Tahiti, and many of the houses are built in the civilized manner, with windows, plastered walls, &c. Nevertheless the dwellings we have seen have by no means a comfortable aspect, and the general effect of the native settlements is not particularly pleasing. Unfurnished, dirty huts, surrounded with lumber, the remains of food, &c., naked children, and all but naked parents, working, or rolling about, smoking or playing, sleeping or waking, as the case may be; with groups of

half starved hogs and dogs occupying every corner in the neighbourhood, do not constitute the most delightful objects, though viewed in the far-famed South Sea Islands.

Our afternoon ramble on the 17th, led to the site of William Ellis's residence. The vicinity is completely overgrown with guavas, and the most authentic traces of its former occupant are discoverable in some fine fruit-trees, planted in the immediate neighbourhood of the house. We afterwards took tea at the mission-house, and were shown the press which is occasionally employed in printing native lessons, laws, &c.

On the afternoon of the 24th, we accompanied one of the missionaries on an excursion up the salt-water lake mentioned before. After walking about two miles, we embarked in a canoe, and were pushed along the shore by a man with a long pole;—a method adopted where the water is shallow, as the most expeditious mode of propelling their light barks. In about an hour we reached the farther end of the lagoon, distant perhaps five miles from the place of embarkation. The banks as we went along appeared thickly wooded and very thinly inhabited, exhibiting little variety, beside the occasional remains of marais, of which there are a great number. Our native conductor pointed out the particular pile of stones appropriated to his family, on which he had himself offered gifts to the supposed gods of Tahiti. He mentioned having been present on one occasion when a human victim was taken near this lake:—he was a boy at the time, and was rambling along the bank, when a party of men, led by a chief, approached the spot where he was, and where also the object of their pursuit happened to be. The chief, when he discovered his victim, bade him climb a cocoa-nut tree, which he of course instantly did. He ordered him to pluck some nuts for them, and when this was done, to break off a leaf, and come down. The leaf was to form a basket for his own body to be carried in. On coming down he was forthwith despatched. Our informant run away in great fear, while the murderers laughed at his terror, and exulted in their easy capture.

*Faré Harbour. Huahine.*—In personal appearance, there is no perceptible difference between the natives of this island and those of Tahiti; and from what we have seen, their progress in civil, social, and religious improvement is precisely similar. I think more pains have been bestowed on their instruction; but, as far as our observation has extended, they occupy much the same position as their Georgian neighbours in the scale of civilization, mental development and morality. On the

whole, I should suppose a larger proportion of the population is more or less acquainted with the rudiments of reading and writing; though many are ignorant of these, and it is not impossible that less constant intercourse with the shipping may have prevented some of that licentious degradation, which peculiarly characterizes the vicinity of sea-ports. Only one ship has been here during our stay, but in her case considerable irregularities were committed. The use of spirits is just now generally laid aside, and doubtless this salutary regulation will tend to prevent many evils.

*Raiatea*.—The natural scenery of Raiatea resembles what I have already described in the other islands, but is for the most part less picturesque than any other we have yet seen. It is a much larger island than Huahine, and is supposed to contain fourteen or fifteen hundred people; the whole of whom belong, nominally, to the settlement of Uturoa, though they are of course found scattered round the coast, as most convenient to themselves. Tahaa, a smaller island, containing a population of four or five hundred souls, subject to the same government, is situated a few miles to the northward, and is included within the same reef as Raiatea. This reef is precisely similar to what we have before seen, and extends round the two islands at a considerable distance, affording several excellent harbours, to which commodious channels furnish an easy access. The one in which we are lying is entered from the eastward, through a fine passage between two small islands, and is a spacious basin, capable of containing a large fleet, with a passage at the opposite end to leeward of the island. Nothing could well be more convenient; and although from the circumstance that its shelter, the reef, is as usual low and bare, good tackle is required in the anchorage; yet this stupendous barrier affords a most complete defence from the ocean. Coral and shells are plentiful, but the latter rather dear. Provisions seem to be rather lower than at Tahiti, where more competition diminishes the value of foreign articles of barter. Even there, things are very cheap for the most part. The common price for a good sized hog is six or eight yards of print, or from three to four dollars. Horned cattle are plentiful in all the islands we have yet seen, and are principally the property of the missionaries. When several ships can agree to take an ox among them, beef is sold at about 2*d.* per lb. Broad print, or cotton dyed a blue colour, is a favourite article of barter, and is always sold by the fathom, this length being convenient for the garment worn round the waist. A fathom is reckoned

to be worth nearly a dollar,—about four times its value in England. Gaudy-coloured ribbons are about the same price. A musket costing at home perhaps 12*s.* is sold at Tahiti for seven or eight dollars.

On the afternoon of eleventh month 2nd, we walked out for exercise along the settlement of Uturoa, which extends some distance by the sea-side, and called to see an old chief who is said to have been the principal instigator of the last war with Bolabola; to which perhaps more than to any other obvious reason, the present deteriorated condition of this people and the miserable falling away in Bolabola must be attributed. Beside the numerous evils inevitably incident to a nation engaged in hostilities with its neighbours, it is from this fatal period that both islands date the general introduction of spirits; which has proved no less detrimental to the community than fighting. *Here*, happily, the law has been passed for their prohibition; but in the other island their ravages still continue. We saw four pieces of cannon taken from the Bolabolans, which were used in the late contest; originally brought by a trading vessel from New Zealand, and sold to the poor natives at the rate of eighty hogs each. They are said to have belonged to the unfortunate Boyd, and to have been raised from her wreck by the New Zealanders.

On the 3rd of eleventh month, we started in company with C. Barff and a little boy on an excursion to the famous marai of Tabutabu Atea,—situated in the district of Apôa. The wind being against us all the way, it was a hard pull of about twelve miles, which occupied nearly three hours, and unfortunately for us it rained at intervals most of the time. The object of our curiosity is situated on a projecting piece of low land, running from the base of a considerable hill to the beach, and retains abundant features to identify it with the late system of horrors. An enormous banyan tree grows quite near it, and which could not fail to attract our notice and admiration. Like all other specimens of this extraordinary tree, it consists of a column of matted fibrous trunks, intersecting, supporting, or distorting each other, surmounted by a fine head of foliage; from which fall those slender, cord-like tendrils which connect roots and branches, and thus furnish the means of continual increase in size. Exclusive of these junior supporters, what may be called the stem of this enormous and complicated fabric, measured by paces forty-six yards in circumference; and I should think at least twenty men might conceal themselves in its truly gigantic mass. Between this natural curiosity and the marai, under the shade of a grove, is seen the space of ground



appropriated to the dances, once so much in vogue here, in celebration of their abominable orgies.

*Bolabola*, Eleventh month 11th.—In the afternoon we walked through the settlement, and saw several sick and infirm persons. My father distributed several pairs of spectacles where they seemed to be most needed, among the more serious natives who could read. One of these, a cripple, we found in his hut with his Bible before him, and two muskets hanging over his head: he is a constant attendant of the school, acting as teacher as well as he is able. On our walks here we have generally been attended by a group of children, who frolic round the strangers, and afford much amusement by their sprightliness, wildness and curiosity. They are really fine, intelligent little creatures. Some of them look healthy, but too many bear marks of the prevailing disorders, which have been deplorably neglected among these islanders. A more invaluable present could scarcely be sent to them than a good supply of drugs,—particularly calomel, salts, sulphur, ipecacuanha, opium and rhubarb. It is true, in many places there is no one to administer them, and in others they would not be administered to the greatest advantage, for want of professional knowledge; but if sent to the care of some of the missionaries, they would confer a great blessing. C. B. does much in relieving the poor creatures around him, by his own exertions in this way.

*South Pacific*, Eleventh month 19th, 1835. However deficient my accounts of the islands we have just left may appear, it would be no difficult matter to add considerably to the interest felt in their perusal, had my object been merely to draw a pleasing picture. I have noticed the causes which operate in producing the very false impression which certainly is produced by reading the reports of some former visitors. There are many circumstances connected with the South Sea Islands, peculiarly fascinating and poetical, and these have been made the most of by some of their delineators. My wish, that a simple statement should produce a simple and correct impression, has induced me to confine my remarks pretty much to matters of plain fact, more or less intimately connected with our own progress or the object of the voyage.

Of Tahiti, I have already given you some particulars, also of Eimeo. The government, laws, and people of the other Georgian Isles, are essentially the same, and the state of society not materially different. The same compulsory system which obtains in Tahiti,

ensures for the present in Eimeo an external attention to the services of the chapel; but the very existence of this detestable regulation indicates unsoundness. The fact that the poor native is subjected to a penalty if he absents himself from the chapel, and the sight of a man with a stick ransacking the villages for worshippers, before the hour of service,—a spectacle we have witnessed,—are so utterly abhorrent to our notions, that I cannot revert to the subject without feelings of regret and disgust.

The general appearance of the country, and of the inhabitants of Huahine, is similar to Tahiti, and the popular habits seem nearly the same. The soil is exceedingly prolific, demanding but little labour. Hogs and domestic fowls are pretty numerous, but horned cattle are only found in the possession of the missionary and a few others; and indeed it is undesirable that they should increase much, as they certainly are a great nuisance among the native plantations. In Tahiti and Eimeo they abound and run wild, preying upon the fruits and damaging the fences in parts that cannot be easily watched.

Both Raiatea and Tahaa are fine fertile islands, capable of supporting ten times their present population; but there is no prospect of increase under present circumstances; and if the sweeping bane of ardent spirits is readmitted, the numbers will rapidly decline. Even in Huahine, where things are undoubtedly better managed and the people more instructed, the number of births and deaths are just about equal. C. B. told us that he hoped during the present year, there would be a small preponderance in favour of the former. The more abandoned portion of the community scarcely ever have families, and many of the children that are born are miserably diseased, so that a little aggravation of circumstances, such as a return to general intemperance, would make existing causes adequate for a speedy extermination. I trust, however, these islanders may be preserved, after having survived the bloody era of human immolation, infanticide, and other pagan atrocities,—from falling victims to vices introduced and kept up by “Christians.”

But of all the islands in the Society group, Bolabola exhibits at the present time the most melancholy spectacle. It is indeed a lovely island, and wants only a moral and industrious population, and a consistent united government, to ensure its national prosperity. But, exhausted by the late struggle with Raiatea, the chiefs divided among themselves, all moral restraints disregarded by one faction, and every excess openly sanctioned;—the other party, who still adhere nominally to

the cause of the missionaries, left to support their own principles,—there is little of a pleasing nature to be said respecting it. The more sober part of the people seemed tractable enough; but it is scarcely to be expected that they will maintain their ground, associated with and related as they are, to the lawless faction. At the time of our visit the fruit season had not arrived, and consequently the means of distillation were not within their power; but a few weeks would furnish them with an abundant harvest of bread-fruit, &c., and it was greatly feared, that last year's excesses would again be indulged in, and a famine produced by the consumption of every article of food in the making of spirits.

The people here have much less of foreign clothing than the natives of the other islands, possessing fewer opportunities of obtaining it, and having wasted their means in drinking. This circumstance alone prevents many from attending chapel, when a missionary is here. Whatever their motive might be, the better sort appeared extremely eager to supply themselves with clothing, and would part with almost any thing they possessed, (which is not much, poor creatures!) to obtain a bit of print or calico.

The settlement is composed of wicker huts, with the exception of one or two dilapidated houses, the chapel and the mission-house. The island is extremely fertile, producing vast quantities of bread-fruit; but it is by no means well supplied with water, and on this account can never become a general resort for shipping, although it possesses a most magnificent harbour. We saw a spring or two, which furnish a constant supply; but the water usually found among the natives is nearly unfit for use, except during the rainy season.

As a missionary station, it is at present abandoned; but we saw nothing about the chiefs and people of the more respectable party particularly discouraging. On the contrary, I feel no doubt that a large portion of the inhabitants, whose interest in every point of view it would certainly be to protect such a resident, are capable of appreciating the value of a conscientious missionary. The lawless faction are at present incorrigible; but the removal of their leader would no doubt terminate their career, and this is an event by no means improbable, if he persist in his present intemperate habits. One of his sons fell a victim to intemperance only a few weeks back.

*Sandwich Isles, Oahu.*—On the 7th of first month, 1836, we visited the mission establishment and looked through the printing, binding, composing-rooms, &c. Two presses are

kept at work: at present printing the New Testament, a geography, the Hawaii newspaper,—(Ke Kumu Hawaii,)—and a music-book for a volume of hymns. The newspaper last year was twice its present size, and sold for twice its present price, which is half a dollar annually: it was published every fortnight, and 3500 copies were circulated. Probably its circulation will be much increased this season. It is a small but neat paper, containing information on subjects calculated to interest the people, such as natural history, and particular occurrences in the islands; and the demand indicates a relish on the part of the natives for such a source of instruction and amusement. We were pleased with the machinery in the establishment, which is in good repair, and is worked entirely by natives, under the direction of a foreign printer and binder.

There are at present residing in Honolulu, belonging to the American Board of Missions, two 'ordained' ministers, a doctor, a book-binder, a printer, and a 'secular agent.' A missionary from one of the other islands is here just now with his family. The above are all married men, although one or two of their number are quite young; and they all reside in the same neighbourhood, forming quite a community among themselves.

The end of the week is almost universally adopted in Oahu as a time for riding on horseback; and accordingly the roads and commons swarm with the gentry of the neighbourhood, who vie with each other in risking their necks. Foreigners, native nobility, and others, are seen galloping about in all directions, to the discomfiture, or at least the 'bodily fear' of sober pedestrians. The Sandwich Island women are really very adroit on horseback; but the posture in which these amazons choose to exhibit, violates every feeling of refinement.

22nd.—Some efforts have lately been making on the part of both natives and foreigners, in the way of petitioning the government here for the suppression of spirit-selling, which is increased to a shocking extent. The king, unhappily, is fond of drinking himself, and moreover derives considerable emolument from the licenses to vend this pernicious article; so that surrounded as he is by ill-advisers, there is little hope that any alteration will take place at present. Many of the foreign residents defend the sale and use of spirits; which is one principal source of profit with some of them. The village of Honolulu is supposed to contain about two hundred foreigners, and we can only hear of two houses among those who are traders, not more or less concerned in the sale of spirits. There are at



present about fifteen grog shops, where all kinds of distilled liquors are sold at a very low rate. I have not yet seen a single native intoxicated, and really believe the drinking is almost exclusively confined to the foreigners and half-castes.

One of the white inhabitants was killed in a drunken quarrel just before our arrival; and a captain narrowly escaped the same fate a few days since, having the temporal artery cut in a fray on shore.

Among the sailors, the evil of drinking is greatly upheld by masters and owners of ships, whose practice has a tendency to perpetuate the grievance which they pretend to deplore. How absurd on board vessels lying at anchor, in a hot climate, where the men are in a state of almost continual excitement in consequence of what they get when on shore, to give out regularly to each man, and even in some cases to *each boy*, an allowance of rum every day!

On the 2nd of second month, I accompanied Captain C. and his sister on an excursion inland, to see the famous mountain pass of Oahu. It is situated about seven or eight miles up a fine valley, which stretches across the centre of the island, behind the village of Honolulu. After crossing the plain of lava which lies along the coast, our route was along a winding path, through brooks and foliage and steep ravines; which by a very gradual ascent led us eventually to the verge of the precipice. Here the most imposing spectacle is presented. Before us—from the bare torrent-worn rocks which surmount this giant barrier—was spread a wide undulated tract of country, bounded by the then tranquil ocean, and varied by woods, meadows, and sheets of water, all distinctly exhibited at one view beneath our feet. The point on which we stood is the verge of a precipice, perhaps eight hundred or a thousand feet high; which is ascended from the eastward by a winding staircase track, leading from rock to rock, in some places nearly perpendicular. From this track the frightful depth is in many parts concealed by bushes and projecting points of the cliff; a circumstance which makes the danger of ascent and descent much less than it could otherwise be: but from the dizzy summit, the eye fathoms at a glance the tremendous void below. On the left was seen the termination of a cliff, which towers like a pillar from the vale beneath high into the air above our heads, with a boldness and sublimity altogether indescribable: on the right, a bank of rich foliage rose from the plain to the very summit of the mountain, with a richness and grandeur equally beyond the reach of words,—though less striking to the eye. The huts of the natives

scattered over the country below, were seen like specks on the green surface; and the white dwelling of the missionary at the Kolōa station was just discoverable on the distant shore. Behind us lay the fine romantic slope, by which we had reached this truly imposing pass, skirted by a chain of luxuriant hills on each side, and covered with an exuberance of vegetation peculiar to the tropics:—the harbour and its floating occupants and the dim expanse of ocean beyond it, terminating the prospect in the west. After collecting some curious plants and land-shells, and feasting our eyes on the magnificent scenery of the place, we commenced a return towards the inhabited world, and arrived safe in Honolulu soon after sun-set.

These islanders, like all the other uncivilized tribes whom we have seen, are fond of tobacco, and carry the practice of smoking it to a singular extreme. They inhale the fumes into the lungs, and quickly feel their stupifying effects. In some of the islands, the use of it is made illegal; and we have heard of an instance in which a strange expedient was resorted to, in order to supply the place of this narcotic;—this was to press two or three of the arteries in the neck till dizziness was produced, and the individual fell down insensible, recovering after some time, as from a fit of intoxication. Thus stupor and forgetfulness are proved to constitute great part of the gratification supposed to be afforded by smoking. The missionaries are very often censured for trying to suppress the use of tobacco; but the Sandwich Islanders carry smoking to such an extent, that their influence seems very properly directed to abolish it.

17th.—The harbour has been a good deal disturbed by the yells of a band of north-west-coast Indians, who are quartered on board a hulk at anchor near us. These poor fellows come here to receive payment for their furs, and for services which the ships obtain from them on the coast; and they being fond of rum, and rum being very plentiful among their employers, the result might be easily predicted. Howling, dancing, and drumming on a piece of wood form their amusements, to which quarrelling and fighting may be added. One of them was drowned a short time since close to our vessel, by falling into the water by night in a state of intoxication.

These Indians differ widely in character and appearance from the South Sea Islanders. They are wary, intelligent people, rather Jewish in their expression of countenance, and not so handsome as the Polynesians. Their heads are remarkably large,—their faces broad and eyes deep,—hair long, straight and black, and complexions swarthy. Their language is

particularly disagreeable to the ear: few of their words are properly articulated; but the whole business of enunciation is referred to the throat, which seems half blocked up with spasms and contortions to produce the requisite sounds. They have frequently been on board to sell shells, and appear very friendly and harmless, though by no means so childish and simple as Tahitians. Fire arms, rum, tobacco, and clothing—for use rather than ornament,—are what they most crave.

Fourth month 6th, 1836.—I was invited to join in another equestrian excursion, with my former kind companions; and a remarkably fine day proved highly propitious to our enjoyment,—although previous rains, which rendered the steep less accessible, prevented our ascending the mountains so far as had been proposed. We reached sufficient elevation, however, to obtain a magnificent view of the coast, village, harbour, and ocean, and to be surrounded by rich hills and dales, which blend with indescribable loveliness. The valleys—literally huge ravines between the heights, which conduct the fertilizing streams to the shore, are but thinly inhabited; but they teem with exuberant vegetation. The mountains are very finely wooded, and the more open parts of the hills are studded over with cattle. As we were situated when at the highest point of our journey, the deep vales spread beneath us with an enchanting variety; and summit rising over summit into the clouds, marked the multitude of hills which stretch towards the coast in wild fantastic ranges. Punch-bowl Hill, a brown volcanic mound of a circular form, probably about five hundred feet high, looked quite diminutive from our superior elevation, and its fortified top was completely exposed beneath us; though from the harbour, this hill appears large. You can scarcely form an idea of the exhilarating feeling, which the mind experiences on these noble heights in a tropical climate. Here all is wild, and bold, and majestic; the air is pure and cool, and the solitude is unbroken by a sound less romantic than the lowing of herds, the murmur of descending waters, or the simple notes of songsters dwelling unseen in the wooded recesses. The eye,—accustomed below to parched, naked plains,—here luxuriates on the smooth slopes, the deep shades, or the towering forest-clothed peaks and ridges, and the lungs inhale new life and vigour in the free, bracing atmosphere of a more genial clime. If to the smiles of surrounding nature are super-added the rare delights of congenial society, the wanderer and the exile might almost be tempted to forget for a moment that the wide world separates him from his *home*. But such an illusion must be of short dura-

tion: a descent soon restores the less pleasing reality of common life in the desert of a strange land.

*Island of Tanai, Sandwich Group,—Koloa Station, Sixth month 20th, 1836.*—Being kindly furnished with a steed and conductor, I undertook an excursion along the sea shore to see a curious cavern in the rock, through which the surf rushes to a considerable distance underground, and hurls a column of foam with tremendous force into the air, like a magnificent fountain. There are several such cavities in the lava, on the shore of this island; the largest we saw lies a considerable distance from the anchorage at Koloa, to the westward. The coast is composed of rude masses of lava, extending in every rugged form along the margin of the sea, and occasionally rising into huge perpendicular cliffs. The phenomenon in question, is merely caused by a passage which leads from beneath the surf, when it rolls up the strand, and opens like a well, some little distance inland, sufficiently removed from the breakers to give the fountain an isolated appearance. When a heavy swell breaks on the shore, the air in this unexplored cavern is driven with tremendous noise through its sounding caves, and from one or more mouths is projected a momentary blast of white foam, to the height probably of twenty or thirty feet. As the wave retires, all is still on the black broken rocks; the mouth of the cave looks like a natural well, half-filled with masses of stone, which conceal its depth; but as the rolling billow thunders towards the coast, a deafening noise is heard underneath, which increases in violence till it ends in a fierce loud hiss, as steam discharged from the valve of a steam-engine; and in a moment afterwards, a cloud of water and foam is driven high into the air.

The geographical position of the Sandwich Islands, in a commercial point of view, is a valuable one;—in the North Pacific, they form an intermediate link between two distant continents, and thus facilitate an intercourse which is *now* considerable, and will probably become much more so hereafter. As a resort of the whalers, and of traders to the north-west coast of America, they are likewise important: at Honolulu alone about one hundred and thirty ships touched during last year, and at other places the number was very considerable.

A constant trade breeze, which during great part of the year sweeps across the group from the eastward, renders the atmosphere exceedingly salubrious: probably between the tropics no situation is more healthy. To an English constitution the climate is undoubtedly relaxing, and would probably, apart from all



causes which contribute to increase its effect, but which are not inseparable from it, exhaust the animal system more speedily than a colder clime. The human constitution, like the vine, seems periodically to require a season of comparative repose, which these seats of perennial summer do not furnish; early maturity and premature decline characterize the residents in these sunny, stormless regions. The winter here, a cooler, more irregular, showery season than the summer, is called 'the rainy season,' but this epithet, as generally understood, is not quite appropriate; the continued drenching rains that mark that period in Tahiti, we certainly did not see. The rain which fell during our stay, (and the season was considered rather unusually wet,) did not I believe exceed what generally falls in England during the corresponding season.

Eight islands constitute this cluster, to which might be added several small ones lying near the others, which are not usually enumerated; the present population of the group, as determined by a census taken by the missionaries in the present year, is 110,000. In 1826, it was said to be about 155,000, so that if these numbers are correct, and the past is a specimen of the future, it will not require many more years to depopulate the islands altogether.

In the instance before us, the injury is evidently to be referred, not to a succession of open hostilities, but to a complication of causes, in increasing operation. Among these, disease and immoral habits are no doubt the principal; but there are others of no trifling character. Association with foreigners has increased the wants of the chiefs, without furnishing any corresponding means of supplying them, and in consequence of this, the poor people are more heavily burdened than formerly. They are continually obliged to labour without receiving any remuneration, and to furnish an indefinite amount of property in form of taxes or tribute, in order to retain an inch of ground; and this last evil is increased by every addition to the size of their families. A large number of the more enterprising natives now avoid, at least for a time, the impositions of their chiefs, by going as sailors in the whale ships; emigration too, is said to be eagerly sought by the poor, dissatisfied people, who are anxious to try a change, in the hope of amending their condition.

Many of the above evils arise, as you will perceive, out of the moral degradation of the people, and I cannot for a moment doubt, that could they be really formed into a temperate Christian community, there would be no danger whatever of their national extinction, so long as they retain their independence. May

the purifying influence of the gospel of our Lord, which has already made some progress among them, correct the disordered state of society which now prevails, and avert the fate which threatens this people!

Of the Sandwich Islanders, as a race, I think highly. They are intelligent, grave, inquiring, and peculiarly inoffensive and docile. No one who has seen much of them, can, without great injustice, refuse to admit that the minds of these natives are quite capable of improvement and elevation: there are difficulties connected with their instruction, but the ground-work of natural capability is indisputably there. Less volatile and playful than the Tahitians, their gravity might in some cases, be mistaken for moroseness; but no people could be more conciliating and ready to oblige than they generally are. Their curiosity is excited by every thing new, which is brought under their notice, and to prove their observation, we need only look at the improvements and conveniences which they have adopted or ingeniously imitated. In connexion with their docility, they sometimes appear childish; but this apparent imbecility arises from their simplicity, and a consciousness of their ignorance and circumstantial inferiority to many whom they meet from the civilized world. In some of their actions, however, where no such considerations weigh,—as for instance, when they have to deal with lawless and abandoned foreigners, they prove that they neither fear nor venerate a white skin, merely as such.—

[Speaking of the dress of the islanders, C. W. remarks.] the garland worn on the head by chief women, is a costly decoration, it is said to be worth fifty or sixty dollars. It is formed of yellow feathers, which one species of mountain bird furnishes in small numbers; it is said that each bird does not supply more than two or three small feathers; these are arranged like the swan's down neck-bands of Europe, and are glossy and silky in the extreme. Lord Byron procured two of these costly garlands for some ladies of rank in England, a few years since. In the remoter parts of the islands, the females still retain their old garments, which happily are very much out of use among the more civilized. A piece of native cloth wound round the waist, and a loose, shapeless frock, either of print or native cloth made in imitation of print, extends from the neck to the ancles, with ample sleeves, and sometimes with a frill or collar. This dress almost entirely conceals the figure, and is a very rational and becoming garment, in which they look well. Their hair, which is usually strong and black, is allowed to grow long, and either tied in a knot on the top of

the head, or regularly parted in front and set off with combs, curls, &c. Shoes and stockings are scarcely ever seen. Of course there are many of both sexes in the principal seaports, who approximate very considerably towards the European style of dress and exhibit a great variety of costume; but these are exceptions to the general rule.

The Sandwich Island female countenance is often coarse and unfeminine,—expressive; but not of those qualities which we most admire: in many, intelligence is conspicuous, and they have fine keen eyes. Their movements are particularly awkward and ungraceful. Like the Tahitians, both sexes are accustomed to sit cross legged, or still more commonly, squatted on their heels.

The appearance of the native dwellings, gardens, &c., is indicative of much greater industry than anything seen at Tahiti; but as to civilization or comfort, I will say but little. The huts strikingly resemble in appearance old hay stacks, having sides as well as roof of thatch: they are, however, well adapted to the climate, being at once a protection from the heat and cold. One of the king's houses, and the native chapels which we have seen, are composed of this very homely material. The dwellings of the chiefs are more or less modelled upon those of the white residents. Some of them are really quite respectably furnished, and capable of containing the rare elements of comfort and convenience. The American missionaries, excepting in some places where stations have been but recently occupied, are uniformly provided with comfortable houses, built, as nearly as circumstances will admit, in home style and often of home materials; neat stone, or coral, or mud-brick walled cottages, shingled or roofed with zinc, plastered, and floored and ceiled; the wood-work in some cases imported from America, whereby the natives are furnished with models, and they have already, in several instances, availed themselves of the advantage.

Idolatry, so far as the adoration of images is concerned, may be said to be nationally abolished in the Sandwich Islands. This fact does not imply that all have even nominally embraced the Christian religion; but a small part of the whole population belong to the church by any right of membership. At one station, not very long ago established, in a district where hundreds usually attend the services in the chapel, we were informed, I think, that the number of church members did not exceed fifteen or sixteen. The missionaries find it needful to be constantly on their guard against hypocritical profession.

The influence of irreligious foreigners, who are scattered over nearly all the islands of the

Pacific, constitutes probably the greatest external hindrance to the moral improvement of the natives, which the missionaries have to encounter. They may be styled the missionaries of Satan, diligently engaged in extending his kingdom, and counteracting with the efficiency of well-instructed agents, every attempt to diminish his power;—and unhappily these labourers are not a few. The Sandwich Island government has adopted certain regulations, which discountenance the settlement of seamen, who might choose to leave their vessels; but in one way or other, many contrive to take up their abode. Men arrested and confined in the fort at Honolulu are bought out perhaps by a dram-shop keeper, who can easily pay himself afterwards out of the wages of his purchase. Dollars will effect almost any thing with the chiefs: most of their sentences passed on criminals can be commuted for money, and that legally.

I am not aware of any public measures which tend to discourage foreign traders from settling in the islands. They cannot buy land it is true, but they may rent it for a stated term of years. The steady determination of the government, not to sell an inch of ground, is a measure of excellent policy; and I hope neither king nor chiefs will ever be persuaded or frightened out of it. Whenever they sell the soil, they give away their strength, and this is already insufficient to govern their unruly white subjects.

The present is a critical time in the history of these islands, and many of the more reflective and sagacious natives are fully sensible of the fact. While the aboriginal inhabitants are rapidly on the decline in point of number, the foreigners are increasing, and acquiring an ascendancy which threatens the downfall of the former as a nation. The government is inefficient, partly from the character of the king, who is very much influenced by the whites and half-castes, whose interest leads them to encourage his dissipated, thoughtless course of life,—and partly because his native simplicity and inexperience, are ill adapted to cope with designing adventurers who are ready to take every advantage. The remote locality of the islands in these seas, so inaccessible to the eye of philanthropy and the hand of unbiased justice, is greatly against them. Who is to represent them in civilized countries? Who is to defend their insulted rights in the respective islands,—to advise them what measures to pursue, and with an impartiality that levels all petty distinctions of nation or complexion, to stand forward in the cause of religion, equity, and humanity? If foreigners encroach upon the common prerogatives of nature, the laws of England and



America are no laws in the Pacific; but if Pacific islanders infringe on the assumed or usurped privileges of the subject of a powerful nation, a sloop of war is despatched to inflict punishment—a punishment too often dispensing ruin, alike to the innocent and the guilty, by an act of bloody retribution.

The first missionaries who settled on the Sandwich Islands, arrived about fifteen years since; and though several families have left the ground and returned home, subsequent reinforcements have augmented the number to nearly thirty families, including physician, printer, bookbinder, &c. Some of the original pioneers have acquired an excellent knowledge of the native language, and by these it has been reduced to writing, and numerous translations made from the English into it. The New Testament is published in a neat 12mo. volume: the Bible itself has not yet been circulated; but many parts have been printed, and probably the entire Bible will appear before long. A vocabulary, a grammar, a work on geography, the rudiments of arithmetic, natural history, astronomy, mathematics, with small works on several familiar subjects calculated to interest and instruct, have been issued; beside selections from Scripture in various forms, and several hymn books. There is also, as already noticed, a semi-monthly newspaper, which is no doubt the medium of much information; and is calculated to amuse and incite to application many of the young people. Great interest is evinced in the new works as they appear, and they are bought up with eagerness.

The time of the missionaries is devoted almost exclusively to their professional duties, so far as the unavoidable cares connected with recent domestic establishments will permit. The principle on which they are supported, leaves no inducement to engage in trade in order to maintain their families. The board at home supplies them with every thing they require through their 'secular agent,' a person whose office it is to provide for all their necessities on the spot. He is applied to for whatever they stand in need of, furnishes conveyances to and fro, transmits their letters, books, &c., and in fact acts the part of general agent to them all. But though all partake of the common stock, no narrow prescriptions or restrictions in regard to their several expenses and arrangements, reduce the families to one level: each one does as he sees best according to his habits and necessities, with the understanding that all extravagance will be studiously avoided.

As an organized body, destined in a given field, and to prosecute a given object, I think the Americans in the Sandwich Islands afford

a highly creditable example; and certainly, as regards the personal character of many of the labourers, their evident exclusive desire to benefit the natives by imparting what they themselves value, their openness to receive the suggestions of others, whose ideas and views may differ, and their intellectual qualifications; they form a highly estimable community. They are Congregationalists by profession, and probably their acknowledged principles recognize the lawfulness of war; but several individuals among them, with whom we conversed on this subject, appeared practically convinced of its utter inconsistency with the gospel of peace. Oaths are happily not in use in the Pacific, so that our Lord's command in this respect is not, so far as I am aware, judicially abrogated among the natives by presumptuous man.

In the public assemblies for worship, the Sandwich Islanders generally behave with decent quietness, without the vigorous applications of sticks, or even the exhibition *in terrorem* of those unhallowed appurtenances of a house for religious worship. Their habit of coming in and going out during the services, is not yet broken off, although attempts have been made to correct it.

The wives of the missionaries are in the habit of meeting certain classes of the natives, for the purpose of instructing them; some assemble the adult female members of the congregation,—some teach the children, and one in Honolulu has charge of an infant school. An effort is now making to teach the people to manufacture cotton cloth, and some good common material has been already produced; which if attainable by all would constitute an important improvement on the present paper coverings, and make the islanders less dependent on a foreign supply. It appears to me that literary education alone, is not what this people most need: a system adapted to benefit them, ought to exert a more general influence. What they require at the present time for their moral and civil melioration, is a class of plain, honest, industrious settlers, who would furnish domestic models for their imitation: not men who merely come to make money by their exertions, but such as would come from a sense of duty to live among the people, and by leading them on towards improvement and civilization, through the silent but potent means of personal influence and example, endeavour to raise their present low condition. The mission families are of course now exerting an excellent influence in this way; but their number is small, their efforts are divided among a variety of objects, and they ordinarily belong to a class of society, somewhat more refined and intellectual than

the persons to whom I refer: their sphere in fact is a different one.

The missionaries, wherever we have been, form an important civil defence for the poor natives, which the overbearing and unjust encroachments of foreign adventurers render needful. They occupy the opposite scale; while others combine to support their individual interests, or the more general interests of commerce and national aggrandizement, the missionary takes the part of the islander: he informs him of his just right, remonstrates for him against injustice, and what is more important still, he constitutes a continual witness of the lawless conduct, in which unprincipled men indulge abroad. We may perhaps have met with a few singular instances, in which other foreigners occupy something of an equal, neutral ground—not exclusively bent on the support of one side; but I must confess I should find it difficult to point out half a dozen cases of much efficiency, independent of the missionaries. The latter, from the very nature of their circumstances, as agents of absent benevolence directed towards the native population, in constant correspondence with the better part of the community at home, almost necessarily serve as a salutary check. This is perhaps indicated with sufficient clearness by the fact, that they are universally hated and dreaded by the contrary faction, wherever they reside.

And now, before I finally leave the Sandwich Islands, I will just remark, that our visit to them has afforded us an opportunity of becoming acquainted with some of our transatlantic brethren, which I cannot but highly value. I own, in order to judge of the American character, we ought to see it in America; but still, for obtaining a general idea of it, the white community we have left, affords probably a favourable opportunity: the numerical proportion of English residents with whom we had intercourse, is quite small. To both classes indeed, we are indebted for much kindness and many polite attentions; which, as wanderers and strangers, we could not but highly appreciate and feel grateful for. For myself, I can say, I shall always recur to our visit to this remote corner of the earth, with feelings of peculiar and lively interest.

On the 19th of Seventh month, 1836, we re-crossed the equator, and entered once more the southern hemisphere. The sinking North star was watched with considerable interest, although the Magellan clouds, and the beautiful Cross of the South, more than compensate for his loss. Perhaps the sky between the tropics never exhibits a more imposing aspect, than during a short space subsequent to the

sun-set. The whole west is tinged with the most delicate shades of colouring,—from the rich amber to the deep, bright blue of ether, which intermingle from the gilded horizon that conceals the sun, up to the regions of the starlit hemisphere above. My father has a particular admiration of this evening exhibition, and delights to contemplate it, in these almost cloudless latitudes. The shades of colouring which encircle the bright region where the sun has just set, have something of the prismatic hues about them; but they are less defined, and spread richly from the ocean to the high vault of blue overhead, with a vastness and beauty almost indescribable. Before the sun sets, the atmosphere is usually mottled with light fleecy clouds, which fly in the direction of the trade-wind till the heat of day is gone: afterwards the cool air condenses them, and they are dissipated in the form of dew, leaving an atmosphere of cloudless purity.

While crossing the trade latitudes this time, it has appeared as though the wind is perceptibly affected by the rays of the sun; for during the day the breeze is often light; but when the heat of his beams is felt to the westward of our horizon, and the air consequently rarefied to *leeward* of us, the force of the wind increases.

*South Pacific*, Eighth month 10th.—*Rarotonga*, or as in the charts, *Orurute*, is the principal island in the Hervey cluster; all of which are inhabited.

Rarotonga contains a population of	7000
Magnicā is supposed to contain	1800
Atui	1600
Aitutuki	1800
Mitiaro and Mauki together, about	700

Rarotonga is a lovely island, about thirty miles in circumference, and nearly circular in form. It is obviously of volcanic origin, although I am not aware that any crater is known to exist on its surface. Calced stone and cinders are abundant; and the marked, rugged outline of its peaks and ridges, indicates significantly the convulsive agency which has been employed in their formation.

The shores are built up by coral architects, and exhibit a curious instance of coralline formation intermingled with upheaved masses of original rock, which protrude in some places through the former, in a way that would lead to the supposition that sub-marine eruptions of comparatively recent date, have encroached on a super-stratum of coral, which has been progressively rising round the coast. Coral sand and shells, &c., consolidated by the action of the elements, in some parts of the shore, form beds of fine, available stone,



probably as durable as ordinary free-stone, of which the natives are beginning to find the value, as a building material.

The highest mountain is, I should think, four thousand feet high, possibly rather more than this; and others of somewhat inferior elevation occupy the central districts, and ensure a constant supply of moisture to the lowlands. These districts teem with bread-fruit, plantains, bananas, citrons, limes, vis, papaws, taro, sweet potatoe, sugar-cane, cocoa-nuts, palms, and many other tropical productions of majestic growth. Every thing flourishes with an exuberance and richness rarely surpassed.

The island is divided into four parts, governed by separate, independent chiefs. These are at present happily united in the wish to promote the tranquillity and improvement of the country, by seconding the efforts of the missionaries. It is now eight or nine years since the latter settled among them, and although assailed by many difficulties and discouragements, their residence has been cheered by continued kindness on the part of the people, of whose friendly conduct and docility C. Pittman gives the most gratifying account. It is doubtless the civil and political interest of the islanders to retain their missionary instructors; and therefore in the absence of particular causes of complaint or dislike, it is not at all surprising that they should behave courteously to them: I think too, that the character of the Rarotonga natives is superior to that of their windward neighbours. They appear to possess finer feelings, and less slothful, effeminate minds than the Tahitians. In their wars before the introduction of Christianity, it is said they never practised any of those fiend-like barbarities, which the luxurious, mild Tahitian was guilty of; such, for example, as dealing out indiscriminate vengeance in cold blood, on the defenceless and the innocent; beating the body of a dead foe to a pulp, and when dried in the sun in a flat form, wearing it as a cloak, &c. On the contrary, though furious and bloody in a moment of passion, these warriors are said to have even relented of their deeds of death; and in some instances, to have repaired with their personal efforts the desolations of war, which their enemies had suffered. They appear to be more irascible than the Tahitians or Sandwich Islanders. We hear that the boys are often seen fighting each other, with a spirit and rancour that would probably frighten the children of Tahiti; although, more docile, lively and harmless little urchins, than they are on ordinary occasions, cannot well be imagined.

As a people, the natives of Rarotonga are certainly more energetic and industriously

disposed, than some of the other islanders. They only want a motive, and they will not shun labour and persevering effort. There is no difficulty in getting work done, if an adequate inducement is offered. No sooner was it known that we wished to obtain curiosities, than they set to work to furnish them: they refitted their neglected war-caps, collected shells, brought specimens of timber hewn with great labour, and actually manufactured a number of new drums out of solid wood. Some of their sashes, mats, baskets, &c., are made with great labour; and their large canoes, which were formerly used in war, exhibited in their decorations great ingenuity and pains. Some of the figures which form the heads of these canoes, are really quite neatly sculptured, considering the tools with which they have been made; and the carving is executed with considerable regularity of design.

The native dwellings are mostly situated along the shore, forming several straggling, irregular villages, which are half concealed in foliage, and are connected by raised foot-paths, wooden bridges, &c., so as to be easily visited from all parts of the coast. Many of the more modern houses are wattled buildings, and look respectable and capable of being made comfortable dwellings, if the owners possessed but the requisite materials. The original huts were constructed in the bird-cage style of Tahiti. In some respects, I think the modern plan of building greatly superior to the one formerly in vogue; although really in point of comfort, *with their habits*, the difference to the natives is not so striking as might be supposed. White-washed walls, without glazed windows or boarded floors, destitute of all furniture but a few mats, and some dried reeds or grass for a carpet,—have a poor, stable-like-appearance. However, time will, I trust, introduce a change of habits, and furnish with civilized conveniences, apartments certainly better calculated to receive them, than the open railed huts formerly in use, and which are still not uncommon.

Out of the seven thousand persons on this island, about three thousand are estimated as children; they are, with few exceptions, receiving some kind of instruction. Great numbers can read and write, and if the utility of these acquirements is not quite so obvious as could be wished, at least it is probable that the time passed in school by so large a portion of the young inhabitants is more innocently employed than it would be elsewhere: a compulsion is used on the part of the chiefs to compel them to learn, which is abhorrent to our free notions. A considerable number of copies of the four Evangelists are now in circulation, and one cannot but rejoice, that

many of the people can read them with ease; otherwise I confess their close application to the study of reading and writing, when we know that neither pen, ink, nor paper, and but very few printed pages, are within their reach, has appeared to me as of comparatively little value. Corporal punishment is unhappily tolerated in the schools here. Under the immediate eye of C. P. there is no danger of much severity, but he cannot see every where: natives are empowered to act as teachers, and it cannot be expected that moderation and discretion will always be observed, particularly when the scholars are obliged to attend. The influence of fear is in itself an evil, and therefore I regret its existence at all.

Out of the whole population of the island, I understand not more than one hundredth part are regularly initiated into church membership. Candidates for admission pass through an ordeal of classes, as they are termed, which is intended to prevent the easy introduction of hypocrisy and unsound profession.

The bulk of the people, I rejoice to say, are independent holders of property, which is as much their own as the land belonging to the chiefs, unless forfeited by a breach of the law. But by virtue of a right acknowledged from time immemorial, obtained by usurpation and superior power, and upheld by superstition and ignorance, the word of a chief is absolute law among the uncivilized tribes; and his views and wishes are studiously followed by the multitude, who seem to feel a pride in maintaining his influence, and venerating his generally huge, unwieldy person. The chiefs of Rarotonga support the interests of the missionaries, take part in person in the services which are performed in the pulpit or the desk, and live on terms of intimacy and courtesy with the families of their instructors.

C. P. is a zealous, active and amiable man, whose individual influence is most salutary upon those by whom he is surrounded. His health unhappily is extremely delicate, but with care it is possible he may yet be spared to his family and pastoral charge for a considerable time.

Some years back the manufacture of calico was introduced into this island, and met with more encouragement and success than under the protection of the Tahitians. Some of the people learned to spin and weave tolerably well, and traces of their skill are visible at this day; but this most needful provision for the destitution of the islanders has not become by any means so generally useful as could have been wished. Under their circumstances, destitute of the facilities for its manufacture which civilized countries would supply, the natives

find making calico a tedious and laborious affair; and consequently it has been very much relinquished: although for want of the requisite supply of bark, which has been rendered extremely scarce, in consequence of a hurricane that destroyed many of the bread-fruit trees a few years ago, the poor people are miserably in want of clothing. When a vessel touches for provisions, cotton goods in the way of barter are easily obtained; but this source is by no means adequate to the supply of a dense population. The common dress of the adults is a piece of native cloth, wound round the waist and extending to the knee; indoors occasionally, and generally out of doors, a large loose piece of cloth is thrown round the bust and held on with one arm. They have little to say, but look very observing, and display great acuteness and cheerfulness. The women are more nearly white in complexion than any other of the Pacific islanders we have seen, and often have pleasing faces and well formed graceful figures.

The amount of disease among this people is exceedingly small, when compared with other islands, and the adult population generally look healthy and comfortable. The place we visited literally swarmed with children, and the population is rapidly increasing. In two districts which contain about 3700 souls, between the seventh month 1834, and sixth month 1836, the births and deaths were in the proportion of 248 to 100.

The mission establishment, at which we were kindly entertained during our stay, wears quite a respectable, orderly appearance; indeed the settlement of Gnatagnia altogether has a flourishing aspect,—the houses being neat buildings, and the chapel and school houses commodious structures.

There are several striking natural curiosities on one of the other islands. Huge subterranean caverns, which extend under the body of the island, and exhibit the most wonderful spectacle of its kind perhaps existing in the Pacific, are said to be found in Atiu, where beautiful specimens of spar are also obtained.

But to take a final leave of Rarotonga:—the island seems indeed to possess those features, which imagination loves to trace in her ideal picture of a South Sea paradise. The scenery is picturesque and the soil fruitful; the natives retain much of their primitive simplicity, uncorrupted by contact with the vile, sordid, money-hunting world; who spread the vices and misery of civilization, without its blessings, wherever they go. It is true they are but half reclaimed from barbarism; their minds are untutored, and their ideas low and childish; but they at least appear willing to receive instruction, and they are blessed with



a missionary who is earnestly endeavouring to impart it.

*Port Refuge, Vavau*, Eighth month 25th.—We were visited by the captain of a whaler, who was not long ago embroiled in a quarrel with the natives of this place. He insisted on cutting fuel without paying for it, and landed with arms to accomplish his purpose. But for the interference of the missionaries, in all probability a contest would have taken place, attributed no doubt at home to the ferocity of the Vavau natives, who assaulted his men while procuring needful supplies for the vessel. The last time this individual was here, he carried off by force several natives of this island, landing them afterwards at the Navigator's, where they still remain. Other cases of the kind might be mentioned.

Ninth month 1st, 1836.—Our route in visiting the station of Haalaufuli, led through winding passages, between the groups of small islands, which surround the mainland in the south and south-west directions, and furnish considerable variety of wooded landscape and tranquil lake scenery; but it is destitute of that boldness and magnificence of outline, characteristic of many other South Sea Islands. The shores are moderately low, and covered with dense matted forests, which extend to the water's edge, and seem to flourish amid masses of bare rock without a trace of soil. In some parts there are precipices which exhibit stupendous piles of stone thrown together in the utmost confusion: about these unexplored caverns and overhanging ruins, the restless waters murmur, and the sea fowl finds an impregnable retreat. The tide undermines the shore, and flows in some places far under the land; we passed one insulated rock, which is supported by a comparatively insignificant pillar,—all the rest of the original base being washed away: the appearance of this rock is the more curious, from its being surmounted with vegetation and a large tree. Coral of a thousand forms and colours is seen under water in the shallows; and among its variegated branches the gorgeous fishes of the Pacific, exhibiting hues as rich and brilliant as the peacock's train, or the butterfly's wing, seem to sport secure from all enemies but those of their own kind. Sharks are said however to find shelter in the thick coral grove, where masses of consolidating roots and branches become gradually overgrown with fresh vegetation, which conceals the dark labyrinths below from the eye of day. These monsters are numerous and occasionally destructive: we have seen a man who has lost both his arms by the bite of one of them. Since lying here, we have seen a num-

ber of them, and caught one of considerable size. A hog which escaped from one of the ships lying near to us, was devoured almost as soon as he reached the water, and before a boat could overtake him. They were formerly deified here, as well as in Tahiti, and were dreaded with more reason than many others of the *South Sea divinities*.

Ninth month 8th.—About a mile from the place of our re-embarkation there is a large cavern, which it was agreed that we should explore before returning to the harbour; so, piloted by some natives who live near the spot, we coasted along towards the open sea, till the object of our curiosity appeared in sight.\* I had observed it as we beat up to the harbour on the day of our arrival, and was glad of the opportunity now afforded of investigating such a wonderful recess. The entrance is under a kind of natural portico of rock, of great height, which leads into the principal cavern: the passage is broad and the water deep: so that our boat and a canoe entered together with ease, and navigated the interior of the vault, which is lighted from the entrance. After passing the vast archway of rock which forms the mouth, the scene is magnificent in the extreme, and called forth an involuntary burst of surprise and admiration. The roof is an amazing height, with pendant masses of stalactite, which garnish with indescribable richness the variegated concave above. Beneath, is a beautifully transparent surface of water, which reflects the walls and arches in a moving mirror, and reveals a world of submarine life and beauty beneath; caves, rocks, beds of coral and petrifications richly coloured, and the painted funny tribes of the Pacific roving in perfect security, among these romantic watery glens. The walls are encrusted with spar of various colours, but principally of a bright blue, whose descending columns look like the ruins of a marble edifice, built not with the puny regularity of art, but with the wild unstudied magnificence of nature's inimitable architecture. On the left hand, is an arched passage into another apartment, whose recesses are indistinctly visible, which can be explored in a similar manner; and in front is a winding ascent, between high walls, which must be traversed on foot. By stepping from crag to crag along the irregular sides of this passage, and holding by projecting points and ridges for some distance, you reach a floor of solid earth, which leads at length to another circular dome of great height, composed of somewhat darker materials, which are but partially illuminated by a small opening at the very

\* See Memoirs, p. 242.

summit. Here all is silent, dismal, and damp; untraversed caves leading to an unknown distance in utter darkness, open from the side of this gloomy vault. We would gladly have attempted to penetrate further, but being destitute of torches, it was impossible to proceed with any degree of safety. We obtained specimens of the stalactite, and after rousing the echoes of the cave, commenced a return to the anchorage. This most imposing cavern is situated opposite the entrance of the channel which leads to the harbour of Port Refuge, and consequently is exposed in heavy westerly gales to the full lash of the ocean. I leave you to imagine what a spectacle must be exhibited in the interior of the cave, when it is invaded by an infuriated surf.

Ninth month, 16th.—The summit of Talau, in this island of Vavau, is computed to be one thousand feet above the level of the sea, and the ascent is rugged and circuitous, through a dense forest, matted together with thousands of climbing plants, creepers and vines, which very much increase the difficulty of traversing it. Such a rich chaos of rock, foliage, gigantic ferns and cocoa-nut trees, you can scarcely imagine; and flying foxes and birds of brilliant plumage gave animation to this splendid wilderness.

*At Sea*, Eleventh month 12th, 1836.—*The Friendly Islands* is a name originally given by Captain Cook when he first visited these comparatively friendly shores. In this general appellation are included Tongataboo and its inferior island neighbours,—the Fiji group, which lies a few leagues to the westward, and is very little known,—the Haabais, a cluster of low coral islands, eighteen of which are inhabited,—Haafuluhau, which consists of Vavau, and above a hundred small islets by which it is almost encircled—the Hamoa or Navigator's Islands which lie to the north-east, and several less important insular tracts of land, interspersed among the above enumerated groups. Of these only a few have been occupied by missionaries, and with some inconsiderable exceptions, the profession of Christianity is confined to Tonga, Haabai, and Haafuluhau. To these places our visit was confined, and to them of course the following remarks exclusively apply.

To begin with Haafuluhau, which we first visited. The island of Vavau includes the larger portion of the land settled on by natives, which this group possesses, and is supposed to contain a population of 3000 souls. The other islands of the group collectively augment this number to about 5000, which is the whole amount of the native population, according to the estimates of the missionaries.

The king has renounced idolatry and embraced the doctrines of Christianity; he has put away all his wives but one, become a local preacher and a class leader in the Methodist Society, and seems willing to be guided and advised by the missionaries in every undertaking. The queen is a class leader, and a teacher in the schools, and nearly the whole population of these islands on which missionaries reside, have been admitted into the church. There are no less than one hundred and seventy native local preachers, who are employed in all parts of the Haafuluhau group, and thirty chapels in which there is service three times a week. The people thus led by their king and chiefs, attend diligently to the instructions of their teachers, and have already acquired considerable Scripture knowledge, and a taste for reading and writing.

The Haabai group is situated a little more than a degree to the southward of Haafuluhau. They are inhabited by a similar race, who speak the same dialect, and are now united under one government. Very few ships visit this group, as it possesses no good harbour, and the character of the inhabitants and the policy of the rulers deter white men from settling. Lifuka, although by no means a fine island, has been selected as the seat of royalty, and it now contains a mission establishment. This group, which consists of eighteen inhabited islands, is said to contain a population of 4564. The profession of Christianity is universal here.

A few leagues to the southward of Haabai lies the island of Tongataboo, at present under the government of Tubou, a relation of king George, who is expected to succeed him. The country and its inhabitants correspond very nearly with what is found in the two before mentioned groups, but the civil condition of the people is much less favourable. The population is estimated at 7000 persons, and of these upwards of 1000 are Christians by profession; the rest still retain their old superstitions. There are seventeen fortified towns or villages on the island, one of which, Nukualofa, is occupied by the adherents of the missionaries, at the head of whom is king Tubou.—

One cannot but deeply regret that the pacific principles of the New Testament are not *fully* professed by those who are sent to “preach glad tidings,” and to “publish peace” among these teachable islanders. However feelings of personal piety and benevolence may, and I rejoice to believe, do actuate many, if not all of these individuals, to desire and to labour for the continuance of harmony and good-will,—still their *doctrines* are defective; and they tolerate and recommend a dan-



gerous middle course,—a course, which the spirit of the gospel forbids, and which has never yet proved adequate to avert, among Christians, the shocking incongruity of mutual destruction. I never can at all comprehend how the doctrines of our blessed Saviour, the Prince of Peace, and the right to destroy a brother mortal are to be reconciled; nor have I ever been able to contemplate without a feeling of wonder, men really lovely for the Christian graces they exhibit, surrounded by instruments of death, avowedly destined to be used with their own hands against the lives of their deluded fellow-men.

Slavery, that 'execrable sum of all villany,' still prevails to a certain extent among the heathen party; although even this monster is rendered less destructive by the proximity of a better system. Tonga slaves are made such in the most capricious manner possible; a word or any slight offence may subject a man to be condemned to the lowest servitude, without any trial, and when once sentenced to slavery the curse is hereditary.

The natives who still remain in their heathen state are more destitute of clothing and other foreign articles, than their neighbours: they look less cleanly, and less regularly and adequately fed; their persons are frequently mutilated by wounds received in fighting, and disfigured with sores or burns, inflicted according to superstitious custom, as indications of grief or respect for the dead. From the very recent introduction of Christianity, many of these external marks of heathenism are seen among the professing natives; but these are not the effects of a cause every day in operation as in the other case, but merely the relics of departed folly and madness. Some of the poor women in the heathen settlements, who torture themselves according to ancient usage, are really appalling objects: their hair cut off, their cheeks burnt and bruised with a rough instrument, till they look purple, and other parts of the body more or less disfigured with wounds thus self-inflicted, give them a frightful appearance, and furnish a sad demonstration of the reigning power of superstition. I have seen a woman spotted over with scars in this way like a leopard. This practice was formerly in use among the men likewise: they commonly have one round scar under each eye, and some have many rings burnt in the flesh of the arms. The custom too, of cutting off the little finger on the death of a relative or superior, was very common; and most of the older men are destitute of one or both of these minor members, which have been thus sacrificed. Nay, the absurd practice has extended to the children, and if a chief is dangerously ill, many little fingers are

even yet occasionally amputated to avert his death; but this, like the cutting and burning of the skin, is abolished among the professors of Christianity.

In a commercial point of view, the three sections of the Friendly islands which we have visited, are not of much importance, and probably never can be so. The harbour in Vavau has great disadvantages from the inconvenient depth of water for anchorage, excepting in one small part; also from the want of good fresh water for the supply of the shipping: among the Haabai group there is no secure anchorage at all. In Tongataboo, though one part of the harbour is safe, and the produce of the country is valuable for the whalers, the water is very inferior. All three groups are subject to earthquakes, also to very destructive gales.

With the exception of Kao, Tufua, and Haafuluhau, these islands furnish the most complete specimens of coral formation that we have yet seen, on a large scale. I have no doubt they have been rendered habitable by the progress of marine vegetation, and the subsequent accumulation of coral sand, and decomposed vegetable substances, which covered the islands as soon as they reached the surface of the sea. Coral obviously forms the fathomable ground-work: the soil is quite superficial, and underneath is coral rock and salt or brackish water. One of the Haabai islands is said to rock frightfully during heavy gales, which tends to prove its incomplete solidity under water; and some others exhibit various indications of hollowness. Constantly recurring earthquakes, and the volcanic crater in Tufua, which disgorges a vast quantity of combustibles and smoke from the subterranean furnace beneath, indicate the proximity of great igneous operations under ground; and I think there is rational ground for concluding, that the whole island has at some time been raised by this sub-marine agency. They are for the most part fertile, producing abundance of tropical vegetation, which, under different management, might be increased and improved by culture to almost any extent. The trees and plants most common, are similar to those found in the other groups, with comparatively few exceptions. The fruits most abundant are shadocks, papau apples, pine apples, melons, and citrons. The orange, so common elsewhere, is very scarce and of bad quality; but the papau, introduced into these islands at the same time, has more than compensated for the deficiency,—being produced in perfection, and in exhaustless quantities. To this exotic fruit the islanders are indebted for a valuable supply of food during their periodical

seasons of scarcity, and their more formidable occasional famines, which occur after the ravages of a hurricane or a strong westerly storm. The yam is peculiarly obnoxious to injury from the wind, and on this precarious, though excellent vegetable, which is the staple food of the Friendly Islanders, their sustenance to a great extent depends. Other more hardy vegetables have been hitherto most impossibly neglected, the people have consequently been subjected to great scarcity after these violent storms, and but for the papau fruit must have endured much greater hardships. The cultivation of the sweet potatoe is becoming more common, and will no doubt tend in future to prevent the evils alluded to. The vegetables most cultivated are the yam, bread-fruit, taro, sweet potatoe, plantain, and a root resembling the yam, which we had not before seen. Cocoa-nuts grow spontaneously in great abundance, on almost all these low sandy islands.

The climate of the Friendly group, judging from what we saw, is very fine,—preferable to that of Tahiti, where several months of the year are rendered almost unavailable by incessant rains. No season appears to merit the epithet *rainy*, although the summer months probably furnish a larger quantity of downfall than the rest of the year. On the whole, there appears to be rather a deficiency than otherwise, owing no doubt to the lowness of the islands, and the sandy nature of the soil. During our stay the thermometer ranged principally between 75° and 85°: a temperature very pleasant to residents in the torrid zone, but somewhat enervating to the human constitution, which as in the other islands of the Pacific, attains very early to a state of maturity, and is subject to a correspondingly premature decline.

As regards the character of the islanders, I prefer that of the Friendly Isles, to that of any other natives of the Pacific whom we have seen. Such a preference may be more than is generally awarded them; but several reasons might be alleged for the relative estimate that has been formed of them and the other islanders. Many of the voyagers who visit this ocean, are men of miserably low moral feelings and habits, and as such, they unite in eulogizing the natives whose manners are most congenial to their own. On this account, the voluptuous effeminate Tahitians are spoken of in high terms, though they certainly will not bear comparison with these more sober and manly islanders. I think these people are less prone to sensual indulgence than either the Sandwich, Georgian, Society or Hervey islanders. But if less depraved, I do not think them at all less sensi-

tive or susceptible of the kindly emotions: they evince quite as much affection towards each other, and towards their children. They are not so volatile and frivolous as Tahitians, and perhaps they may not be quite so quick and lively as the Hervey islanders, but their gravity and good sense are accompanied by nothing particularly austere, much less ferocious: on the contrary, they are gentle and affable as children.

Their domestic habits resemble those of the other groups. Their houses are small fragile huts, with thatched roofs and matted floors; no windows, or doors, and scarcely any furniture. The flexible character of the building materials is a great security to the inhabitants during the earthquakes which frequently occur, and on this account it seems undesirable to alter the style of building which prevails, although in themselves, Tongese dwellings are comfortless looking places.

The dress of the natives is almost exclusively native cloth, loosely wrapped round the figure in irregular ample folds. A few of the leading men who officiate as preachers, &c., and some of the females connected with the kings and chiefs, possess articles of foreign clothing for particular occasions; but on the whole, the national costume is much more completely retained than in any other groups we have visited. Individuals of both sexes wear the hair cut short, so as to leave a thick covering for the head, and this they *fritz* out with great pains till it assumes the appearance of wool;—using lime or white clay to make the hairs stand out and exhibit the proper bushy appearance. The women commonly wear much less than the men, and the children have the top of the head shaved, or the hair cut very short, leaving merely a fringe round the head, a few inches in width.

They make great use of cocoa-nut oil for anointing their heads and bodies, and it seems probable this practice has a salutary effect. It softens the skin, which might by continual exposure to a hot sun become callous or irritable; particularly as the people are so much in salt water.

Healing the sick is a most important means of influencing the minds of the untutored natives of Tonga. If a man has derived benefit from the medicine prescribed for him by a missionary, he very naturally leans to the side of his benefactor, and often joins his party. The value of English remedies is known and acknowledged among these islanders.

According to missionary information, 23,000 persons have renounced idolatry in this group, within the last ten years. Of these 9000 are members of the Wesleyan Society, 329 are local preachers, and 1100 are school teachers.



I cannot but acknowledge the kindness we received from the Wesleyan missionaries and their converts in these islands. Several of the former are interesting persons, whose society we enjoyed, although as might in reason be expected, we could not on all points think, see, and feel alike.

The Tonga dialect has been reduced to writing, and large portions of the Bible are in circulation, but the whole has not yet appeared. Several small books of a preceptive and devotional character, and one or two intended for the use of schools, containing the rudiments of grammar, &c., are printed, and no doubt others are in progress, and will ere long be published.

The Hamoa or Navigator Island's dialect differs from the Tongese, and the Fiji forms a third variety in the groups already occupied by the Wesleyans: probably several others exist among the neighbouring islands, but these are as yet little known. It appears that the Fiji tongue has several striking peculiarities quite unknown to the other dialects of the Pacific. For instance, the sound of *th* is found in it, if I am correctly informed, and syllables do not necessarily end with vowels, as in all the other known varieties of the Polynesian. But there seems to be quite a distinct character about the Fiji islanders altogether: their appearance indicates a mixture of the black Asiatic races, and their manners are very barbarous. Their knowledge of several branches of manufacture is decidedly superior to that possessed by any of the other tribes. They display great labour and ingenuity in carving weapons, basket-making, canoe-building, making a variety of showy ornaments for the person, and in the manufacture of earthenware utensils for culinary purposes. They evidently belong to a distinct family, no doubt derived originally from the same source as the other Friendly islanders, but amalgamated with the Malay or negro. A few years will develop more fully the national character of these formidable warriors: two missionaries are now among them with promising hopes of success in their arduous undertaking. I think it not improbable, that this section of the group contains the most energetic and intelligent division of the Friendly islanders, although at present without doubt the most wayward and contentious.

*New Zealand*, Twelfth month 3rd, 1836.—While halting at Keri Keri, we visited a cascade situated on the river of that name, which affords a highly picturesque spectacle. The fall is about seventy feet perpendicular, and the spacious valley beneath it beautifully verdant, and furnishing a variety of vegetation

which we had probably never seen surpassed. The name of this cascade is the same in signification as one in Hawaii, called the 'cascade of the rainbow,'—no doubt in both cases in consequence of the effect produced by the sun's rays passing through the spray. Like the still more imposing fall in the Sandwich Isles, there is a deep cavern extending behind the projection of water, which adds greatly to the effect produced on the eye.

First month 13th, 1837.—We were told that all the merchants, even the few who have renounced the sale of spirits,—deal in muskets and ammunition. You can form little idea of the quantity of these articles that has been brought to New Zealand: it is astonishingly great. I remember to have heard a missionary state, that in one pa or native fort,—of which he was speaking, the chief had in his possession about a ton of gunpowder. Many dreadful accidents, as you may suppose, occur with such a formidable combustible, thus kept in the huts of these poor reckless natives.

While mentioning war,—the darling passion of uncivilized men,—I am reminded of a remark made by a New Zealand chief to one of our mission friends, who was conversing with him on the subject of a future world. The warrior expressed his disapprobation of the opinion which the missionary advanced respecting the life to come, saying, 'If this be true, what is to become of the warrior? If there are no pas to attack, he will have nothing to do.' How much more consistent are the present practice and the anticipated paradise of pagans, than the lives of the majority of Christians and their professed expectations of a scriptural heaven! The warrior of New Zealand sees in a moment, that his warlike tastes are incompatible with a world of peace and angelic blessedness; while his more enlightened antipodes lay claim to both!

The notions of these aborigines on points connected with an invisible existence, appear to be extremely vague and various,—much less definite and refined than the superstitions of the other islanders we have seen. A belief in a future state, and in superhuman agency, appear to be universal. The New Zealanders cannot properly be called idolaters, having no objects of adoration in the form of images or idols; although there are many things to which they attach a sacred character, regarding them rather as charms or spells than as divinities. The term which in all the dialects of the Pacific islands that we have visited, is used to express Deity—*Atua*, *Odua*, *Akua*, &c.,—which are all but variations of the same word, is here too used to designate something sacred, but with an extent of application that renders it almost incomprehensible. The New

Zealand ideas of the Almighty seem to be much less definite than those entertained by the other islanders, and this term is correspondingly vague in its application.

My allusion to this subject recalls an anecdote which pleased me much at the time I heard it from the lips of our venerable friend Samuel Marsden. He was talking one day to a New Zealander of the ideas entertained by these natives respecting a Supreme Being, and asking him what their god was?—what he was like! The warrior placed his hand so as to produce a shadow on the trunk of a huge tree that stood near them, and told his interrogator to look at that. ‘There,’ said he, ‘is our god:—he exists but you cannot touch him or injure him;—he is before your eyes, yet you can discern no substance in the form you see and know to exist’—or to this effect. Is not this a beautiful illustration to come from a New Zealander?

A disturbance occurred to-day on board one of the ships lying by us, which very nearly ended disastrously. It happened on board an English whaler, commanded by a captain, who appears to be much more of a gentleman in manner and conduct, when among his countrymen, than most of the masters of these ships,—but who countenances just as much license on board his vessel as the worst of his profligate brethren. A chief from a neighbouring pa, who supports all that is vile among the ships, was on board this whaler, with great numbers of his male and female dependents, the latter of whom were quartered on board, when either he or one of his men brought some spirits from their canoe, which the mate of the ship immediately seized and threw overboard. This irritated the natives, and pistols were produced on the quarter-deck to intimidate them. In a while however, the dissatisfaction appeared to subside, and suspicion was banished from the minds of the whites. When all was thus quiet, the old chief seized the mate by the throat, and waving his tomahawk over him made a signal to his followers to occupy the deck. In an instant, the ship was covered with naked men, and every instrument resembling a weapon was in the hands of the natives. Not one-half the ship’s company was on board, and therefore no resistance could be made, so nothing occurred likely to exasperate farther; and after some time, an old man interfered, recommending that the affront offered to the chief should be made up over a glass of grog: this was in some sort done, and the matter ended without any bloodshed. One of our seamen was on board the ship at the time and saw the fray: he determined if violence should ensue to jump overboard, and try to regain his

own more peaceable vessel by swimming, in which resolution one of the ship’s crew joined. When the chief went away, he seemed still unreconciled, and threatened to be revenged, and during the following night we heard muskets fired in his pa, indicating defiance, in answer to which a cannon shot was returned by the vessel, with the idea, we concluded, of proving to the excited natives, that she was ready to encounter them. Had the whole ship’s company been on board at the time of the disturbance, there is little doubt but a bloody contest would have been the result.

First month 16th.—The white residents, missionaries and others, are at present preparing a petition to the British government, praying that the state of New Zealand may be taken into consideration, and measures adopted for the protection of British property in this country. The object of this petition is evidently to induce the government to send a force into New Zealand, which shall be able to secure the possessions of the whites from all injury, in case of such being attempted; and at the same time to compel the fighting tribes to make peace. This is a most critical step in the progress of New Zealand civilization; and I sincerely hope that no unjust measure will be adopted;—in fact, without the most glaring inconsistency, our government cannot interfere, coercively, at all. It has long since declared the independence of New Zealand, furnishing the chiefs with a national flag, which has been formally recognized and honoured as such: how then can an armed dictator be placed on the island, who shall be empowered to enforce submission to his requisitions? As for the danger to which British property is said to be exposed, I do not believe it is now in any danger *from natives* in this part of the country; and whites are amenable to their respective governments, and consequently ought to be placed at the disposal of proper agents of those governments, who ought undoubtedly to be sent into the land. The proximity of the colonies would render the authority of a Consul quite adequate. In parts of New Zealand where property may be somewhat insecure, there are no establishments of any moment, excepting those which on their present footing, ought to be prohibited instead of being protected,—being the sources which supply those very arms that are liable to be employed in their demolition, and which serve greatly to aggravate those very contests with which we now wish to interfere. By what possible right can we command the warriors whom we have formally declared independent, to desist from settling their disputes by force of arms, whilst our own subjects are providing them with the means of doing so? We



cannot interfere with British subjects who circulate rum and weapons among the conflicting clans, and yet we think it very proper to compel those clans to abstain from using the weapons so acquired.

About two hundred signatures are already procured to the petition in question; and it is to be hoped that the proportion of spirit dealers and traders in arms who have joined in it, will be specified. Do we wish to prevent New Zealanders from destroying each other, which is assigned as one of the objects of the petition? Well, then, stop the sources which furnish three-fourths of the means: make it a crime to bring cargoes of these pernicious articles, and to build stores round the coast for the traffic in them,—a traffic which we in fact protect, if we revenge the destruction of property that consists of little else besides these and the native produce obtained in exchange for them. Let us prevent in this way, our own countrymen from spreading firebrands, arrows, and death among the aborigines, and we shall in great measure avert those wars which threaten the extinction of the people, even before the vices of Christians (which are no less infallibly destroying the natives where war is not raging) have cut them off. If disputes still arise, and native spears and clubs are used to settle them, we are certainly not answerable for those who may perish; and in plain English, I think, that so far as we are concerned, the islanders have a full right to decide their differences in the same way as Christian nations, until by lawful means we can induce them to act more sanely than we do ourselves. To compel them to remain at peace, (and that too, without providing any other means of adjusting their quarrels in a more humane manner,) is in my opinion no other than “to do evil that good may come.” Not that we can for a moment suppose that good would come, if such a policy were to be adopted; on the contrary, if the fate of the New Zealanders be fixed now, it would be no less certain then. If we endeavoured to prevent mischief by sapping the root of the evil, as I have above said, the people might no doubt be gradually influenced by good men to change their present savage mode of life, and so be preserved from extinction; but the moment a British force enters New Zealand, the country becomes a dependency of Britain, and as such the aborigines of the soil will perish as in all our other colonial possessions.

While reprobating severely the attempt which is now being made, I am aware that a wish to prevent disorder may have a place in some minds, and that a zeal for the extension of Christianity may operate in others. I likewise know that petition for protection does not

necessarily specify the mode in which it shall be sent, but these considerations are of little value. No supposed good can sanctify evil means; and if unjustifiable measures are not suggested to our government, they must, judging by past experience, be calculated on as the only probable results. I as heartily wish the warriors of New Zealand could be induced to suspend their sanguinary operations, as any one can do who deprecates the horrors and crimes of war; but never will I subscribe to the doctrine, that it is lawful for us to use brute force in compelling them to desist.

First month 28th.—The Bay of Islands by no means furnishes a specimen of New Zealand generally, being the resort of numerous foreigners, and its neighbourhood but thinly peopled with the aboriginal inhabitants. There are various tribes in the vicinity of the Bay, and scattered over the northern islands, who occupy in peace their little potatoe-grounds and fortified villages, which are studded over the fern-clad hills that mark the country not covered with pine and caurie forests. These tribes are not under one common government, but are independent fraternities, subject only to their respective chiefs; so that within a short distance you find natives living soberly and professing Christianity, and barbarians with rudely carved figures stuck round their stockade fortifications, their tabued ground, and all the brute license of heathenism. Several villages quite near the Bay refuse to have any connexion with the missionaries, and these are of course the haunts of run-away sailors, convicts and grog-sellers, who in fact perpetuate the present wretched pagan abominations, and if possible, degrade the natives lower than they would otherwise be. It is said there are five or six hundred white men to the northward of the Thames, thus scattered among the natives, and leading the most abandoned lives.

The ‘Church Missionary Society’ has five stations on the northern part of this island, where missionaries are at present residing. Five stations have been formed on the river Thames and about the Bay of Plenty, but two of these have been lately abandoned on account of the unsettled state of the native tribes in that part of the country: one mission house has been plundered and burnt, and one or two of the missionaries have been exposed to considerable personal danger. The latter circumstance cannot of course be wondered at; it is rather remarkable that during these popular tumults the persons and property of the Society’s agents have been uniformly held sacred, scarcely an instance of violence having occurred among them, although they have been frequently placed in the heart of

savage warfare. These eight stations are managed by about two dozen missionaries, most of whom have families with them. A schooner belonging to the Society is kept constantly plying between the several posts accessible from the sea, transferring the families or their property, as expediency or necessity may dictate. The contending clans have avoided making enemies of the missionaries, regarding them as a neutral party, and as such even among barbarians, entitled to protection; an instance or two to the contrary have unhappily occurred recently, in which the teachers appear to have been identified in some degree with their adherents, though even in these cases their persons have not been injured.

The Wesleyans have occupied a part of the western coast, their head quarters being at Hokianga, but we did not see any of their establishments. We were told that the country where they are located is more populous than those parts where the Church Missionary Society agents are employed, some of whose stations are entirely deserted, Keri Keri and Tepuna more particularly. Waimate, the inland agricultural settlement, has not many natives near it, but there are several tribes scattered round the neighbourhood, within a moderate distance, whom the missionaries visit and instruct. The same may be said of Paihia; though the villages near the Bay of Islands are hostile to the missionaries, yet there are several places up the rivers Kauakaua and Waikate, where the people listen to their weekly instructions, and have made some progress towards improvement. The whole numerical amount of these teachable natives is insignificant, indeed one hundred persons is considered a large congregation in New Zealand.

The Church Missionary Society, and several individuals belonging to the mission, hold large parcels of land which have been regularly purchased of the natives, partly for the present use of the mission, and in part as a provision for the rising families of its members. The children are not, as among some other missionaries whom we have visited, destined to be sent home at a certain age, nor do the parents anticipate the expiration of a term of years, when they and their families will leave the ground, and take up their abode in England or the colonies. The Church missionaries came out with the intention of remaining, and of establishing their children after them in their adopted country, and several of the sons of the earlier missionaries are already settled on farms, from which they expect to obtain a competency. In this way large portions of the country will soon be colonized by

Europeans, for it is an acknowledged fact that English stock flourishes abundantly in New Zealand. Several of the mission families are very large, and though the second generation will doubtless assume something of the Creole temperament and appearance, yet the Anglo New Zealand natives enjoy robust constitutions, and suffer very little from disease. With such prospects of a permanent residence in the country, no attempt is made to prevent the children acquiring the native language; although in itself I imagine familiarity with native habits and intellectual and moral degradation, must be nearly as injurious here as in any of the other islands, where the policy of securing the children from contact with barbarism, has induced the parents to prevent their learning the language of the people.

The New Zealand missionaries keep great numbers of native servants about them, and really this practice appears highly advantageous under present circumstances; for from the character of the people, it would be extremely difficult to obtain much ascendancy over them in any other way. Induced by motives of self-interest to submit while young to some degree of restraint, and to receive instruction from their patrons, it is to be hoped their wild, wayward, vicious habits will be corrected, while at the same time, their situation brings them within the religious influence of the missionaries.

The New Zealanders are by far the rudest and most warlike islanders that we have seen, (if I except the few natives of the Marquesas and Fiji groups, whom we met with occasionally among their more docile neighbours; and the accounts we have received from residents here, confirmed every unfavourable impression, that their appearance can make on the mind of a stranger.) I confess I never thought the difference between these and the other Pacific islanders, was so very striking as it appears to be. They resemble North American Indians to a degree that you would scarcely credit, both in appearance, habits and Jewish customs. They possess an invincible determination, an independence which acknowledges no restraint, not reconciled by a supposed decree of fate, and a restless martial daring, accompanied by an undying spirit of revenge, perhaps never more strongly exhibited in the human character. The heart of a New Zealander, seems almost insensible, in many instances at least, to the softer emotions, and he does not possess terms to express such foreign influences. Gratitude, meekness, lowliness, grace, and repentance, affection and thankfulness are alike unknown to him; while martial epithets and words significant of cruelty and violence, are abundant and elaborate-



ly explicit. There seems to be an untameable spirit and pride about them, which renders a concession almost impossible: they will rather die than yield,—a principle no doubt greatly fostered by their Spartan education, which is calculated to infuse into the minds of mere children, the hardihood and recklessness of the tiger. Their notions about ‘satisfaction’ might have been formed in imitation of the famous ‘laws of honour.’ Every offence must be resented or expiated, and where actual warfare is not the consequence of a false step, plunder is liable to follow the smallest insult. They are said to procure an insult or a false accusation merely as a pretext for demanding satisfaction. The intelligence of the New Zealanders is universally admitted, and from what I saw of them I was led to conclude, that they possess greater versatility of mind than their tropical neighbours, and perhaps quite as much acuteness. They seem to experience little or no difficulty in acquiring a knowledge of reading and writing, even in places unvisited by regular instructors. I saw, just before leaving the country, a very fairly written letter, addressed to one of the missionaries by a native who lived at a distance, and who had only occasionally visited the station.

Their appearance is very Asiatic,—swarthy complexions, bald, marked and often spare countenances, with dark, restless eye, black, straight hair, somewhat raised cheek-bones, and irregular broad mouths; athletic but not generally graceful figures characterize the appearance of the men, whose faces, hips, and thighs are often scored with deep tatoo. A shark’s tooth, a bird skin, or a piece of iron drawn through the ear, and a filthy mat or blanket thrown round the figure, and occasionally exposing every part, in many instances complete the decorations of these aborigines, and render their exterior far less pleasing than that of many other Pacific islanders. The women, who have been praised as fur-

nishing perfect models of beauty, are I think more pleasing than most of the other islanders. They are not however so gentle, nor are their habits so accordant with our notions of female propriety, being often extremely dirty in their personal appearance and domestic management; but their countenances are expressive, and their features well formed. The lips are frequently disfigured with tatoo, which gives them a singular and unpleasant appearance, like that of persons who have been eating black-berries.

The British resident has made one attempt to unite the principal chiefs in a sort of council, in which they might act collectively; and in theory he succeeded so far as to induce them to consent that each one should no longer act singly, but that in affairs of importance the collective opinions of the chiefs of the ‘united tribes of New Zealand’ should constitute a decision. The members of this national council signed a formal declaration of their independence, and agreed to meet annually for purposes of government. But unhappily these auspicious indications were very transient, and the perverseness of some exasperated individuals, who could not support the dignity of civil rulers, frustrated the design altogether. On the occasion of a dispute about some land which had been sold, the national assembly was convened at the resident’s place of abode near the Bay of Islands, to decide the case. This was readily done, but the vanquished party in the rage of disappointment, flew to their more congenial arbitrators—their muskets—and fired upon the assembly. Some lives I believe were lost on the occasion, and it has never since been deemed expedient to call together such unmanageable counsellors. It is very much to be regretted that the untoward conduct of a few lawless individuals has, for a time at least, set aside a noble attempt to benefit by justifiable means this distracted country.

# THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF THOMAS ELLWOOD:

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

“By faith the elders obtained a good report.” Heb. xi. 2.

## PREFACE.

“GATHER up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost,” was the direction of our Saviour to his disciples, after he had fed the multitude. This may properly be applied to collecting and preserving the accounts of the lives of good men, who in their day have been eminently useful in those stations of life wherein God, by his good providence, hath placed them. And this is the rather to be done, when themselves leave behind them, in writing, an account of their lives, and of the signal mercies of God to them therein. From such accounts may best be gathered, their particular state, exercise and growth in the work of restoration out of the fall and degeneracy; and, in the reading thereof, we may be not only incited to bless the name of the Lord, on their behalf, but also gain some instruction from the path so fairly tract out, and their ground of hope; that by being faithful, we may likewise attain the same good experience.

There is not with me any doubt but something of this kind may be the lot of many, into whose hands this treatise may happen to come; for they will herein meet with a variety of exercises, and the providences of God therein, related with strength and plainness of speech. Our deceased friend Thomas Ellwood, was a man whom God had endued with singular abilities, both as a man, and as a Christian; which is evident, from his many useful labours and services and the many books which he wrote in the defence of Truth, and the friends thereof. For this service, he was in a particular manner qualified by spiritual wisdom and Christian obedience; to which, in him, was added great strength and depth of judgment, wherein he could discern the spirits of others, and was very much the master of his own, as appeared to such who knew him, not only by the soundness of his reasoning and the seasonableness of his words; but also by his great and exemplary modesty, in that he was not hasty to propose, nor rudely tenacious to insist on what he had proposed, if any thing, though not well expressed, yet well intended, was offered by any

one much weaker, nay, though by but a babe in Christ.

His countenance was manly and cheerful; his deportment grave, yet affable and courteous, even to the meanest person; his conversation innocent, pleasant and instructive, yet severe against any thing that was beyond the liberty of truth. These, with his other qualifications of body and mind, rendered him very acceptable and useful, as a friend and as a neighbour, and as a member and elder in the church of Christ; and the more, for that his time was chiefly employed in being serviceable in one or other of these capacities.

I might here particularly mention the labours of our deceased friend, according to their respective times, and the nature of their several subjects; but much of this being already done in the ensuing pages, I choose to omit it; by which, possibly the reader may be incited to the perusal of them; and shall only say concerning them, that his method and style denote him to have been a scholar; and yet not farther so, than the simplicity and purity of the truth, whereof he made profession, would permit him.

As it was my lot to be well acquainted with him, though only in the latter years of his life, and I know that he did neither use nor encourage the bestowing elaborate encomiums upon persons deceased; so I shall add no further concerning him, than to say with the apostle concerning the faithful, “That he was righteous, God testifying of his gifts; and by it being dead, he yet speaketh.”

JOSEPH WYETH.

London, the 12th of the Second  
month, 1714.

GEORGE BOWLES' *testimony concerning* THOMAS  
ELLWOOD.

DEAR FRIENDS,

IT is in my heart on this occasion, briefly to commemorate the tender dealings of the Lord with his people in this latter age of the world, when it hath pleased him, in love to poor lost man, graciously to appear, by the breaking forth of his glorious gospel-day. And by the



secret divine reaches of the hand of God, which have been felt and seen in the light of it, many have been drawn in their spirits to seek after the Lord, and to inquire after the knowledge of the way of life and salvation. Blessed be his holy name, who was graciously pleased, by the inshinings of this divine light in the hearts of many, to expel the darkness and rend the veil. Then was the arm of his mighty power made bare, for the gathering many thousands to the saving knowledge of himself. In that day was the Lord pleased, according to his promise, to pour forth of his Spirit upon sons and upon daughters; yea, upon servants and upon handmaids, and many were made to prophesy. These being qualified by the Holy Spirit, which they received, and were baptized by it into his name, became willing, and were freely given up in obedience to the Lord, and in bowels of tender love to the souls of mankind, in his power to preach the gospel of life and salvation to those to whom they were sent, and many were turned from darkness to light, and from the power of satan unto God, by their ministry. Amongst these, our dear deceased friend and brother, Thomas Ellwood, was one whose conscience was reached and awakened by the powerful ministry of dear Edward Burrough. Of that day and time, and the worthy instrument by whose ministry he was convinced and turned unto God, and made sensible of the divine principle of life and light in his own heart, I have heard him speak with great regard; and also relate the sufferings which attended him after he received the truth, in his father's family, for the truth's sake; and how the Lord preserved him in that time, under the various exercises which he passed through for truth's testimony. This, for Christ's sake, he was conscientiously concerned to stand in, according to that plainness and simplicity which truth then led, and still continues to lead, the sincere disciples of Christ into, by which they were distinguished from the world; and for the sake thereof, were despised of men and hated of the world. Such was the plain language of thou to one, and refusing the hat honour; for which, dear Thomas Ellwood suffered not a little in that day, as by the following account of his life, more fully appears. It were well, if all who come up in a profession of the blessed truth in this time, were faithful in these, and in the other branches of its testimony. Let all consider, that the neglecting thereof, is in degree, strengthening the hands of evil doers, and making void the sufferings of the faithful, who for the sake of their testimony, loved not their lives to the death; but underwent cruel mockings, buffetings, stonings, whip-

pings, stockings, revilings, imprisonments, and spoiling of goods; rejoicing in the Lord, that they were counted worthy to suffer for his name-sake. In this respect, my dear friend was a good example, he being a man of a steady mind, and very patient in suffering, as well as faithful in his testimony for truth, and took joyfully the spoiling of his goods, wherein he was tried but a few years before his death. He was often engaged in defence of truth's testimony, both against professed adversaries, and also against the libertine spirit which appeared in some, professing the same truth with us, who opposed themselves against that good order and discipline which the truth led Friends into. This will abundantly appear from the books themselves, which are in print, written upon various occasions and divers subjects; and let not his great labour and industry be forgotten, in writing those two historical volumes relating to the Old and New Testament: a work truly great, and may be of great use and service. By his many labours, it may be perceived that the Lord had endowed him with an excellent gift, and qualified him for the service of truth, his church and people; which he employed to the honour of the great Giver, and to the comfort and edification of the church of Christ.

But more especially were his services known to the brethren in this county of Bucks; most of whom are fallen asleep, and but few remaining, who knew him in his beginning, or his first services for the Lord, his church and people; amongst whom he was a zealous asserter of that excellent discipline the Lord had opened and led his people into, for preserving his church as a garden enclosed. For this cause, many of those libertines set themselves fiercely against him, and shot their arrows at him; but the Lord defended him, and covered his head in the day of battle, and his bow abode in strength, and his bough spread over the wall, and continued fresh and green: but a blast from the Lord came upon their evil work; and how have they melted away? How is their strength failed, and their work brought to naught? But the blessing of the Lord is with his people, even with the faithful, to this day, whom he hath preserved as a peculiar treasure to himself: blessed be his holy name for evermore.

It may be truly said of this dear friend, that as the Lord fitted him for his service, so was he eminently serviceable in his hand, in the church of Christ; of which there are many living witnesses in this and the adjacent counties. The sense of which toucheth me and others with the deeper sense of the great loss the church hath by his removal. But

being also sensible through the Lord's goodness, that our loss is his eternal gain, I feel in my heart an humble submission to the will of Him, who doeth whatsoever pleaseth him, both in heaven and in earth: and who shall say unto Him, What doest thou? It is the tender breathing of my spirit to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he would be graciously pleased, in pity and compassion to his people, to raise up, fit and furnish more faithful servants for his work and service, and make them zealous for his name and truth upon the earth, that the place of this dear friend, and other faithful servants of the Lord and his people, of late removed from amongst us in these parts, may be supplied; and that the spouse of Christ may, amidst all her tribulations, afflictions and sore exercises, be made to praise the Lord, and bless his holy name, who taketh away one, and raiseth up another, and blesseth his children with his goodness, according to his promise made of old, by the holy prophet, saying, "I will pour my Spirit upon thine seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring." Thus hath the Lord preserved Zion from age to age: and I doubt not, but am fully persuaded, that he will still bless his people and preserve Zion, and deliver her from all her enemies.

And my dear friends, brethren and sisters, although it be matter of sorrow to us to part with our dear friends, especially such as have faithfully served the Lord and his people in their generation, as it may, I hope without just occasion of offence to any, be said of dear Thomas Ellwood; yet may we not sorrow unseasonably, as those who sorrow without hope, but believing that the Lord hath taken him to himself in mercy, let us all learn resignation to his blessed will, and say with holy Job, "The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away: blessed be the name of the Lord." I may farther signify unto you, that it being my lot to be with this dear friend almost every day of his last illness, I did observe in him, to my great comfort and satisfaction, a quiet composed frame of mind and spirit, and resignation to the will of God. When I came first to him, which was soon after I heard of his being taken ill, on the 24th of the second month, I found him very much disabled by the distemper, which was thought to be a palsy, that had seized him, especially on his right side, so that he could not stand alone, nor help himself, but a little with his left hand; and his speech was also very much interrupted, inso-much that it was with great difficulty, for the most part, that he expressed himself so as to be understood. Some time after I came to him, there being also other friends with him,

we sat down together under a weighty exercise of spirit, waiting upon the Lord in deep silence, with our eye to him; it pleased the Lord eminently to appear amongst us, and to fill our hearts with the refreshing streams of his divine love, and to open the mouth of one of us in prayer and supplication. The Lord was graciously pleased abundantly to replenish our spirits, to our mutual comfort, in a living sense of divine goodness; and this our dear friend, expressed himself in great tenderness and brokenness of spirit, on this wise, "I am sensibly comforted and refreshed in this visit." And that afternoon, fixing his eyes upon me, with great earnestness of spirit he expressed, as well as he could at that time, a great concern that was upon his mind for Truth, and the friends of it, in divers particulars; especially, in relation to our own monthly and quarterly meetings, the writings of both which, had been under his care for more than forty years. After this, he was much eased in his spirit, and so continued to the last, so far as I perceived; often saying, when asked how he did? 'I am easy, I am quiet.' And he was often very tender in his spirit, expressing his resignation to the will of God, whether in life or death, saying, 'If the Lord hath no more work for me to do, I am content and resigned to his will; and my hearty farewell to all my brethren.' And at another time, nearer his end, he said to us present, in much brokenness of heart, 'I am full of joy and peace—my spirit is filled with joy;' or to this effect. His speech was so weakened, that several things which he spake at times, in a tender sense of the Lord's goodness, could not well be collected; the sense of which deeply affected some of us who were with him.

My heart is sorrowfully affected at this time, in a sense of the great loss which the church of Christ hath by his removal: but in this I am comforted, in a living sense of the Lord's mercy and goodness towards him, in carrying him through his affliction in great patience and quietness; under which he was sweetly refreshed by the streams of divine love, and his cup was often made to overflow. We, who were present, being touched with a sense thereof, were comforted; being in a travail of spirit for him, and did in our measures truly sympathize with him under his affliction. And I am fully satisfied he laid down his head in peace with Lord, and is gathered to his everlasting rest. He departed this life the 1st of the third month, 1713, about the second hour in the morning, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. He received the truth in the year 1659, and lived in fellowship with the friends of it about fifty-three years. And I think it may be truly said of him, that as he



lived so he died, the servant of the Lord and his people, and hath left a sweet savour behind him, and his memory is blessed with the righteous for ever. Amen.

GEORGE BOWLES.

Eighth month, 1713.

*A Testimony from the monthly meeting at Hunger-hill, the 7th of the Fourth month, 1713, concerning our dear and well-beloved friend and brother in the Truth, THOMAS ELLWOOD, deceased.*

THAT the dead who die in the Lord, are blessed of him, we have great assurance, from John the divine in his writing to the seven churches; Rev. xiv. 13. Where he tells them, that he heard a voice from heaven, saying, write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth: yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours, and their works do follow them. Of which number, we have no cause to doubt but this our dear friend is one; who was eminently serviceable in the church of Christ. He was a man to whom the Lord had given a large capacity beyond many, and furnished him with an excellent gift; whereby he was qualified for those services in the church, in the performance of which he did shine as a star, which received its lustre and brightness from the glorious Sun of Righteousness. He was wise, but humble; condescending to the weak, and ready to help where he saw and felt sincerity; but sharp to that which he apprehended to be insincere and deceitful; for which cause, he was not acceptable to hypocrites and disorderly walkers. He was a man of a very acceptable and agreeable conversation, as well as sober and religious, both in the church and in the world, being of a free and affable temper and disposition, far from affectation; but of a courteous behaviour and graceful carriage to all, and very serviceable to and amongst his neighbours: he was very near and dear to many of us, who were most intimately acquainted with him, and his memorial is sweet to us. His services in our meetings, and in the quarterly meeting for the county of Bucks, were very great, and of many years continuance; in which he showed great diligence, being of a ready mind, willing to serve the church, according to that ability which the Lord had given him; and his heart and house were open to his friends, and the monthly meeting was kept there more than forty years, and remains there to this day. Our loss is great by his removal: but in this we are satisfied, that it is his everlasting gain; being gathered, as we have good cause to believe,

to his eternal rest. The knowledge we had of him, and the good account which we have received of him, in the time of his last illness, by those who were most constantly with him, and of his quiet and peaceable departure, do sensibly engage our hearts to acquiesce in the will of the Lord; and therein we have peace and comfort. He departed this life, the 1st of the third month 1713, and was honourably buried in Friends' burying-place at New Jordans, in the parish of Giles-Chalfont, in the county of Bucks, the 4th day of the same month.

Signed by appointment of the monthly meeting by us,

GEORGE BOWLES,	DANIEL ROBERTS,
WM. GRIMSDALL,	ABRAHAM BARBER,
JAMES SMITH,	THOMAS OLLIFFE.
DANIEL WHARLEY,	

*A Testimony from the Women's meeting concerning THOMAS ELLWOOD.*

A CONCERN is upon our spirits to write somewhat concerning our dear deceased friend and elder, Thomas Ellwood, who was highly valued by us, for that wisdom and counsel which were with him. He being of a free and affable temper, ready to assist those who stood in need thereof, encouraged many to apply to him for advice, under the divers circumstances and various exercises which this uncertain world affords; which we have found to be for our good, as we followed it. He was an early comer to meetings, seldom hindered by weather, though he lived three miles distant, when bodily weakness did not prevent, being oft of late years, indisposed as to his health. The monthly meeting was held at his house about forty years, and he always looked very kind and courteous on Friends when they came there, and took care and notice of the meanest, who came in sincerity. He was zealous for good order, and against such, who, being in an apostatized spirit, opposed it; and may well be numbered amongst the worthies, whose names are upon record for their valour. He never turned his back on such who opposed the truth; but stood his ground, as his printed sheets on such occasions do show. His other works manifest how great endowments God, who not only gives wisdom, but teacheth humility, had bestowed upon him; yet we who knew him in his conversation, are engaged to set forth how kind and condescending he was to the weakest capacity. Many generations to come may learn how good it is to forsake all and follow Christ Jesus, as this our friend did, as the account of his life shows.

He was greatly respected by his neighbours, for his services amongst them; his heart and doors were open to the poor, both sick and lame, who wanted help, and had it freely; taking care to provide things useful for such occasions, often saying, he mattered not what cost he was at to do good. Such lament their loss: what then may we do, who miss him in an higher station, in his great service in the church of Christ, but desire to be resigned to the will of the Lord; who preserved him through all his hardships, to a dominion over false brethren, and is now out of their reach, and of temptation too; on whose head the blessing, asked for Joseph, rests. As a fruitful bough his branch spread over the wall of opposition, and his bow abode in strength; the hands of his arms being made strong by the help of the mighty God of Jacob, to whom be the glory for what he hath wrought in our day, whose own works praise him for evermore. Let the tears of sorrow that we shed, for the loss of this our deceased friend, be remembered, and let each of us bow our spirits, in a godly care, that we may come up according to our several capacities, to follow the Lord faithfully, in godly zeal for his honour; and so come to lay down our heads in joy and peace, as this our friend expressed that he did.

This eminent servant of Christ, was early convinced of the way of Truth, wherein he continued to the finishing of his day; for the sake of which, he soon became a sufferer; not only by imprisonment, for worshipping God in the assemblies of his people, but also, from his father, by whom he was made as an outcast, for no other cause, but for his faithful testimony in taking up the cross to the world's behaviour and language. Whereupon he was invited by his much valued friend Isaac Penington, to his house, where he abode several years, until he married. He was a blessing in, as well as a great comfort and help to that family; and by his wise conduct, gained much esteem, not only from the elders but the youth, whom he instructed in learning; and though most of them are by death removed, yet one still remains, who from certain and experimental knowledge can commemorate his worth; being engaged thereto, from a sense of the benefit of his good and wholesome advice. Which friendship continued firm to the last.

His natural capacity was large, and his understanding in the things of God, very deep; which excellent qualifications meeting in one, rendered him useful beyond many to his country, as well as very serviceable in the church; by both which he is, and will be greatly missed. But he has gone to his grave in a full age, and gathered as a shock of corn

in its season, having done his day's work faithfully: so that saying may be verified in him, 'The end crowns all.'

His sickness was sudden, which soon deprived him of the use of his limbs; yet he retained his inward and outward senses clear; and notwithstanding at times his pains were great, his exemplary patience and composed resignation were remarkably apparent to those that visited and attended him; so that their sorrow in parting with so dear a friend, was intermixed with comfort in beholding the heavenly frame of mind wherewith he was adorned.

Thus after all his labours, he entered into everlasting rest, and left many behind weeping, though not without hope, that they shall again meet at the general assembly of saints, where the redeemed shall sing praises to their blessed Redeemer, whose right it is to reign for ever.

We have this farther to add, namely, that our esteem of him was great, because of that real worth that was in him, through the operation of the mighty power of the Lord that separated him from the love of the world: so that he chose, with Moses, rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season. It pleased the Lord to fit him with wisdom and counsel, so that he was made able to give judgment in difficult cases, wherein many of us particularly received benefit, and therefore have cause to lament the loss we have by his removal. And oh! say our souls, that the Lord would raise up many more in his room, to the praise and honour of the good Husbandman. And it is our desire that we, who are yet behind, may be made able so to steer our course through this troublesome world, that when our end comes, we may lay down our heads in peace with the Lord, and leave a good savour behind us, as this our friend hath done.

This is written in true love and respect to the memory of our deceased friend, as it pleased the Lord to move upon our hearts. And being read and approved in our women's meeting at Hunger-hill, the 4th of the eleventh month 1713, was subscribed in behalf of the said meeting by us,

MARY BAKER,  
MARY WHARLEY,  
MARY LARCUM.

RICHARD VIVERS' *Testimony concerning* THOMAS ELLWOOD.

HE was a man of great wisdom and understanding, and the Lord, the giver of it, being pleased to visit him in his early days, made choice of him, and by the sanctification of his



Holy Spirit, fitted and prepared him for his work and service, whereunto he was called. Although he did not often appear as a minister, yet in those meetings set apart for the affairs of Truth, he often appeared in great wisdom, having an extraordinary talent given of the Lord for that work, more than many other brethren. He was faithful in waiting for instruction from God, to improve the same to his glory, and the church's advantage; for nothing was more desirable to him, than to be employed in the Lord's service: so it pleased the Almighty to furnish him with understanding and strength, faithfully to do his day's work. And now he hath taken him to himself, where his soul is at rest; and although our loss be his gain, therein I with many more are greatly comforted, for I can truly say, I loved him in the Truth, from the first of my acquaintance with him, and so it remained to the end of his course, being nearly forty years since we knew each other. Whenever we conversed together, our discourse was chiefly concerning heavenly things, and the affairs of the church. I always thought my time well spent with him, although opportunity would not serve for so much of it as I desired, had it been the will of God.

He was a man true to his friend, and deliberate in the choice of his acquaintance, to whom he showed real love and sincerity of heart. He was one of a steady and sound judgment, as to the things of God; often desiring, that those who came amongst us, especially children of believing parents, might not settle down in a form of godliness, without the power, at which door the apostacy entered; but that they might be raised up to walk in that, wherein the saints' fellowship doth stand, which is the light of our Lord Jesus Christ, enlightening every man that cometh into the world. Then the ancient testimony of Truth will be more and more raised up in their hearts, and they being preserved of the Lord in it, it will be maintained in its several branches, as in former days. Blessed be the name of the Lord, who hath a people in these latter ages of the world to whom he hath given power to stand for his Truth whilst on earth, and to be tender of the honour of his name; of the number of whom, this our deceased friend and brother was; who, although dead, yet his memory liveth, and will be preserved amongst the righteous in generations yet to come.

RICHARD VIVERS.

Banbury, 30th of Eleventh month, 1714.

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## THE LIFE OF THOMAS ELLWOOD.

ALTHOUGH my station not being so eminent either in the church of Christ, or in the world, as others who have moved in higher orbs, may not afford such considerable remarks as theirs; yet, inasmuch as in the course of my travels through this vale of tears, I have passed through various, and some uncommon exercises, which the Lord hath been graciously pleased to support me under, and conduct me through; I hold it a matter excusable at least, if not commendable, to give the world some little account of my life. In recounting the many deliverances and preservations, which the Lord hath vouchsafed to work for me, both I, by a grateful acknowledgment thereof, and return of thanksgivings unto him therefore, may in some measure set forth his abundant goodness to me; and others, whose lot it may be to tread the same path, and fall into the same or like exercises, may be encouraged to persevere in the way of holiness, and with full assurance of mind, to trust in the Lord, whatsoever trial may befall them.

To begin, therefore, with mine own beginning. I was born in the year of our Lord 1639, about the beginning of the eighth month, so far as I have been able to inform myself; for the parish register, which relates to the time, not of birth, but of baptism, as they call it, is not to be relied on.

The place of my birth was a little country town called Crowell, situate in the upper side of Oxfordshire, three miles eastward from Thame, the nearest market-town.

My father's name was Walter Ellwood; and my mother's maiden name was Elizabeth Potman; both well descended, but of declining families. What my father possessed, which was a pretty estate in lands, and more as I have heard in monies, he received, as he had done his name Walter, from his grandfather Walter Gray, whose daughter and only child was his mother.

In my very infancy, when I was but about two years old, I was carried to London. For the civil war, between king and parliament break-

ing then forth, my father, who favoured the parliament side, though he took not arms, not holding himself safe at his country habitation, which lay too near some garrisons of the king's, betook himself to London, that city then holding for the parliament.

There was I bred up, though not without much difficulty, the city air not agreeing with my tender constitution, and there continued until Oxford was surrendered, and the war in appearance ended.

In this time, my parents contracted an acquaintance and intimate friendship with the lady Springett, then the widow of Sir William Springett, who died in the parliament service, and afterwards the wife of Isaac Penington, eldest son of Alderman Penington of London. This friendship devolving from the parents to the children, I became an early and particular playfellow to her daughter Gulielma; being admitted, as such, to ride with her in her little coach, drawn by her footman about Lincoln's-Inn-Fields.

I mention this in this place, because the continuation of that acquaintance and friendship, having been an occasional means of my being afterwards brought to the knowledge of the blessed Truth, I shall have frequent cause, in the following discourse, to make honourable mention of that family, to which I am under many and great obligations.

Soon after the surrender of Oxford, my father returned to his estate at Crowell; which by that time he might have need enough to look after, having spent, I suppose, the greatest part of the monies which had been left him by his grandfather, in maintaining himself and his family at a high rate in London.

My elder brother—for I had one brother and two sisters all elder than myself—while we lived in London, was boarded at a private school, in the house of one Francis Atkinson, at a place called Hadley, near Barnet in Hertfordshire, where he made some good proficiency in the Latin and French tongues. But after we left the city, and were resettled in the country, he was taken from that private school, and sent to the free school at Thame in Oxfordshire.

Thither also was I sent, as soon as my tender age would permit; for I was indeed but young when I went, and yet seemed younger than I was, by reason of my low and little stature. It was held for some years a doubtful point, whether I should not have proved a dwarf. But after I arrived to the fifteenth year of my age, or thereabouts, I began to shoot up, and did not give over growing till I had attained the middle size and stature of men.

At this school, which at that time was in

good reputation, I profited apace, having then a natural propensity to learning; so that at the first reading over of my lesson, I commonly made myself master of it. And yet, which is strange to think of, few boys in the school wore out more birch than I. For though I was never, that I remember, whipped upon the score of not having my lesson ready, or of not saying it well; yet being a little busy boy, full of spirit, of a working head and active hand, I could not easily conform myself to the grave and sober rules, and as I then thought, severe orders of the school; but was often playing one waggish prank or other among my fellow-scholars, which subjected me to correction, so that I have come under the discipline of the rod twice in a forenoon; which yet brake no bones.

Had I been continued at this school, and in due time preferred to a higher, I might in likelihood have been a scholar; for I was observed to have a genius apt to learn. But my father having, as soon as the republican government began to settle, accepted the office of a justice of the peace, which was no way beneficial, but merely honorary and every way expensive, and put himself into a port and course of living agreeable thereto; and having also removed my brother from Thame school to Merton college in Oxford, and entered him there in the highest and most chargeable condition of a fellow-commoner, he found it needful to retrench his expenses elsewhere; the hurt of which fell upon me. For he thereupon took me from school, to save the charge of maintaining me there; which was somewhat like plucking green fruit from the tree, and laying it by before it was come to its due ripeness, which will thenceforth shrink and wither, and lose that little juice and relish which it began to have.

Even so it fared with me. For being taken home when I was but young, and before I was well settled in my studies,—though I had made a good progress in the Latin tongue, and was entered in the Greek,—being left too much to myself, to ply or play with my books, or without them, as I pleased, I soon shook hands with my books, by shaking my books out of my hands, and laying them, by degrees, quite aside, and addicted myself to such youthful sports and pleasures as the place afforded, and my condition could reach to.

By this means I soon began to lose the little learning I had acquired at school; and by a continued disuse of my books, became at length so utterly a stranger to learning, that I could not have read, far less have understood, a sentence in Latin. Which I was so sensible of, that I warily avoided reading to others, even in an English book, lest, if I should meet



with a Latin word I should shame myself by mispronouncing it.

Thus I went on, taking my swing in such vain courses as were accounted harmless recreations; entertaining my companions and familiar acquaintance, with pleasant discourses in our conversations, by the mere force of mother-wit and natural parts, without the help of school cultivation; and was accounted good company too.

But I always sorted myself with persons of ingenuity, temperance and sobriety; for I loathed scurrilities in conversation, and had a natural aversion to immoderate drinking. So that in the time of my greatest vanity, I was preserved from profaneness, and the grosser evils of the world; which rendered me acceptable to persons of the best note in that country. I often waited on the Lord Wenman at his house Thame-park, about two miles from Crowell where I lived; to whose favour I held myself entitled in a two-fold respect, both as my mother was nearly related to his lady, and as he had been pleased to bestow his name upon me, when he made large promises for me at the font. He was a person of great honour and virtue, and always gave me a kind reception at his table, how often soever I came. And I have cause to think, I should have received from this lord some advantageous preferment in this world, as soon as he had found me capable of it, (though betwixt him and my father there was not then so good an understanding as might have been wished) had I not been, in a little time after, called into the service of the best and highest Lord; and thereby lost the favour of all my friends, relations and acquaintance of this world. To the account of which most happy exchange I hasten, and therefore willingly pass over many particularities of my youthful life. Yet one passage I am willing to mention, for the effect it had upon me afterwards, which was thus:

My father being then in the commission of the peace, and going to a petty sessions at Watlington, I waited on him thither. And when we came near the town, the coachman seeing a nearer and easier way than the common road, through a corn-field, and that it was wide enough for the wheels to run, without endamaging the corn, turned down there. Which being observed by an husbandman, who was at plough not far off, he ran to us, and stopping the coach, poured forth a mouthful of complaints, in none of the best language, for driving over the corn. My father mildly answered him, 'that if there was an offence committed, he must rather impute it to his servant, than himself; since he neither directed him to drive that way, nor knew which way he drove.' Yet added, 'that he

was going to such an inn at the town; whither if he came, he would make him full satisfaction for whatsoever damage he had sustained thereby. And so on we went, the man venting his discontent, as he went back, in angry accents. At the town, upon inquiry, we understood that it was a way often used and without damage, being broad enough; but that it was not the common road, which yet lay not far from it, and was also good enough; wherefore my father bid his man drive home that way.

It was late in the evening when we returned, and very dark; and this quarrelsome man, who had troubled himself and us in the morning, having gotten another lusty fellow, like himself, to assist him, waylaid us in the night, expecting we would return the same way we came. But when they found we did not, but took the common way, angry that they were disappointed, and loath to lose their purpose, which was to put an abuse upon us, they coasted over to us in the dark, and laying hold on the horses bridles, stopt them from going on. My father asking his man, what the reason was that he went not on, was answered, that there were two men at the horses heads, who held them back, and would not suffer them to go forward. Whereupon my father opening the boot, stepped out, and I followed close at his heels. Going up to the place where the men stood, he demanded of them the reason of this assault. They said we were upon the corn. We knew, by the routs, we were not on the corn, but in the common way, and told them so. But they told us they were resolved they would not let us go on any farther, but would make us go back again. My father endeavoured, by gentle reasoning, to persuade them to forbear, and not to run themselves farther into the danger of the law, which they were run too far into already; but they rather derided him for it. Seeing therefore fair means would not work upon them, he spake more roughly to them, charging them to deliver their clubs, for each of them had a great club in his hand, somewhat like those which are called quarter-staves. They thereupon, laughing, told him they did not bring them thither for that end. Thereupon my father, turning his head to me, said, 'Tom, disarm them.'

I stood ready at his elbow, waiting only for the word of command. For being naturally of a bold spirit, full then of youthful heat, and that too heightened by the sense I had, not only of the abuse, but insolent behaviour of those rude fellows—my blood began to boil and my fingers itched, as the saying is, to be dealing with them. Wherefore stepping boldly forward, to lay hold on the staff of him that was nearest to me, I said, Sirrah, deliver

your weapon. He thereupon raised his club, which was big enough to have knocked down an ox, intending no doubt to have knocked me down with it, as probably he would have done, had I not, in the twinkling of an eye, whipt out my rapier and made a pass upon him. I could not have failed running him through up to the hilt, had he stood his ground; but the sudden and unexpected sight of my bright blade glittering in the dark night, did so amaze and terrify the man, that slipping aside, he avoided my thrust; and letting his staff sink, betook himself to his heels for safety, which his companion seeing, fled also. I followed the former as fast as I could, but fear gave him wings, and made him fly swiftly; so that although I was accounted very nimble, yet the farther we ran the more ground he gained on me, and I could not overtake him; which made me think he took shelter under some bush, which he knew where to find, though I did not. Meanwhile the coachman, who had sufficiently the outside of a man, excused himself from intermeddling, under pretence that he durst not leave his horses, and so left me to shift for myself. I was gone so far beyond my knowledge, that I understood not which way to go, till by hallooing, and being hallooed to again, I was directed where to find my company.

We had easy means to find out who these men were, the principal of them having been at the inn in the day-time, and both quarrelled with the coachman, and threatened to be even with him when he went back; but since they came off no better in their attempt, my father thought it better not to know them, than to oblige himself to a prosecution.

At that time, and for a good while after, I had no regret upon my mind for what I had done, and designed to have done, in this case; but went on, in a sort of bravery, resolving to kill, if I could, any man that should make the like attempt, or put any affront upon us; and for that reason, seldom went afterwards upon those public services, without a loaded pistol in my pocket. But when it pleased the Lord, in his infinite goodness, to call me out of the spirit and ways of the world, and give me the knowledge of his saving Truth, whereby the actions of my past life were set in order before me—a sort of horror seized on me, when I considered how near I had been to the staining of my hands with human blood. And whensoever afterwards I went that way, and indeed as often since as the matter has come into my remembrance, my soul has blessed the Lord for my deliverance, and thanksgivings and praises have arisen in my heart,—as now, at the relating of it, they do,—to him who preserved and withheld me from shedding man's

blood. Which is the reason, I have given this account of that action, that others may be warned by it.

1658.—About this time my dear and honoured mother, who was indeed a woman of singular worth and virtue, departed this life, having a little before heard of the death of her eldest son; who falling under the displeasure of my father, for refusing to resign his interest in an estate which my father sold, and thereupon desiring that he might have leave to travel, in hopes that time and absence might work a reconciliation, went into Ireland with a person powerful there in those times, by whose means he was quickly preferred to a place of trust and profit, but lived not long to enjoy it.

I mentioned before, that during my father's abode in London, in the time of the civil wars, he contracted a friendship with the lady Springett, then a widow, and afterwards married to Isaac Penington, Esq.; to continue which, he sometimes visited them at their country lodgings, as at Datchet, and at Causham Lodge, near Reading. Having heard that they were come to live upon their own estate at Chalfont in Buckinghamshire, about fifteen miles from Crowell, he went one day to visit them there, and to return at night, taking me with him.

But very much surprised we were, when, being come hither, we first heard, then found, they were become Quakers; a people we had no knowledge of, and a name we had, till then, scarcely heard of.

So great a change from a free, debonaire and courtly sort of behaviour, which we formerly found them in, to so strict a gravity as they now received us with, did not a little amuse us, and disappointed our expectation of such a pleasant visit as we used to have, and had now promised ourselves. Nor could my father have any opportunity, by a private conference with them, to understand the ground or occasion of this change, there being some other strangers with them, related to Isaac Penington, who came that morning from London to visit them.

For my part, I sought and at length found means to cast myself into the company of the daughter, whom I found gathering some flowers in the garden, attended by her maid, who was also a Quaker. But when I addressed myself to her after my accustomed manner, with intention to engage her in some discourse which might introduce conversation, on the foot of our former acquaintance; though she treated me with a courteous mein, yet, as young as she was, the gravity of her look and behaviour struck such an awe upon me, that I found myself not so much master of myself, as to pursue any further converse with her.



Wherefore asking pardon for my boldness, in having intruded myself into her private walks, I withdrew, not without some disorder of mind, at least as I thought.

We staid dinner, which was very handsome, and lacked nothing to recommend it to me, but the want of mirth and pleasant discourse, which we could neither have with them, nor, by reason of them, with one another amongst ourselves; the weightiness that was upon their spirits and countenances, keeping down the lightness that would have been up in us. We staid notwithstanding till the rest of the company took leave of them, and then we also, doing the same, returned not greatly satisfied with our journey, nor knowing what in particular to find fault with.

Yet this good effect that visit had upon my father, who was then in the commission for the peace, that it disposed him to a more favourable opinion of, and carriage towards those people when they came in his way; as not long after one of them did. For a young man who lived in Buckinghamshire, came on a first-day to the church, so called, at a town called Chinner, a mile from Crowell, having it seems, a pressure on his mind to say something to the minister of that parish. He being an acquaintance of mine, drew me sometimes to hear him, as it did then. The young man stood in the isle before the pulpit, all the time of the sermon, not speaking a word till the sermon, and prayer after it, were ended; and then spake a few words to the priest. Of which, all that I could hear was, that "the prayer of the wicked is abomination to the Lord;" and "that God heareth not sinners."

Somewhat more, I think, he did say, which I could not distinctly hear for the noise the people made; and more probably he would have said, had he not been interrupted by the officers who took him into custody, and led him out in order to carry him before my father.

When I understood that, I hastened home, that I might give my father a fair account of the matter before they came. I told him the young man behaved himself quietly and peaceably, spake not a word till the minister had quite done his service; and that what he then spake was but short, and was delivered without passion or ill language. This I knew would furnish my father with a fair ground, whereon to discharge the man if he would.

And accordingly when they came, and made a high complaint against the man, (who said little for himself) my father having examined the officers who brought him, what the words that he spake were; which they did not well agree in, and at what time he spake them; which they all agreed to be

after the minister had done; and then, whether he gave the minister any reviling language, or endeavoured to raise a tumult among the people? which they could not charge him with; not finding that he had broken the law, he counselled the young man to be careful that he did not make or occasion any public disturbances—and so dismissed him. Which I was glad of.

Some time after this, my father having gotten some further account of the people called Quakers, and being desirous to be informed concerning their principles, made another visit to Isaac Penington and his wife, at their house called the Grange in Peter's Chalfont, and took both my sisters and me with him.

It was in the tenth month, in the year 1659, that we went thither, where we found a very kind reception, and tarried some days; one day at least the longer, for that, while we were there, a meeting was appointed at a place about a mile from thence, to which we were invited to go, and willingly went.

It was held in a farm-house called 'The Grove,' which having formerly been a gentleman's seat, had a very large hall, and that well filled.

To this meeting came Edward Burrough, besides other preachers, as Thomas Curtis and James Naylor; but none spake there at that time but Edward Burrough. Next to whom, as it were under him, it was my lot to sit on a stool by the side of a long table on which he sat, and I drank in his words with desire; for they not only answered my understanding, but warmed my heart with a certain heat, which I had not till then felt from the ministry of any man.

When the meeting was ended, our friends took us home with them again; and after supper, the evenings being long, the servants of the family, who were Quakers, were called in, and we all sat down in silence. But long we had not so sat, before Edward Burrough began to speak among us. And although he spake not long, yet what he said did touch, as I suppose, my father's religious copy-hold, as the phrase is. And he having been from his youth a professor, though not joined in that which is called close communion with any one sort, and valuing himself upon the knowledge he esteemed himself to have in the various notions of each profession, thought he had now a fair opportunity to display his knowledge, and thereupon began to make objections against what had been delivered.

The subject of the discourse was, the universal free grace of God to all mankind. To which he opposed the Calvinistical tenet of particular and personal predestination. In defence of which indefensible notion, he found

himself more at a loss than he expected. Edward Burrough said not much to him upon it, though what he said, was close and cogent. But James Naylor interposing, handled the subject with so much perspicuity and clear demonstration, that his reasoning seemed to be irresistible; and so I suppose my father found it, which made him willing to drop the discourse.

As for Edward Burrough, he was a brisk young man, of a ready tongue, and might have been, for aught I then knew, a scholar, which made me the less to admire his way of reasoning. But what dropped from James Naylor had the greater force upon me, because he looked but like a plain simple country-man, having the appearance of an husbandman or a shepherd.

As my father was not able to maintain the argument on his side, so neither did they seem willing to drive it on to an extremity on their side. But treating him in a soft and gentle manner, after a while, let fall the discourse, and then we withdrew to our respective chambers.

The next morning we prepared to return home, that is, my father, my youngest sister, and myself; for my eldest sister was gone before by the stage coach to London,—and when, having taken leave of our friends, we went forth,—they with Edward Burrough, accompanying us to the gate, he there directed his speech in a few words to each of us severally, according to the sense he had of our several conditions. And when we were gone off, and they gone in again, they asked him what he thought of us? He answered them, as they afterwards told me, to this effect; ‘As for the old man, he is settled on his lees; and the young woman is light and airy; but the young man is reached, and may do well if he does not lose it.’ And surely that which he said to me, or rather that spirit in which he spake it, took such fast hold on me, that I felt sadness and trouble come over me, though I did not distinctly understand what I was troubled for. I knew not what I ailed,—but I knew that it was something more than ordinary, and my heart was very heavy.

I found it was not so with my father and sister; for, as I rode after the coach, I could hear them talk pleasantly, one to the other, but they could not discern how it was with me, because, riding on horseback, I kept much out of sight.

By the time we got home it was night, and the next day, being the first-day of the week, I went in the afternoon to hear the minister of Chinner; and this was the last time I ever went to hear any of that function. After the sermon I went with him to his house, and in

a freedom of discourse, which, from a certain intimacy that was between us, I commonly used with him, told him where I had been, what company I had met with there, and what observations I had made to myself thereupon. He seemed to understand as little of them as I had done before, and civilly abstained from casting any unhandsome reflections on them.

I had a desire to go to another meeting of the Quakers, and bid my father’s man inquire if there was any in the country thereabouts. He thereupon told me, he had heard at Isaac Penington’s, that there was to be a meeting at High-Wiccomb on Thursday next.

Thither therefore I went, though it was seven miles from me. And that I might be rather thought to go out a coursing, than to a meeting, I let my greyhound run by my horse-side.

When I came there, and had set up my horse at an inn, I was at a loss how to find the house where the meeting was to be. I knew it not and was ashamed to ask after it. Wherefore, having ordered the hostler to take care of my dog, I went into the street and stood at the inn-gate, musing with myself what course to take. But I had not stood long, ere I saw a horseman riding along the street, whom I remembered I had seen before at Isaac Penington’s, and he put up his horse at the same inn. Him therefore I resolved to follow, supposing he was going to the meeting, as indeed he was.

Being come to the house, which proved to be John Raunce’s, I saw the people sitting together in an outer room; wherefore I stepped in and sat down on the first void seat, the end of a bench just within the door, having my sword by my side and black clothes on, which drew some eyes upon me. It was not long ere one stood up and spake, whom I was afterwards well acquainted with; his name was Samuel Thornton: and what he spake was very suitable and of good service to me, for it reached home as if it had been directed to me.

As soon as ever the meeting was ended, and the people began to rise, I being next the door, stepped out quickly, and hastening to my inn took horse immediately howewards; and so far as I remember, my having been gone was not taken notice of by my father.

This latter meeting was like the clinching of a nail; confirming, and fastening in my mind, those good principles which had sunk into me at the former. My understanding began to open, and I felt some stirrings in my breast, tending to the work of a new creation in me. The general trouble and confusion of mind, which had for some days lain heavy



upon me, and pressed me down, without a distinct discovery of the particular cause for which it came, began now to wear off, and some glimmerings of light began to break forth in me, which let me see my inward state and condition towards God. The light, which before had shone in my darkness, and the darkness could not comprehend it, began now to shine out of darkness, and in some measure discovered to me, what it was that had before clouded me, and brought that sadness and trouble upon me. I saw, that although I had been in a great degree preserved from the common immoralities and gross pollutions of the world, yet the spirit of the world had hitherto ruled in me, and led me into pride, flattery, vanity and superfluity; all which were naught. I found there were many plants growing in me, which were not of the heavenly Father's planting; and that all these, of whatever sort or kind they were, or how specious soever they might appear, must be plucked up.

Now was all my former life ripped up, and my sins, by degrees, were set in order before me. And though they looked not with so black a hue and so deep a dye, as those of the lewdest sort of people did, yet I found that all sin, even that which had the fairest and finest show, as well as that which is more coarse and foul, brought guilt, and with and for guilt, condemnation, on the soul that sinned. This I felt, and was greatly bowed down under the sense thereof.

Now also did I receive a new law, an inward law, superadded to the outward, "the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus," which wrought in me against all evil, not only in deed and in word, but even in thought also; so that every thing was brought to judgment, and judgment passed upon all. So that I could not any longer go on in my former ways and course of life, for when I did, judgment took hold upon me for it.

Thus the Lord was graciously pleased to deal with me, in a manner somewhat like He had dealt with His people Israel of old, when they had transgressed His righteous law, whom by His prophet He called back, and required "to put away the evil of their doings;" bidding them, first cease to do evil; then, learn to do well, before He would admit them to reason with Him; and before He would impart to them the effects of His free mercy, Isa. i. 16, 27.

I was now required by this inward and spiritual law, "the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus," to "put away the evil of my doings," and to "cease to do evil." And what, in particulars, the evil was which I was required to put away, and to cease from, that

measure of the divine light, which was now manifested in me, discovered to me; and what the light made manifest to be evil, judgment passed upon.

So that here began to be a way cast up before me, for me to walk in—a direct and plain way; so plain, that a way-faring man, how weak and simple soever, though a fool to the wisdom, and in the judgment of the world, could not err, while he continued to walk in it; the error coming in by his going out of it. And this way with respect to me, I saw was that measure of divine light which was manifested in me, by which the evil of my doings, which I was to put away and cease from, was discovered to me.

By this divine light then I saw, that though I had not the evil of the common uncleanness, debauchery, profaneness and pollutions of the world to put away, because I had, through the great goodness of God, and a civil education, been preserved out of those grosser evils; yet I had many other evils to put away, and to cease from; some of which were not, by the world which lies in wickedness, accounted evils; but by the light of Christ were made manifest to me to be evils, and as such condemned in me.

As particularly, those fruits and effects of pride, that discover themselves in the vanity and superfluity of apparel; which I, as far as my ability would extend to, took alas! too much delight in. This evil of my doings, I was required to put away and cease from; and judgment lay upon me till I did so. Wherefore in obedience to the inward law, which agreed with the outward, 1 Tim. ii. 9. Pet. iii. 3. 1 Tim. vi. 8. Jam. i. 21. I took off from my apparel those unnecessary trimmings of lace, ribbands and useless buttons, which had no real service, but were set on only for that which was, by mistake, called ornament, and I ceased to wear rings.

Again, the giving of flattering titles to men, between whom and me there was not any relation, to which such titles could be pretended to belong. This was an evil I had been much addicted to, and was accounted a ready artist in it; therefore this also was I required to put away and cease from. So that thenceforward I durst not say sir, master, my lord, madam (or my dame) or say your servant, to any one to whom I did not stand in the real relation of a servant; which I had never done to any.

Again, respect of persons, in uncovering the head, and bowing the knee or body in salutations, was a practice I had been much in the use of. This is one of the vain customs of the world, introduced by the spirit of the world, instead of the true honour, of which

this is a false representation, and used in deceit, as a token of respect, by persons one to another, who bear no real respect one to the other. And besides, it is a type and proper emblem of that divine honour which all ought to pay to Almighty God, and which all, of all sorts, who take upon them the Christian name, appear in when they offer their prayers to him, and therefore should not be given to men. I found this to be one of those evils which I had been too long doing, therefore I was now required to put it away, and cease from it.

Again, the corrupt and unsound form of speaking in the plural number to a single person, you to one, instead of thou, contrary to the pure, plain, and single language of Truth, thou to one, and you to more than one, which had always been used by God to men, and men to God, as well as one to another, from the oldest record of time, till corrupt men, for corrupt ends, in later and corrupt times, to flatter, fawn, and work upon the corrupt nature in men, brought in that false and senseless way of speaking you to one; which hath since corrupted the modern languages, and hath greatly debased the spirits, and depraved the manners of men. This evil custom I had been as forward in as others, and this I was now called out of, and required to cease from.

These, and many more evil customs, which had sprung up in the night of darkness, and general apostacy from the Truth and true religion, were now by the inshining of this pure ray of divine light in my conscience, gradually discovered to me to be what I ought to cease from, shun, and stand a witness against.

But so subtly, and withal so powerfully did the enemy work upon the weak part in me, as to persuade me that in these things I ought to make a difference between my father and all other men; and that therefore, though I did disuse these tokens of respect to others, yet I ought still to use them towards him, as he was my father. And so far did this wile of his prevail upon me, through a fear lest I should do amiss, in withdrawing any sort of respect or honour from my father, which was due unto him, that being thereby beguiled, I continued for a while to demean myself in the same manner towards him, with respect both to language and gesture, as I had always done before. And so long as I did so, standing bare before him, and giving him the accustomed language, he did not express, whatever he thought, any dislike of me.

But as to myself, and the work begun in me, I found it was not enough for me to cease to do evil; though that was a good and a great step. I had another lesson before me, which was, to learn to do well; which I could by no

means do, till I had given up, with full purpose of mind, to cease from doing evil. And when I had done that, the enemy took advantage of my weakness to mislead me again.

For whereas I ought to have waited in the light, for direction and guidance into and in the way of well-doing, and not to have moved till the divine spirit, a manifestation of which the Lord had been pleased to give me, to profit with, the enemy transforming himself into the appearance of an angel of light, offered himself in that appearance, to be my guide and leader into the performance of religious exercises. And I, not then knowing the wiles of satan, and being eager to be doing some acceptable service to God, too readily yielded myself to the conduct of my enemy, instead of my friend.

He thereupon humouring the warmth and zeal of my spirit, put me upon religious performances in my own will, in my own time, and in my own strength; which in themselves were good, and would have been profitable to me, and acceptable to the Lord, if they had been performed in his will, his time, and in the ability which he gives. But being wrought in the will of man, and at the prompting of the evil one, no wonder that it did me hurt instead of good.

I read abundantly in the Bible, and would set myself tasks in reading; enjoining myself to read so many chapters, sometimes a whole book, or long epistle at a time. And I thought that time well spent, though I was not much the wiser for what I had read, reading it too cursorily, and without the true guide, the Holy Spirit, which alone could open the understanding, and give the true sense of what was read.

I prayed often, and drew out my prayers to a great length; and appointed certain set times to pray at, and a certain number of prayers to say in a day; yet knew not, meanwhile, what true prayer was. This stands not in words, though the words that are uttered in the movings of the Holy Spirit, are very available; but in the breathing of the soul to the heavenly Father, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, who maketh intercession sometimes in words, and sometimes with sighs and groans only, which the Lord vouchsafes to hear and answer.

This will-worship, which all is that is performed in the will of man and not in the movings of the Holy Spirit, was a great hurt to me, and hindrance of my spiritual growth in the way of Truth. But my heavenly Father, who knew the sincerity of my soul to him, and the hearty desire I had to serve him, had compassion on me; and in due time was graciously pleased to illuminate my understanding farther, and to open in me an eye to



discern the false spirit, and its way of working, from the true; and to reject the former, and cleave to the latter.

But though the enemy had by his subtilty, gained such advantages over me, yet I went on notwithstanding, and firmly persisted in my godly resolution of ceasing from, and denying those things which I was now convinced in my conscience were evil. And on this account a great trial came quickly on me. For the general Quarter Sessions for the peace coming on, my father willing to excuse himself from a dirty journey, commanded me to get up betimes and go to Oxford, and deliver in the recognizances he had taken; and bring him an account what justices were on the bench, and what principal pleas were before them; which he knew I knew how to do, having often attended him on those services.

I, who knew how it stood with me better than he did, felt a weight come over me as soon as he had spoken the word. For I presently saw it would bring a very great exercise upon me. But having never resisted his will in any thing that was lawful, as this was, I attempted not to make any excuse, but ordering a horse to be ready for me early in the morning, I went to bed, having great strugglings in my breast.

For the enemy came in upon me like a flood, and set many difficulties before me, swelling them up to the highest pitch, by representing them as mountains which I should never be able to get over; and, alas! that faith which could remove such mountains and cast them into the sea, was but very small and weak in me.

He cast into my mind, not only how I should behave myself in court, and despatch the business I was sent about; but how I should demean myself towards my acquaintance, of which I had many in the city, with whom I was wont to be jolly; whereas now I could not put off my hat, nor bow to any of them, nor give them their honorary titles, as they are called, nor use the corrupt language of you to any one of them, but must keep to the plain and true language of thou and thee.

Much of this nature revolved in my mind, thrown in by the enemy to discourage and cast me down. And I had none to have recourse to for counsel or help, but the Lord alone. To whom therefore I poured forth my supplications, with earnest cries and breathings of soul, that He, in whom all power was, would enable me to go through this great exercise, and keep me faithful to himself therein. And after some time, He was pleased to compose my mind to stillness, and I went to rest.

Early next morning I got up, and found my

spirit pretty calm and quiet, yet not without a fear upon me, lest I should slip and let fall the testimony which I had to bear. And as I rode, a frequent cry ran through me to the Lord, on this wise; O my God, preserve me faithful, whatever befalls me! Suffer me not to be drawn into evil, how much scorn and contempt soever may be cast upon me!

Thus was my spirit exercised on the way almost continually. And when I came within a mile or two of the city, whom should I meet upon the way, coming from thence, but Edward Burrough! I rode in a mountier-cap, a dress more used then than now, and so did he; and because the weather was exceedingly sharp, we both had drawn our caps down, to shelter our faces from the cold, and by that means neither of us knew the other, but passed by without taking notice one of the other, till a few days after, meeting again, and observing each others dress, we recollected where we had so lately met. Then thought I with myself, O! how glad should I have been of a word of encouragement and counsel from him, when I was under that weighty exercise of mind! But the Lord saw it was not good for me; that my reliance might be wholly upon him, and not on man.

When I had set up my horse, I went directly to the hall where the sessions were held, where I had been but a very little while, before a knot of my old acquaintances espying me, came to me. One of these was a scholar in his gown; another a surgeon of that city, both my school-fellows and fellow-boarders at Thame school, and the third a country gentleman, with whom I had long been very familiar.

When they were come up to me, they all saluted me after the usual manner, putting off their hats and bowing, and saying, 'your humble servant, sir;' expecting, no doubt, the like from me. But when they saw me stand still, not moving my cap, or bowing my knee in the way of congee to them, they were amazed, and looked first one upon another, then upon me, and then one upon another again for a while, without speaking a word.

At length the surgeon, a brisk young man, who stood nearest to me, clapping his hand in a familiar way upon my shoulder, and smiling on me, said, 'what! Tom, a Quaker!' To which I readily and cheerfully answered, 'yes, a Quaker.' And as the words passed out of my mouth, I felt joy spring in my heart; for I rejoiced that I had not been drawn out by them, into a compliance with them, and that I had strength and boldness given me, to confess myself to be one of that despised people.

They staid not long with me, nor said any more, that I remember, to me; but looking

somewhat confusedly one upon another, after a while took their leave of me, going off in the same ceremonious manner as they came.

After they were gone, I walked awhile about the hall, and went up nearer to the court, to observe both what justices were on the bench, and what business they had before them. And I went in fear, not of what they could or would have done to me, if they should have taken notice of me, but lest I should be surprised, and drawn unwarily into that which I was to keep out of.

It was not long before the court adjourned to go to dinner, and that time I took to go to the clerk of the peace at his house, whom I was well acquainted with. So soon as I came into the room where he was, he came and met me, and saluted me after his manner; for he had a great respect for my father, and a kind regard for me. And though he was at first somewhat startled at my carriage and language, yet he treated me very civilly, without any reflection or show of lightness. I delivered him the recognizances which my father had sent, and having done the business I came upon, withdrew, and went to my inn to refresh myself, and then to return home.

But when I was ready to take horse, looking out into the street, I saw two or three justices standing just in the way where I was to ride. This brought a fresh concern upon me. I knew if they saw me, they would know me; and I concluded if they knew me, they would stop me to inquire after my father; and I doubted how I should come off with them.

This doubting brought weakness on me, and that weakness led to contrivance how I might avoid this trial. I knew the city pretty well, and remembered there was a back way, which though somewhat about, would bring me out of town, without passing by those justices; yet loath I was to go that way. Wherefore I staid a pretty time, in hopes they would have parted company, or removed to some other place out of my way. But when I had waited till I was uneasy for losing so much time, having entered into reasonings with flesh and blood, the weakness prevailed over me, and away I went the back way; which brought trouble and grief upon my spirit for having shunned the cross.

But the Lord looked on me with a tender eye, and seeing my heart was right to him, and that what I had done was merely through weakness and fear of falling, and that I was sensible of my failing therein, and sorry for it, he was graciously pleased to pass it by, and speak peace to me again. When I went in the morning, my heart was full of breathing prayer to the Lord, that he would vouch-

safe to be with me, and uphold and carry me through that day's exercise; so now at my return in the evening, before I got home, my heart was full of thankful acknowledgments, and praises unto him for his great goodness and favour to me, in having thus far preserved, and kept me from falling into any thing that might have brought dishonour to his holy name, which I had now taken on me.

But notwithstanding it was thus with me, and that I found peace and acceptance with the Lord in some good degree, according to my obedience to the convictions I had received by his Holy Spirit in me; yet was not the veil so done away, or fully rent, but that there still remained a cloud upon my understanding, with respect to my carriage towards my father. And that notion which the enemy had brought into my mind, that I ought to put such a difference between him and all others, as that on the account of paternal relation I should still deport myself towards him, both in gesture and language, as I had always heretofore done; did yet prevail with me. So that when I came home, I went to my father bare-headed as I used to do, and gave him a particular account of the business he had given me in command, in such manner, that he observing no alteration in my carriage towards him, found no cause to take offence at me.

I had felt for some time before, an earnest desire of mind to go again to Isaac Penington's. And I began to question whether, when my father should come, as I concluded ere long he would, to understand I inclined to settle among the people called Quakers, he would permit me the command of his horses as before. Wherefore, in the morning when I went to Oxford, I gave direction to a servant of his, to go that day to a gentleman of my acquaintance, who I knew had a riding nag to put off either by sale, or to be kept for his work, and desire him, in my name, to send him to me; which he did, and I found him in the stable when I came home.

On this nag I designed to ride next day to Isaac Penington's; and in order thereto, arose betimes, and got myself ready for the journey. But because I would pay all due respect to my father, and not go without his consent, or knowledge at the least, I sent one up to him, for he was not yet stirring, to acquaint him, that I had a purpose to go to Isaac Penington's; and desired to know if he pleased to command me any service to them. He sent me word, he would speak with me before I went, and would have me come up to him; which I did, and stood by his bedside.

Then in a mild and gentle tone he said, 'I



understand you have a mind to go to Mr. Penington's.' I answered, I have so. 'Why,' said he, 'I wonder why you should. You were there, you know, but a few days ago, and unless you had business with them, don't you think it will look oddly?' I said, I thought not. 'I doubt,' said he 'you'll tire them with your company, and make them think they shall be troubled with you.' If, replied I, I find any thing of that, I'll make the shorter stay. 'But,' said he, 'can you propose any sort of business with them, more than a mere visit?' Yes, said I, I propose to myself not only to see them, but to have some discourse with them. 'Why,' said he, in a tone a little harsher, 'I hope you don't incline to be of their way.' Truly, answered I, I like them and their way very well, so far as I yet understand it; and I am willing to go to them, that I may understand it better.

Thereupon he began to reckon up a bead-roll of faults against the Quakers; telling me they were a rude unmannerly people, who would not give civil respect or honour to their superiors, no not to magistrates; that they held many dangerous principles; that they were an immodest shameless people; and that one of them stript himself stark naked, and went in that unseemly manner about the streets, at fairs, and on market-days in great towns.

To all the other charges, I answered only, that perhaps they might be either misreported or misunderstood, as the best of people had sometimes been. But to the last charge, of going naked, a particular answer, by way of instance, was just then brought into my mind, and put into my mouth, which I had not thought of before; and that was the example of Isaiah, who went naked among the people for a long time. Isa. xx. 4. 'Aye,' said my father, 'but you must consider that he was a prophet of the Lord, and had an express command from God to go so.' Yes, sir, replied I, I do consider that; but I consider also, that the Jews among whom he lived, did not own him for a prophet, nor believe that he had such a command from God. And, added I, how know we but that this Quaker may be a prophet too, and might be commanded to do as he did, for some reason which we understand not?

This put my father to a stand; so that letting fall his charges against the Quakers, he only said, 'I would wish you not to go so soon, but take a little time to consider of it; you may visit Mr. Penington hereafter.' Nay, sir, replied I, pray don't hinder my going now, for I have so strong a desire to go, that I do not well know how to forbear. And as I spake those words, I withdrew gently to the chamber-door, and then hastening down stairs,

went immediately to the stable, where finding my horse ready bridled, I forthwith mounted and went off, lest I should receive a counter-mand.

This discourse with my father had cast me somewhat back in my journey, and it being fifteen long miles thither, the ways bad, and my nag but small, it was in the afternoon that I got thither. And understanding by the servant who took my horse, that there was then a meeting in the house, as there was weekly on that day, which was the fourth-day of the week, though I till then understood it not, I hastened in; and knowing the rooms, went directly to the little parlour, where I found a few Friends sitting together in silence, and I sat down among them well satisfied, though without words.

When the meeting was ended, and those of the company who were strangers, withdrawn, I addressed myself to Isaac Penington and his wife, who received me courteously; but not knowing what exercises I had been in, and yet was under, nor having heard any thing of me since I had been there before in another garb, were not forward at first to lay sudden hands on me; which I observed and did not dislike. But as they came to see a change in me, not in habit only, but in gesture, speech and carriage, and which was more, in countenance also, for the exercise I had passed through and yet was under, had imprinted a visible character of gravity upon my face; they were exceedingly kind and tender towards me.

There was then in the family, a Friend whose name was Anne Curtis, the wife of Thomas Curtis of Reading, who was come upon a visit to them, and particularly to see Mary Penington's daughter Guli, who had been ill of the small-pox since I had been there before. Betwixt Mary Penington and this Friend, I observed some private discourse and whisperings, and I had an apprehension that it was upon something that concerned me. Wherefore I took the freedom to ask Mary Penington, if my coming thither had occasioned any inconvenience in the family? She asked me if I had had the small-pox? I told her no. She then told me, her daughter had newly had them, and though she was well recovered of them, she had not as yet been down amongst them; but intended to come down, and set with them in the parlour that evening; yet would rather forbear till another time, than endanger me. And that that was the matter they had been discoursing of. I assured her, that I had always been, and then more especially, was free from any apprehension of danger in that respect; and therefore entreated that her daughter might come down. And although they were somewhat unwilling to yield to it,

in regard of me, yet my importunity prevailed, and after supper she did come down and sit with us; and though the marks of the distemper were fresh upon her, yet they made no impression upon me, faith keeping out fear.

We spent much of the evening in retirement of mind, our spirits being weightily gathered inward; so that not much discourse passed among us, neither they to me, nor I to them, offered any occasion. Yet I had good satisfaction in that stillness, feeling my spirit drawn near to the Lord, and to them therein.

Before I went to bed, they let me know that there was to be a meeting at Wiccomb next day, and that some of the family would go to it. I was very glad of it; for I greatly desired to go to meetings, and this fell very aptly, it being in my way home. Next morning Isaac Penington himself went, having Anne Curtis with him, and I accompanied them.

At Wiccomb we met with Edward Burrough, who came from Oxford thither, the day that I, going thither, met him on the way; and having both our mountier-caps on, we recollected that we had met, and passed by each other on the road unknown.

This was a monthly meeting, consisting of Friends chiefly, who gathered to it from several parts of the country thereabouts; so that it was pretty large, and was held in a fair room in Jeremiah Stevens' house; the room where I had been at a meeting before in John Raunce's house being too little to receive us.

A very good meeting was this in itself and to me. Edward Burrough's ministry came forth among us in life and power, and the assembly was covered therewith. I also, according to my small capacity, had a share in it. For I felt some of that divine power working my spirit into a great tenderness, and not only confirming me in the course I had already entered, and strengthening me to go on therein; but also rending the veil somewhat further, and clearing my understanding in some other things which I had not seen before. For the Lord was pleased to make his discoveries to me by degrees, that the sight of too great a work, and too many enemies to encounter at once, might not discourage and make me faint.

When the meeting was ended, the Friends of the town taking notice that I was the man who had been at their meeting the week before, whom they then did not know, some of them came and spake lovingly to me, and would have had me staid with them; but Edward Burrough going home with Isaac Penington, he invited me to go back with him, which I willingly consented to. For the love I had more particularly to Edward Burrough,

through whose ministry I had received the first awakening stroke, drew me to desire his company, and so away we rode together.

But I was somewhat disappointed of my expectation; for I hoped he would have given me both opportunity and encouragement to have opened myself to him, and to have poured forth my complaints, fears, doubts and questionings into his bosom. But he, being sensible that I was truly reached, and that the witness of God was raised, and the work of God rightly begun in me—chose to leave me to the guidance of the good spirit in myself, the Counsellor that could resolve all doubts, that I might not have any dependence on man. Wherefore, although he was naturally of an open and free temper and carriage, and was afterwards always very familiar and affectionately kind to me; yet at this time he kept himself somewhat reserved and showed only common kindness to me.

Next day we parted. He for London, I for home, under a very great weight and exercise upon my spirit. For I now saw, in and by the farther openings of the divine light in me, that the enemy, by his false reasonings, had beguiled and misled me, with respect to my carriage towards my father; that the honour due to parents did not consist in uncovering the head, and bowing the body to them; but in a ready obedience to their lawful commands, and in performing all needful services to them. Wherefore, as I was greatly troubled for what I already had done in that case, though it was through ignorance; so I plainly felt I could no longer continue therein, without drawing on myself the guilt of wilful disobedience; which I well knew, would draw after it divine displeasure and judgment.

Hereupon the enemy assaulted me afresh, setting before me the danger I should run myself into, of provoking my father to use severity towards me; and perhaps to cast me utterly off. But over this temptation the Lord, whom I cried unto, supported me, and gave me faith to believe, that he would bear me through whatever might befall me on that account. Wherefore I resolved, in the strength which he should give me, to be faithful to his requirings, whatever might come of it.

Thus labouring under various exercises on the way, I at length got home, expecting I should have but a rough reception from my father. But when I came home, I understood my father was from home. Wherefore I sat down by the fire in the kitchen, keeping my mind retired to the Lord, with breathings of spirit to him, that I might be preserved from falling.

After some time I heard the coach drive in, which put me into a little fear, and a sort of



shivering came over me. But by the time he was alighted and come in, I had pretty well recovered myself; and as soon as I saw him, I rose up, and advanced a step or two towards him, with my head covered, and said, Isaac Penington and his wife remember their loves to thee.

He made a stop to hear what I said, and observing that I did not stand bare, and that I used the word thee to him; he, with a stern countenance, and tone that spake high displeasure, only said, 'I shall talk with you, sir, another time;' and so hastening from me went into the parlour, and I saw him no more that night.

Though I foresaw there was a storm arising, the apprehension of which was uneasy to me, yet the peace which I felt in my own breast, raised in me a return of thanksgivings to the Lord, for his gracious supporting hand, which had thus far carried me through this exercise; with humble cries in spirit to him, that he would vouchsafe to stand by me in it to the end, and uphold me, that I might not fall.

My spirit longed to be among Friends, and to be at some meeting with them on the first-day, which now drew on, this being the sixth-day night. Wherefore I proposed to go to Oxford on the morrow, which was the seventh-day of the week, having heard there was a meeting there. Accordingly, having ordered my horse to be made ready betimes. I got up in the morning and made myself ready also. Yet before I would go, that I might be as observant to my father as I possibly could, I desired my sister to go up to him in his chamber, and acquaint him, that I had a mind to go to Oxford; and desired to know, if he pleased to command me any service there. He bid her tell me, he would not have me go, till he had spoken with me. And getting up immediately, he hastened down to me before he was quite dressed.

As soon as he saw me standing with my hat on, his passion transporting him, he fell upon me with both his fists; and having by that means somewhat vented his anger, he plucked off my hat and threw it away. Then stepping hastily out to the stable, and seeing my borrowed nag stand ready saddled and bridled, he asked his man whence that horse came? who telling him he fetched it from Mr. ——— such an one's: 'Then ride him presently back,' said my father, 'and tell Mr. ——— I desire he will never lend my son a horse again, unless he brings a note from me.'

The poor fellow, who loved me well, would fain have made excuses and delays; but my father was positive in his command, and so urgent, that he would not let him stay so much

as to take his breakfast, though he had five miles to ride, nor would he himself stir from the stable, till he had seen the man mounted and gone.

Then coming in he went up into his chamber, to make himself more fully ready, thinking he had me safe enough now my horse was gone; for I took so much delight in riding, that I seldom went on foot.

But while he was dressing himself in his chamber, I understood what had been done, and changing my boots for shoes, took another hat, and acquainting my sister, who loved me very well, and in whom I could confide, whither I meant to go, went out privately and walked away to Wiccomb, having seven long miles thither, which yet seemed little and easy to me, from the desire I had to be among Friends.

As thus I travelled all alone, under a load of grief, from the sense I had of the opposition and hardship I was to expect from my father—the enemy took advantage to assault me again, casting a doubt into my mind, whether I had done well, in thus coming away from my father, without his leave or knowledge?

I was quiet and peaceable in my spirit before this question was darted into me; but after that, disturbance and trouble seized upon me, so that I was at a stand what to do; whether to go forward or backward. Fear of offending inclined me to go back; but the desire of the meeting, and to be with Friends, pressed me to go forward,

I stood still a while, to consider and weigh the matter as well as I could. I was satisfied, that I had not left my father with any intention of undutifulness or disrespect to him; but merely in obedience to that drawing of spirit, which I was persuaded was of the Lord, to join with his people in worshipping him; and this made me easy.

But then the enemy, to make me uneasy again, objected, How could that drawing be of the Lord, which drew me to disobey my father?

I considered thereupon the extent of paternal power; which I found was not wholly arbitrary and unlimited, but had bounds set to it: that as in civil matters, it was restrained to things lawful; so in spiritual and religious cases, it had not a compulsory power over conscience; which ought to be subject to the heavenly Father. And therefore, though obedience to parents be enjoined to children; yet it is with this limitation, in the Lord: "children, obey your parents in the Lord; for this is right."

This turned the scale for going forward, and so on I went. And yet I was not wholly

free from some fluctuations of mind, from the besettings of the enemy. Wherefore, although I knew that outward signs did not properly belong to the gospel dispensation; yet for my better assurance, I did, in fear and great humility, beseech the Lord, that he would be pleased so far to condescend to the weakness of his servant, as to give me a sign, by which I might certainly know, whether my way was right before him or not?

The sign which I asked was, That if I had done wrong in coming as I did, I might be rejected, or but coldly received at the place I was going to; but if my undertaking was right in his sight, he would give me favour with them I went to, so that they should receive me with hearty kindness and demonstrations of love. Accordingly, when I came to John Raunce's house, which, being so much a stranger to all, I chose to go, because I understood the meeting was commonly held there; they received me with more than ordinary kindness, especially Frances Raunce, John Raunce's wife, who was both a grave and motherly woman, and had a hearty love to Truth, and tenderness towards all that in sincerity sought after it. This kind reception, confirming me in the belief that my undertaking was approved of by the Lord, gave great satisfaction and ease to my mind; and I was thankful to the Lord therefor.

Thus it fared with me there; but at home it fared otherwise with my father. He supposing I had betaken myself to my chamber, when he took my hat from me, made no inquiry after me till evening came; and then sitting by the fire, and considering that the weather was very cold, he said to my sister, who sat by him, 'Go up to your brother's chamber, and call him down; it may be he will sit there else, in a sullen fit, till he has caught cold.' 'Alas! sir,' said she, 'he is not in his chamber, nor in the house neither.' At that my father startling, said, 'Why where is he then?' 'I know not, sir,' said she, 'where he is; but I know that when he saw you had sent away his horse, he put on shoes, and went out on foot, and I have not seen him since.' 'And indeed, sir,' added she, 'I don't wonder at his going away, considering how you used him.' This put my father into a great fright, doubting I was gone quite away; and so great a passion of grief seized on him, that he forbore not to weep, and cry out aloud, so that the family heard him, 'Oh! my son! I shall never see him more! For he is of so bold and resolute a spirit, that he will run himself into danger, and so may be thrown into some goal or other, where he may lie and die before I can hear of him.' Then bidding her light him up to his chamber, he went im-

mediately to bed, where he lay restless and groaning, and often bemoaning himself and me, for the greatest part of the night.

Next morning my sister sent a man, whom for his love to me, she knew she could trust, to give me this account; and though by him she sent me also fresh linen for my use, in case I should go farther, or stay out longer; yet she desired me to come home as soon as I could.

This account was very uneasy to me. I was much grieved that I had occasioned so much grief to my father. I would have returned that evening after the meeting, but the Friends would not permit it; for the meeting would in likelihood end late, the days being short, and the way was long and dirty. And besides, John Raunce told me, that he had something on his mind to speak to my father, and that if I would stay till the next day, he would go down with me; hoping perhaps, that while my father was under this sorrow for me, he might work some good upon him. Hereupon, concluding to stay till the morrow, I dismissed the man with the things he brought, bidding him tell my sister, I intended, God willing, to return home to-morrow; and charging him not to let any body else know that he had seen me, or where he had been.

Next morning John Raunce and I set out, and when we were come to the end of the town, we agreed that he should go before and knock at the great gate, and I would come a little after, and go in by the back way. He did so; and when a servant came to open the gate, he asking if the justice were at home, she told him, 'yes;' and desiring him to come in and sit down in the Hall, went and acquainted her master, that there was one who desired to speak with him. He, supposing it was one that came for justice, went readily into the hall to him. But he was not a little surprised when he found it was a Quaker; yet not knowing on what account he came, he staid to hear his business. But when he found it was about me, he fell somewhat sharply on him.

In this time I was come by the back way into the kitchen, and hearing my father's voice so loud, I began to doubt things wrought not well; but I was soon assured of that. For my father having quickly enough of a Quaker's company, left John Raunce in the hall, and came into the kitchen, where he was more surprised to find me.

The sight of my hat upon my head, made him presently forget that I was that son of his, whom he had so lately lamented as lost; and his passion of grief turning into anger, he could not contain himself; but running upon me, with both his hands, first violently



snatched off my hat and threw it away; then giving me some buffets on my head, he said, 'Sirrah, get you up to your chamber.'

I forthwith went; he following me at the heels, and now and then giving me a whirret on the ear; which, as the way to my chamber lay through the hall where John Raunce was, he, poor man, might see and be sorry for, as I doubt not he was, but could not help me.

This was surely an unaccountable thing, that my father should, but a day before, express so high a sorrow for me, as fearing he should never see me any more; and yet now, so soon as he did see me, should fly upon me with such violence, and that only because I did not put off my hat, which he knew I did not keep on in disrespect to him, but upon a religious principle. But as this hat honour, as it is accounted, was grown to be a great idol, in those times more especially, so the Lord was pleased to engage his servants in a steady testimony against it, what suffering soever was brought upon them for it. And though some, who have been called into the Lord's vineyard at later hours, and since the heat of that day hath been much over, may be apt to account this testimony a small thing to suffer so much upon, as some have done, not only to beating, but to fines, and long and hard imprisonments; yet in those times, they who were faithfully exercised under it, durst not despise the day of small things; as knowing that he who would do so, would not be thought worthy to be concerned in higher testimonies.

I had now lost one of my hats, and I had but one more. That therefore I put on, but did not keep it long; for the next time my father saw it on my head, he tore it violently from me, and laid it up with the other, I knew not where. Wherefore I put on my mountier-cap, which was all I had left to wear on my head, and it was but a very little while that I had that to wear; for as soon as my father came where I was, I lost that also. And now I was forced to go bare-headed wherever I had occasion to go, within doors and without.

This was in the eleventh month, called January, and the weather sharp; so that I, who had been bred up more tenderly, took so great a cold in my head, that my face and head were much swelled; and my gums had on them boils so sore, that I could neither chew meat, nor without difficulty swallow liquids. It held long, and I underwent much pain, without much pity, except from my poor sister, who did what she could to give me ease; and at length, by frequent applications of figs and stoned raisins toasted, and laid to the boils as hot as I could bear them, they ripened fit

for lancing, and soon after sunk; then I had ease.

I was laid up, as a kind of prisoner, for the rest of this winter, having no means to go forth among Friends, nor they liberty to come to me. Wherefore I spent the time much in my chamber, in waiting on the Lord, and in reading, mostly in the Bible.

But whenever I had occasion to speak to my father, though I had no hat now to offend him, yet my language did as much; for I durst not say you to him; but thou, or thee, as the occasion required, and then would he be sure to fall on me with his fists.

At one of these times, I remember, when he had beaten me in that manner, he commanded me, as he commonly did at such times, to go to my chamber; which I did, and he followed me to the bottom of the stairs. Being come thither, he gave me a parting blow, and in a very angry tone said, 'Sirrah, if ever I hear you say thou or thee to me again, I'll strike your teeth down your throat.' I was greatly grieved to hear him say so; and feeling a word rise in my heart, I turned again and calmly said to him, Would it not be just, if God should serve thee so, when thou sayest thou or thee to him? Though his hand was up, I saw it sink and his countenance fall, and he turned away and left me standing there. But notwithstanding, I went up into my chamber, and cried unto the Lord, earnestly beseeching him, that he would be pleased to open my father's eyes, that he might see whom he fought against, and for what; and that he would turn his heart.

After this I had a time of rest and quiet from these disturbances; my father not saying any thing to me, nor giving me occasion to say any thing to him. But I was still under a kind of confinement, unless I would have run about the country bare-headed like a madman; which I did not see it was my place to do. I found that although to be abroad and at liberty among my friends, would have been more pleasant to me; yet home was at present my proper place, a school in which I was to learn with patience to bear the cross, and I willingly submitted to it.

But after some time a fresh storm, more fierce and sharp than any before, arose and fell upon me; the occasion whereof was this; my father, having been in his younger years, more especially while he lived in London, a constant hearer of those who are called puritan preachers, had stored up a pretty stock of Scripture knowledge, and sometimes, though not constantly nor very often, caused his family to come together on a first-day in the evening, and expounded a chapter to them,

and prayed. His family now, as well as his estate, was lessened; for my mother was dead, my brother gone, and my eldest sister at London; and having put off his husbandry, he had put off with it most of his servants, so that he had now but one man and one maid servant. It so fell out, that on a first-day night he bid my sister, who sat with him in the parlour, call in the servants to prayer.

Whether this was done as a trial upon me, I know not; but a trial it proved to me: for they, loving me very well, and disliking my father's carriage to me, made no haste to go in, but staid a second summons. This so offended him, that when at length they did go in, he instead of going to prayer examined them, why they came not in when they were first called? And the answer they gave him being such as rather heightened, than abated his displeasure, he, with an angry tone said, 'call in that fellow,' meaning me, who was left alone in the kitchen, 'for he is the cause of all this.' As they were backward to go in themselves, so they were not forward to call me in, fearing the effect of my father's displeasure would fall upon me, as it soon did; for hearing what was said, and not staying for the call, I went in of myself. And as soon as I was come in, my father discharged his displeasure on me, in very sharp and bitter expressions; which drew from me in the grief of my heart, to see him so transported with passion, these few words; They that can pray with such a spirit let 'em; for my part I cannot. With that my father flew upon me with both his fists, and not thinking that sufficient, sept hastily to the place where his cane stood, and catching that up, laid on me, I thought, with all his strength. And, being bare-headed, I thought his blows must needs have broken my skull, had I not laid my arm over my head to defend it.

His man seeing this, and not able to contain himself, sept between us, and laying hold on the cane, by strength of hand held it so fast, that though he attempted not to take it away, yet he withheld my father from striking with it; which did but enrage him the more. I disliked this in the man, and bid him let go the cane, and begone; which he immediately did, and turning to be gone, had a blow on the shoulders for his pains, which yet did not much hurt him.

But now my sister, fearing lest my father should fall upon me again, besought him to forbear; adding, 'Indeed sir, if you strike him any more, I will throw open the case-ment and cry murder; for I am afraid you will kill my brother.' This stopt his hand; and after some threatening speeches, he com-

manded me to get to my chamber, which I did; as I always did whenever he bid me.

Thither, soon after, my sister followed me to see my arm and dress it, for it was indeed very much bruised and swelled between the wrist and elbow; and in some places the skin was broken and beaten off. But though it was very sore, and I felt for some time much pain in it, yet I had peace and quietness in my mind, being more grieved for my father than for myself, who I knew had hurt himself more than me.

This was, so far as I remember, the last time that ever my father called his family to prayer. And this was also the last time that he ever fell, so severely at least, upon me.

Soon after this, my eldest sister, who in all the time of these exercises of mine, had been at London, returned home; much troubled to find me a Quaker, a name of reproach and great contempt then; and she, being at London, had received, I suppose, the worst character of them. Yet, though she disliked the people, her affectionate regard to me, made her rather pity than despise me; and the more, when she understood what hard usage I had met with.

The rest of this winter I spent in a lone-some solitary life, having none to converse with, none to unbosom myself to, none to ask counsel of, none to seek relief from, but the Lord alone; who yet was more than all. And yet the company and society of faithful and judicious friends, would, I thought, have been very welcome, as well as helpful to me in my spiritual travel; in which I thought I made but a slow progress—my soul breathing after further attainments; the sense of which drew from me the following lines.

The winter tree  
Resembles me,  
Whose sap lies in its root:  
The spring draws nigh;  
As it, so I  
Shall bud, I hope, and shoot.

At length it pleased the Lord to move Isaac Penington and his wife to make a visit to my father, and see how it fared with me: and very welcome they were to me, whatever they were to him; to whom I doubt not but they would have been more welcome, had it not been for me.

They tarried with us all night, and much discourse they had with my father both about the principles of Truth in general, and me in particular; which I was not privy to. But one thing, I remember I afterwards heard of, which was this:

When my father and we were at their



house some months before, Mary Penington, in some discourse between them, had told him how hardly her husband's father, alderman Penington, had dealt with him about his hat; which my father, little then thinking that it would, and so soon too, be his own case, did very much censure the alderman for; wondering that so wise a man as he was, should take notice of such a trivial thing as the putting off, or keeping on a hat; and he spared not to blame him liberally for it.

This gave her a handle to take hold of him by. And having had an ancient acquaintance with him, and he having always had an high opinion of and respect for her; she, who was a woman of great wisdom, of ready speech, and of a well resolved spirit, did press so closely upon him with this home-argument, that he was utterly at a loss how to defend himself.

After dinner next day, when they were ready to take coach to return home, she desired my father, that, since my company was so little acceptable to him, he would give me leave to go and spend some time with them, where I should be sure to be welcome.

He was very unwilling I should go, and made many objections against it; all which she answered and removed so clearly, that not finding what excuse further to alledge, he at length left it to me; and I soon turned the scale for going.

We were come to the coach-side before this was concluded on, and I was ready to step in; when one of my sisters privately put my father in mind, that I had never a hat on. That somewhat startled him; for he did not think it fit I should go from home, and that so far, and to stay abroad without a hat. Wherefore he whispered to her to fetch me a hat, and he entertained them with some discourse in the mean time. But as soon as he saw the hat coming, he would not stay till it came, lest I should put it on before him; but breaking off his discourse abruptly, took his leave of them, and hastened in before the hat was brought to me.

I had not one penny of money about me, nor any, indeed, elsewhere. For my father, so soon as he saw that I would be a Quaker, took from me both what money I had, and every thing else of value, or that would have made money, as some plate buttons, rings, &c., pretending that he would keep them for me, till I came to myself again, lest in the mean time I should destroy them.

But as I had no money, so being among my friends, I had no need of any, nor ever honed after it; though once upon a particular occasion I had like to have wanted it. The case was thus:

I had been at Reading, and set out from thence on the first-day of the week in the morning, intending to reach, as in point of time I well might, to Isaac Penington's, where the meeting was to be that day; but when I came to Maidenhead, a thorough-fair town on the way, I was stopt by the watch for riding on that day.

The watchman laying hold on the bridle, told me I must go with him to the constable; and accordingly, making no resistance, I suffered him to lead my horse to the constable's door. When we were come there, the constable told me I must go before the warden, who was the chief officer of that town, and bid the watchman bring me on, himself walking before.

Being come to the warden's door, the constable knocked, and desired to speak with Mr. Warden. He thereupon quickly coming to the door, the constable said, 'Sir, I have brought a man here to you, whom the watch took riding through the town.' The warden was a budge old man; and I looked somewhat big too, having a good gelding under me, and a good riding coat on my back, with both which my friend Isaac Penington had kindly accommodated me for that journey.

The warden therefore taking me to be, as the saying is, somebody, put off his hat and made a low congee to me; but when he saw that I sat still, and neither bowed to him, nor moved my hat, he gave a start, and said to the constable, 'You said you had brought a man, but he don't behave himself like a man.'

I sat still upon my horse, and said not a word, but kept my mind retired to the Lord, waiting to see what this would come to.

The warden then began to examine me, asking me whence I came, and whither I was going? I told him I came from Reading, and was going to Chalfont. He asked me why I travelled on that day? I told him I did not know that it would give any offence barely to ride or walk on that day, so long as I did not carry or drive any carriage, or horses laden with burdens. 'Why,' said he, 'if your business was urgent, did you not take a pass from the mayor of Reading?' Because, replied I, I did not know, or think I should have needed one. 'Well,' said he, 'I will not talk with you now, because it is time to go to church; but I will examine you further anon. And turning to the constable, 'Have him,' said he, 'to an inn, and bring him before me after dinner.'

The naming of an inn put me in mind that such public houses were places of expense, and I knew I had no money to defray it. Wherefore, I said to the warden, before thou sendest me to an inn, which may occasion

some expense, I think it needful to acquaint thee, that I have no money.

At that the warden startled again; and turning quick upon me, said, 'How! no money! How can that be? You don't look like a man that has no money.' However I look, said I, I tell thee the truth, that I have no money; and I tell it to forewarn thee, that thou mayest not bring any charge upon the town. 'I wonder,' said he, 'what art you have got, that you can travel without money; you can do more, I assure you, than I can.'

I making no answer, he went on and said, 'Well, well! but if you have no money, you have a good horse under you, and we can distract him for the charge.' But, said I, the horse is not mine. 'No!' said he, 'but you have a good coat on your back, and that, I hope, is your own.' No, said I, but it is not; for I borrowed both the horse and the coat.

With that the warden holding up his hands and smiling, said, 'Bless me! I never met with such a man as you are before! What! were you set out by the parish?' Then turning to the constable he said, 'Have him to the Greyhound, and bid the people be civil to him.' Accordingly to the Greyhound I was led, my horse set up, and I put into a large room, and some account, I suppose, given of me to the people of the house.

This was new work to me, and what the issue of it would be I could not foresee; but being left there alone, I sat down and retired in spirit to the Lord, in whom alone my strength and safety was, and begged support of him; even that he would be pleased to give me wisdom and words to answer the warden, when I should come to be examined again before him.

After some time, having pen, ink and paper about me, I set myself to write what I thought might be proper, if occasion served, to give the warden. And while I was writing the master of the house being come home from his worship, sent the tapster to me, to invite me to dine with him. I bid him tell his master, that I had not any money to pay for my dinner. He sent the man again to tell me, I should be welcome to dine with him, though I had no money. I desired him to tell his master, that I was very sensible of his civility and kindness, in so courteously inviting me to his table; but I had not freedom to eat of his meat, unless I could have paid for it. So he went on with his dinner, and I with my writing.

But before I had finished what was on my mind to write, the constable came again, bringing with him his fellow constable. This was a brisk, genteel young man, a shopkeeper in the town, whose name was Cherry. They

saluted me civilly, and told me they were come to have me before the warden. This put an end to my writing, which I put into my pocket and went along with them.

Being come to the warden's, he asked me again the same questions he had asked me before—to which I gave him the like answers. Then he told me the penalty I had incurred; which, he said, was either to pay so much money, or lie so many hours in the stocks—and asked me which I would choose? I replied, I shall not choose either. And said I, I have told thee already that I have no money, though if I had, I could not so far acknowledge myself an offender as to pay any. But as to lying in the stocks, I am in thy power, to do unto me what it shall please the Lord to suffer thee.

When he heard that he paused a while, and then told me, he considered that I was but a young man, and might not, perhaps, understand the danger I had brought myself into, and therefore he would not use the severity of the law upon me; but in hopes that I would be wiser hereafter, he would pass by this offence and discharge me.

Then putting on a countenance of the greatest gravity, he said to me; 'But, young man, I would have you know, that you have not only broken the law of the land, but the law of God also; and therefore you ought to ask him forgiveness, for you have highly offended him.' That, said I, I would most willingly do, if I were sensible that, in this case, I had offended him by breaking any law of his. 'Why,' said he, 'do you question that?' Yes, truly, said I; for I do not know that any law of God doth forbid me to ride on this day.

'No!' said he, 'that's strange! Where, I wonder, were you bred? You can read; can't you?' Yes, said I, that I can. 'Don't you read then,' said he, 'the commandment; "Remember the sabbath-day to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work; but the seventh-day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God; in it thou shalt not do any work."' Yes, replied I, I have both read it often, and remember it very well. But that command was given to the Jews, not to Christians; and this is not that day, for that was the seventh-day, but this is the first. 'How!' said he, 'do you know the days of the week no better? you had need then be better taught.'

Here the younger constable, whose name was Cherry, interposing, said, 'Mr. Warden, the gentleman is in the right as to that; for this is the first-day of the week, and not the seventh.'

This the old warden took in dudgeon; and looking severely on the constable, said, 'What! do you take upon you to teach me! I'll have



you know I will not be taught by you. 'As you please for that sir,' said the constable, 'but I am sure you are mistaken in this point; for Saturday, I know, is the seventh-day, and you know yesterday was Saturday.'

This made the warden hot and testy, and put him almost out of all patience, so that I feared it would have come to a downright quarrel betwixt them—for both were confident, and neither would yield. And so earnestly were they engaged in the contest, that there was no room for me to put in a word between them.

At length the old man, having talked himself out of wind, stood still a while as it were to take breath, and then bethinking himself of me, he turned to me and said, 'You are discharged, and may take your liberty to go about your occasions.' But, said I, I desire my horse may be discharged too, else I know not how to go. 'Ay, ay,' said he, 'you shall have your horse; and turning to the other constable who had not offended him, he said, 'Go see that his horse be delivered to him.'

Away thereupon went I with that constable, leaving the old warden and the young constable to compose their difference as they could. Being come to the inn, the constable called for my horse to be brought out. Which done, I immediately mounted and began to set forward. But the hostler, not knowing the condition of my pocket, said modestly to me, 'Sir, don't you forget to pay for your horse's standing?' No truly, said I, I don't forget it, but I have no money to pay it with, and so I told the warden before. 'Well, hold your tongue,' said the constable to the hostler, 'I'll see you paid.' Then opening the gate they let me out, the constable wishing me a good journey, and through the town I rode without further molestation; though it was as much sabbath, I thought, when I went out, as it was when I came in.

A secret joy arose in me as I rode on the way, that I had been preserved from doing or saying any thing, which might give the adversaries of Truth advantage against it or the friends of it; and praises sprang in my thankful heart to the Lord my preserver.

It added also not a little to my joy that I felt the Lord near to me, by his witness in my heart, to check and warn me; and my spirit was so far subjected to him, as readily to take warning, and to stop at his check; an instance of both which I had that very morning. For as I rode between Reading and Maidenhead, I saw lying in my way the scabbard of a hanger, which, having lost its hook, had slipped off, I suppose, and dropped from the side of the wearer; and it had in it a pair of knives, whose hafts being inlaid with silver,

seemed to be of some value. I alighted and took it up, and clapping it between my thigh and the saddle, rode on a little way; but I quickly found it too heavy for me, and the reprover in me soon began to check. The word arose in me, 'What hast thou to do with that? Doth it belong to thee?' I felt I had done amiss in taking it; wherefore, I turned back to the place where it lay, and laid it down where I found it. And when afterwards I was stopped and seized on at Maidenhead, I saw there was a providence in not bringing it with me; which, if it should have been found, as it needs must, under my coat when I came to be unhorsed, might have raised some evil suspicion or sinister thoughts concerning me.

The stop I met with at Maidenhead had spent so much time, that when I came to Isaac Penington's, the meeting there was half over, which gave them occasion, after meeting, to inquire of me if any thing had befallen me on the way, which had caused me to come so late? Whereupon I related to them what exercise I had met with, and how the Lord had helped me through it; which when they had heard they rejoiced with me, and for my sake.

Great was the love and manifold the kindnesses which I received from these my worthy friends, Isaac and Mary Penington, while I abode in their family; they were indeed as affectionate parents and tender nurses to me, in this time of my religious childhood. For besides their weighty and seasonable counsels, and exemplary conversations, they furnished me with means to go to the other meetings of Friends in that county, when the meeting was not in their own house. And, indeed, the time I staid with them was so well spent, that it not only yielded great satisfaction to my mind, but turned, in good measure, to my spiritual advantage in the Truth.

But that I might not, on the one hand, bear too hard upon my friends; nor on the other hand forget the house of thralldom—after I had staid with them some six or seven weeks, from the time called Easter to the time called Whitsuntide, I took my leave of them to depart home, intending to walk to Wiccomb in one day, and from thence home in another.

That day that I came home I did not see my father, nor until noon the next day, when I went into the parlour where he was, to take my usual place at dinner.

As soon as I came in, I observed by my father's countenance, that my hat was still an offence to him; but when I was sat down, and before I had eaten any thing, he made me understand it more fully, by saying to me, but in a milder tone than he had formerly used to speak to me in, 'If you cannot content yourself to come to dinner without your hive on

your head, (so he called my hat) pray rise, and go take your dinner somewhere else.'

Upon these words I arose from the table, and leaving the room, went into the kitchen, where I staid till the servants went to dinner, and then sat down very contentedly with them. Yet I suppose my father might intend that I should have gone into some other room, and there have eaten by myself. But I chose rather to eat with the servants; and did so from thenceforward, so long as he and I lived together. And from this time he rather chose, as I thought, to avoid seeing me, than to renew the quarrel about my hat.

My sisters, meanwhile observing my wariness in words and behaviour, and being satisfied, I suppose, that I acted upon a principle of religion and conscience, carried themselves very kindly to me, and did what they could to mitigate my father's displeasure against me. So that I now enjoyed much more quiet at home, and took more liberty to go abroad amongst my friends, than I had done, or could do before; and having informed myself where any meetings of Friends were holden, within a reasonable distance from me, I resorted to them.

At first I went to a town called Haddenham, in Buckinghamshire, five miles from my father's, where, at the house of one Belson, a few who were called Quakers did meet sometimes on a first-day of the week; but I found little satisfaction there. Afterwards, upon further inquiry, I understood there was a settled meeting at a little village called Meadle, about four long miles from me, in the house of one John White, which is continued there still; and to that thenceforward I constantly went, while I abode in that country and was able. Many a sore day's travel have I had thither and back again; being commonly in the winter time, how fair soever the weather was overhead, wet up to the ankles at least; yet through the goodness of the Lord to me I was preserved in health.

A little meeting also there was, on the fourth-day of the week, at a town called Bledlow, two miles from me, in the house of one Thomas Saunders, who professed the Truth; but his wife, whose name was Damaris, did possess it, being a woman of great sincerity and lively sense, and to that meeting also I usually went.

But though I took this liberty for the service of God, that I might worship him in the assemblies of His people, yet did I not use it upon other occasions; but spent my time on other days for the most part in my chamber, in retiredness of mind, waiting on the Lord. And the Lord was graciously pleased to visit me by his quickening spirit and life, so that I

came to feel the operation of his power in my heart, working out that which was contrary to his will, and giving me, in measure, dominion over it.

As my spirit was kept in due subjection to this divine power, I grew into a nearer acquaintance with the Lord; and he vouchsafed to speak to me in the inward of my soul, and to open my understanding in his fear, to receive counsel from him; so that I not only at some times heard his voice, but could distinguish it from the voice of the enemy.

As thus I daily waited on the Lord, a weighty and unusual exercise came upon me, which bowed my spirit very low before the Lord. I had seen, in the light of the Lord, the horrible guilt of those deceitful priests of divers sorts and denominations, who made a trade of preaching, and for filthy lucre-sake held the people always learning; yet so taught them, as that, by their teaching and ministry, they were never able to come to the knowledge, much less to the acknowledgment of the truth; for as they themselves hated the light, because their own deeds were evil, so by reviling, reproaching and blaspheming the true light, wherewith every man that cometh into the world is enlightened, John i. 9., they begat in the people a disesteem of the light; and laboured, as much as in them lay, to keep their hearers in darkness, that they might not be turned to the light in themselves, lest by the light they should discover the wickedness of these their deceitful teachers, and turn from them.

Against this practice of these false teachers, the zeal of the Lord had flamed in my breast for some time; and now the burden of the word of the Lord against them, fell heavy upon me, with command to proclaim his controversy against them.

Fain would I have been excused from this service, which I judged too heavy for me; wherefore, I besought the Lord to take this weight from off me, who was in every respect but young, and lay it upon some other of his servants, of whom he had many, who were much more able and fit for it. But the Lord would not be entreated, but continued the burden upon me with greater weight; requiring obedience from me, and promising to assist me therein. Whereupon I arose from my bed, and in the fear and dread of the Lord, committed to writing what he, in the motion of his divine Spirit, dictated to me to write. When I had done it, though the sharpness of the message therein delivered was hard to my nature to be the publisher of; yet I found acceptance with the Lord in my obedience to his will, and his peace filled my heart. As soon as I could, I communicated to my friends



what I had written; and it was printed in the year 1660, in one sheet of paper, under the title of "An alarm to the Priests; or a message from Heaven to forewarn them, &c."

Some time after the publishing of this paper, having occasion to go to London, I went to visit George Fox the younger, who with another Friend, was then a prisoner in a messenger's hands. I had never seen him, nor he me before; yet this paper lying on the table before him, he pointing to it, asked me if I was the person that wrote it. I told him I was. 'It is much,' said the other Friend, 'that they bear it.' 'It is,' replied he, 'their portion—and they must bear it.'

While I was then in London, I went to a little meeting of Friends, which was then held in the house of one Humphrey Bache, a goldsmith, at the sign of the snail in Tower street. It was then a very troublesome time, not from the government, but from the rabble of boys and rude people, who upon the turn of the times, at the return of the king, took liberty to be very abusive.

When the meeting ended, a pretty number of these unruly folk were got together at the door, ready to receive the Friends as they came forth, not only with evil words, but with blows; which I saw they bestowed freely on some of them who were gone out before me, and I expected I should have my share when I came amongst them. But quite contrary to my expectation,—when I came out, they said one to another, 'Let him alone; don't meddle with him; he is no Quaker, I'll warrant you.'

This struck me, and was worse to me than if they had laid their fists on me, as they did on others. I was troubled to think what the matter was, or what these rude people saw in me, that made them not take me for a Quaker. And upon a close examination of myself, with respect to my habit and deportment, I could not find any thing to place it on, but that I had then on my head a large mountier-cap of black velvet, the skirt of which being turned up in folds, looked, it seems, somewhat above the then common garb of a Quaker; and this put me out of conceit with my cap.

I came at this time to London from Isaac Penington's, and thither I went again in my way home; and while I staid there, amongst other Friends who came thither, Thomas Loe of Oxford was one. A faithful and diligent labourer he was in the work of the Lord, and an excellent ministerial gift he had. In my zeal for truth, being very desirous that my neighbours might have the opportunity of hearing the gospel, the glad tidings of salvation, livingly and powerfully preached among them, I entered into communication with him about it; offering to procure some convenient

place in the town where I lived, for a meeting to be held, and to invite my neighbours to it, if he could give me any ground to expect his company at it. He told me, he was not at his own command, but at the Lord's; and he knew not how he might dispose of him; but wished me, if I found when I was come home, that the thing continued with weight upon my mind, and that I could get a fit place for a meeting, I would advertise him of it by a few lines, directed to him in Oxford, whither he was then going, and he might then let me know how his freedom stood in that matter.

When, therefore, I was come home, and had treated with a neighbour for a place to have a meeting in, I wrote to my friend Thomas Loe, to acquaint him that I had procured a place for a meeting, and would invite company to it, if he would fix the time and give me some ground to hope that he would be at it.

This letter I sent by a neighbour to Thame, to be given to a dyer of Oxford, who constantly kept Thame market, with whom I was pretty well acquainted, having sometimes formerly used him, not only in his way of trade, but to carry letters between my brother and me, when he was a student in that university, for which he was always paid; and had been so careful in the delivery, that our letters had always gone safe until now. But this time, Providence so ordering, or at least for my trial permitting it, this letter of mine, instead of being delivered according to its direction, was seized and carried, as I was told, to the lord Faulkland, who was then called lord lieutenant of that county.

The occasion of this stopping of letters at that time, was that mad prank of those infatuated 'fifth-monarchy-men,' who from their meeting-house in Coleman street, London, breaking forth in arms, under the command of their chieftain Venner, made an insurrection in the city, on pretence of setting up the kingdom of Jesus; who it is said, they expected would come down from heaven to be their leader. So little understood they the nature of his kingdom; though he himself had declared, "it was not of this world."

The king, (Charles II.) a little before his arrival in England, had, by his declaration from Breda, given assurance of liberty to tender consciences; and that no man should be disquieted, or called in question for difference of opinion in matters of religion, who did not disturb the peace of the kingdom. Upon this assurance dissenters of all sorts relied, and held themselves secure. But now, by this frantic action of a few hot-brained men, the king was, by some, holden discharged from this his royal word and promise, in his

foregoing declaration publicly given. And hereupon letters were intercepted and broken open, for the discovery of suspected plots and designs against the government; and not only dissenters' meetings, of all sorts without distinction were disturbed, but very many were imprisoned in most parts throughout the nation; and great search there was, in all counties, for suspected persons, who, if not found at meetings, were fetched in from their own houses.

The lord-lieutenant, so called, of Oxfordshire, had on this occasion taken Thomas Loe, and many other of our Friends, at a meeting and sent them prisoners to Oxford castle, just before my letter was brought to his hand, wherein I had invited Thomas Loe to a meeting; and he putting the worst construction upon it, as if I, a poor simple lad, had intended a seditious meeting, in order to raise rebellion, ordered two of the deputy-lieutenants who lived nearest to me, to send a party of horse to fetch me in.

Accordingly, while I, wholly ignorant of what had passed at Oxford, was in daily expectation of an agreeable answer to my letter, came a party of horse one morning to my father's gate, and asked for me.

It so fell out, that my father was at that time from home, I think in London; whereupon he that commanded the party alighted, and came in. My eldest sister, hearing the noise of soldiers, came hastily up into my chamber, and told me there were soldiers below who inquired for me. I forthwith went down to them, and found the commander was a barber of Thame, and one who had always been my barber till I was a Quaker. His name was Whatley, a bold brisk fellow.

I asked him what his business was with me. He told me I must go with him. I demanded to see his warrant. He laid his hand on his sword and said that was his warrant. I told him, though that was not a legal warrant, yet I would not dispute it—but was ready to bear injuries. He told me he could not help it; he was commanded to bring me forthwith before the deputy-lieutenants; and therefore desired me to order a horse to be got ready, because he was in haste. I let him know I had no horse of my own, and would not meddle with any of my father's horses, in his absence especially; and that therefore, if he would have me with him, he must carry me as he could.

He thereupon taking my sister aside, told her he found I was resolute, and his orders were preremptory; wherefore he desired that she would give order for a horse to be made ready for me; for otherwise he should be forced to mount me behind a trooper, which

would be very unsuitable for me, and which he was very unwilling to do. She thereupon ordered a horse to be got ready, upon which, when I had taken leave of my sisters, I mounted and went off, not knowing whither he intended to carry me.

He had orders, it seems to take some others also in a neighbouring village, whose names he had, but their houses he did not know. Wherefore, as we rode, he asked me, if I knew such and such men, whom he named, and where they lived; and when he understood that I knew them, he desired me to show him their houses. No, said I, I scorn to be an informer against my neighbours, to bring them into trouble. He thereupon riding to and fro, found by inquiry most of their houses; but, as it happened, found none of them at home, at which I was glad.

At length he brought me to the house of one called Esquire Clark, of Weston by Thame, who being afterwards knighted, was called Sir John Clark; a jolly man, too much addicted to drinking in soberer times, but was now grown more licentious that way, as the times did now more favour debauchery. He and I had known one another for some years, though not very intimately, having met sometimes at the lord Wenman's table.

This Clark was one of the deputy-lieutenants, whom I was to be brought before. And he had got another to join with him in tendering me the oaths, whom I knew only by name and character; he was called Esquire Knowls of Grays, by Henley, and reputed a man of better morals than the other.

I was brought into the hall, and kept there. And as Quakers were not so common then, as they now are, and indeed even yet, the more is the pity, they are not common in that part of the country—I was made a spectacle and gazing-stock to the family, and by divers I was diversely set upon. Some spake to me courteously, with appearance of compassion; others ruggedly, with evident tokens of wrath and scorn. But though I gave them the hearing of what they said, which I could not well avoid, yet I said little to them; but keeping my mind as well retired as I could, I breathed to the Lord for help and strength from him, to bear me up and carry me through this trial, that I might not sink under it, or be prevailed on by any means, fair or foul, to do any thing that might dishonour or displease my God.

At length came forth the justices themselves, for so they were, as well as lieutenants; and after they had saluted me, they discoursed with me pretty familiarly. And though Clark would sometimes be a little jocular and wag-gish, which was somewhat natural to him, yet Knowls treated me very civilly, not seeming



to take any offence at my not standing bare before him. And when a young priest, who, as I understood, was chaplain in the family, took upon him pragmatically to reprove me for standing with my hat on before the magistrates, and snatched my cap from off my head, Knowls in a pleasant manner corrected him, telling him he mistook himself, in taking a cap for a hat, for mine was a mountier-cap, and bid him give it me again; which he, though unwillingly doing, I forthwith put it on my head again, and thenceforward none meddled with me about it.

Then they began to examine me, putting divers questions to me relating to the present disturbances in the nation, occasioned by the late foolish insurrection of those frantic fifth-monarchy-men. To all which I readily answered, according to the simplicity of my heart and innocency of my hands; for I had neither done nor thought any evil against the government.

But they endeavoured to affright me with threats of danger; telling me that for all my pretence of innocency, there was high matter against me, which if I would stand out, would be brought forth, and that from under my own hand. I knew not what they meant by this; but I knew my innocency, and kept to it.

At length when they saw I regarded not their threats in general, they asked me if I knew one Thomas Loe, and had written of late to him. I then remembered my letter, which till then I had not thought of, and thereupon frankly told them, that I did both know Thomas Loe, and had lately written to him; but that as I knew I had written no hurt, so I did not fear any danger from that letter. They shook their heads and said it was dangerous to write letters to appoint meetings in such troublesome times.

They added, that by appointing a meeting, and endeavouring to gather a concourse of people together, in such a juncture especially as this was, I had rendered myself a dangerous person. And therefore, they could do no less than tender me the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; which therefore they required me to take.

I told them, if I could take any oath at all, I would take the oath of allegiance; for I owed allegiance to the king. But I durst not take any oath, because my Lord and master Jesus Christ, had commanded me not to swear at all; and if I break his command, I should thereby both dishonour and displease him.

Hereupon they undertook to reason with me, and used many words to persuade me that that command of Christ related only to com-

mon and profane swearing—not to swearing before a magistrate.

I heard them and saw the weakness of their arguings, but did not return them any answer; for I found my present business was not to dispute, but to suffer; and that it was not safe for me, in this my weak and childish state especially, to enter into reasonings with sharp, quick, witty and learned men, lest I might thereby hurt both the cause of Truth, which I was to bear witness to, and myself. Therefore I chose rather to be a fool, and let them triumph over me, than by my weakness give them advantage to triumph over the Truth. And my spirit being closely exercised in a deep travail towards the Lord, I earnestly begged of him, that he would be pleased to keep me faithful to the testimony he had committed to me, and not suffer me to be taken in any of the snares which the enemy laid for me. And, blessed be his holy name, he heard my cries, and preserved me out of them.

When the justices saw they could not bow me to their wills, they told me they must send me to prison. I told them I was contented to suffer whatsoever the Lord should permit them to inflict upon me. Whereupon they withdrew into the parlour, to consult together what to do with me; leaving me meanwhile to be gazed on in the hall.

After a pretty long stay, they came forth to me again with a great show of kindness, telling me they were very unwilling to send me to gaol, but would be as favourable to me as possibly they could; and that, if I would take the oaths, they would pass by all the other matter which they had against me. I told them, I knew they could not justly have any thing against me, for I had neither done, nor intended any thing against the government, or against them. And as to the oaths, I assured them, that my refusing them was merely matter of conscience to me, and that I durst not take any oath whatsoever, if it were to save my life.

When they heard this they left me again, and went and signed a mittimus to send me to prison at Oxford, and charged one of the troopers that brought me thither, who was one of the newly-raised militia troops, to convey me safely to Oxford. But before we departed they called the trooper aside and gave him private instructions what he should do with me; which I knew nothing of till I came thither, but expected I should go directly to the castle.

It was almost dark when we took horse, and we had about nine or ten miles to ride; the weather was thick and cold, for it was about the beginning of the twelfth month, and I had no boots, being snatched away from home on

a sudden; which made me not care to ride very fast. My guard, who was a tradesman in Thame, having confidence in me, that I would not give him the slip, jogged on without heeding how I followed him. When I was gone about a mile on the way, I overtook my father's man, who without my knowledge, had followed me at a distance to Weston, and waited there abroad in the stables, till he understood by some of the servants, that I was to go to Oxford; and then ran before, resolving not to leave me till he saw what they would do with me.

I would have had him return home, but he desired me not to send him back, but let him run on till I came to Oxford. I considered that it was a token of the fellow's affectionate kindness to me, and that possibly I might send my horse home by him; and thereupon stopping my horse, I bid him, if he would go on, get up behind me. He modestly refused, telling me he could run as fast as I rode. But when I told him, if he would not ride he should not go forward, rather than leave me, he leaped up behind me, and on we went.

He was not willing I should have gone at all. He had a great cudgel in his hand, and a strong arm to use it; and being a stout fellow, he had a great mind to fight the trooper and rescue me. Wherefore he desired me to turn my horse and ride off. And if the trooper offered to pursue, leave him to deal with him.

I checked him sharply for that, and charged him to be quiet, and not think hardly of the poor trooper, who could do no other than he did; and who, though he had an ill journey in going with me, carried himself civilly to me. I told him also, that I had no need to fly, for I had done nothing that would bring guilt or fear upon me, neither did I go with an ill will; and this quieted the man. So on we went; but were so far cast behind the trooper, that we had lost both sight and hearing of him, and I was fain to mend my pace to get up to him again.

We came pretty late into Oxford on the seventh-day of the week, which was the market-day; and contrary to my expectation, which was to have been carried to the castle, my trooper stopped in the High street, and calling at a shop, asked for the master of the house; who coming to the door, he delivered to him the mittimus, and with it a letter from the deputy-lieutenants, or one of them, which when he had read, he asked where the prisoner was. Whereupon the soldier pointing to me, he desired me to alight and come in; which when I did, he received me civilly.

The trooper being discharged of his prisoner, marched back, and my father's man seeing

me settled in better quarters than he expected, mounted my horse and went off with him.

I did not presently understand the quality of my keeper; but I found him a genteel, courteous man, by trade a linen-draper; and, as I afterwards understood, he was the city-marshal, and had a command in the county troop, and was a person of good repute in the place; his name was ——— Galloway.

Whether I was committed to him out of regard to my father, that I might not be thrust into a common gaol; or out of a politic design, to keep me from the conversation of my friends, in hopes that I might be drawn to abandon this profession, which I had but lately taken up, I do not know. But this I know, that though I wanted no civil treatment or kind accommodations where I was, yet after once I understood that many Friends were prisoners in the castle, and among the rest Thomas Loe, I had much rather have been among them there, with all the inconveniences they underwent, than where I was with the best entertainment. But this was my present lot; and therefore with this I endeavoured to be content.

It was quickly known in the city that a Quaker was brought in prisoner and committed to the marshal. Whereupon, the men Friends generally being prisoners already in the castle, some of the women Friends came to inquire after me and to visit me; as Silas Norton's wife and Thomas Loe's wife, who were sisters, and another woman Friend who lived in the same street where I was, whose husband was not a Quaker, but kindly affected towards them, a baker by trade, and his name as I remember was, ——— Ryland.

By some of these an account was soon given to the Friends in the castle, of my being taken up and brought prisoner to the marshal's. Whereupon it pleased the Lord to move the heart of my dear friend Thomas Loe, to salute me with a very tender and affectionate letter in the following terms:

My beloved friend,

In the Truth and love of the Lord Jesus, by which life and salvation is revealed in the saints, is my dear love to thee, and in much tenderness do I salute thee. And dear heart, a time of trial God hath permitted to come upon us, to try our faith and love to him; and this will work for the good of them who through patience endure to the end. I believe God will be glorified through our sufferings, and his name will be exalted in the patience and long-suffering of his chosen. When I heard that thou wast called into this trial, with the servants of the Most High, to give thy testimony to the truth of what we have believ-



ed, it came into my heart to write to thee, and to greet thee with the embraces of the power of an endless life; where our faith stands, and unity is felt with the saints for ever. My dear friend, let us live in the pure counsel of the Lord, and dwell in his strength, which gives us power and sufficiency to endure all things for his name's sake; and then our crown and reward will be with the Lord for ever, and the blessings of his heavenly kingdom will be our portion. Oh, dear heart, let us give up all freely into the will of God, that God may be glorified by us, and we comforted together in the Lord Jesus; which is the desire of my soul, who am thy dear and loving friend in the eternal truth, THOMAS LOE.

P. S. We are more than forty here, who suffer innocently for the testimony of a good conscience; because we cannot swear, and break Christ's commands. And we are all well, and the blessing and presence of God is with us. Friends here salute thee. Farewell.

The power and the wisdom of the Lord God be with thee, amen.

Greatly was my spirit refreshed, and my heart gladdened, at the reading of this consolating letter from my friend; and my soul blessed the Lord for his love and tender goodness to me, in moving his servant to write thus to me.

But I had cause soon after to double and redouble my thankful acknowledgment to the Lord my God, who put it into the heart of my dear friend Isaac Penington also, to visit me with some encouraging lines from Aylesbury gaol, where he was then a prisoner; from whence, having heard that I was carried prisoner to Oxford, he thus saluted me:

Dear Thomas,

Great hath been the Lord's goodness to thee, in calling thee out of that path of vanity and death, wherein thou wast running towards destruction, to give thee a living name and an inheritance of life among his people; which certainly will be the end of thy faith in him, and obedience to him. And let it not be a light thing in thine eyes, that he now accounteth thee worthy to suffer among his choice lambs, that he might make thy crown weightier, and thy inheritance the fuller. O that that eye and heart may be kept open in thee, which know the value of these things! And that thou mayest be kept close to the feeling of the life, that thou mayest be fresh in thy spirit in the midst of thy sufferings, and mayest reap the benefit of them; finding that pared off thereby, which hindereth the bubblings of the everlasting spring, and maketh unfit for the breaking forth and enjoyment of the pure power! This is the brief salutation of my

dear love to thee, which desireth thy strength and settlement in the power, and the utter weakening of thee as to self. My dear love is to thee, with dear Thomas Goodyare, and the rest of imprisoned Friends.

I remain thine in truth, to which the Lord my God preserve thee single and faithful.

I. PENINGTON.

From Aylesbury gaol, the 14th of  
Twelfth month, 1660.

Though these epistolary visits in the love of God, were very comfortable and confirming to me, and my heart was thankful to the Lord for them; yet I honed after personal conversation with Friends, and it was hard I thought, that there should be so many faithful servants of God so near me, yet I should not be permitted to come at them, to enjoy their company, and reap both the pleasure and benefit of their sweet society.

For although my marshall-keeper was very kind to me, and allowed me the liberty of his house, yet he was not willing I should be seen abroad; the rather perhaps, because he understood I had been pretty well known in that city. Yet once the friendly baker got him to let me step over to his house; and once, and but once, I prevailed with him to let me visit my friends in the castle; but it was with these conditions, that I should not go forth till it was dark; that I would muffle myself up in my cloak; and that I would not stay out late. All which I punctually observed.

When I came thither, though there were many Friends prisoners, I scarcely knew one of them by face, except Thomas Loe, whom I had once seen at Isaac Penington's. Nor did any of them know me, though they had generally heard that such a young man as I was convinced of the Truth and come among Friends.

Our salutation to each other was very grave and solemn; nor did we entertain one another with much talk, or with common discourses; but most of the little time I had with them, was spent in a silent retiredness of spirit, waiting upon the Lord. Yet, before we parted, we imparted one to another some of the exercises we had gone through; and they seeming willing to understand the ground and manner of my commitment, I gave them a brief account thereof, letting Thomas Loe more particularly know that I had directed a letter to him, which having fallen into the hand of the lord-lieutenant, was so far as I could learn, the immediate cause of my being taken up.

Having staid with them as long as my limited time would permit, which I thought was but very short, that I might keep touch with my keeper and come home in due time, I took my leave of my friends there, and with mutual em-

braces parting, returned to my, in some sense more easy, but in others less easy prison, where after this I staid not long before I was brought back to my father's house.

For after my father was come home, who, as I observed before, was from home when I was taken, he applied himself to those justices that had committed me, and not having disoblged them when he was in office, easily obtained to have me sent home; which between him and them was thus contrived.

There was about this time a general muster and training of the militia forces at Oxford; whither, on that occasion, came the lord-lieutenant and the deputy-lieutenants of the county, of which number they who committed me were two.

When they had been a while together, and the marshall with them, he stept suddenly in, and in haste told me I must get ready quickly to go out of town, and that a soldier would come by and by to go with me. This said, he hastened to them again, not giving me any intimation how I was to go, or whither.

I needed not much time to get ready in; but I was uneasy in thinking what the Friends of the town would think of this my sudden and private removal; and I feared lest any report should be raised that I had purchased my liberty by an unfaithful compliance. Wherefore, I was in care how to speak with some Friend about it: and that friendly baker, whose wife was a Friend, living on the other side of the street at a little distance, I went out at a back door, intending to step over the way to their house, and return immediately.

It so fell out, that some of the lieutenants, of whom Esquire Clark, who committed me, was one, were standing in a balcony at a great inn or tavern, just over the place where I was to go by; and he spying me, called out to the soldiers who stood thick below in the street, to stop me. They, being generally gentlemen's servants, and many of them knowing me, civilly forbore to lay hold on me, but calling modestly after me, said, 'Stay sir, stay; pray come back.' I heard, but was not willing to hear, therefore rather mended my pace, that I might have got within the door. But he calling earnestly after me, and charging them to stop me, some of them were fain to run, and laying hold on me before I could open the door, brought me back to my place again.

Being thus disappointed, I took a pen and ink and wrote a few lines, which I sealed up, and gave to the apprentice in the shop, who had carried himself handsomely to me, and desired him to deliver it to that Friend who was their neighbour; which he promised to do.

By the time I had done this, came the soldier that was appointed to conduct me out of

town. I knew the man, for he lived within a mile of me, being through poverty reduced to keep an ale-house; but he had lived in better fashion, having kept an inn at Thame, and by that means knew how to behave himself civilly and did so to me.

He told me he was ordered to wait on me to Whately, and to tarry there at such an inn till Esquire Clark came thither, who would then take me home with him in his coach. Accordingly to Whately we walked, which is from Oxford some four or five miles, and long we had not been there, before Clark and a great company of rude men came in.

He alighted and staid a while to eat and drink, though he came but from Oxford, and invited me to eat with him; but I, though I had need enough, refused it, for indeed their conversation was a burden to my life, and made me often think of and pity good Lot.

He seemed at that time to be in a sort of mixt temper, between pleasantness and sourness. He would sometimes joke, which was natural to him, and cast out a jesting flirt at me; but he would rail maliciously against the Quakers. 'If,' said he to me, 'the king would authorize me to do it, I would not leave a Quaker alive in England, except you. I would make no more,' added he, 'to set my pistol to their ears, and shoot them through the head, than I would to kill a dog.' I told him I was sorry he had so ill an opinion of the Quakers, but I was glad he had no cause for it, and I hoped he would be of a better mind.

I had in my hand a little walking stick with a head on it, which he commended, and took out of my hand to look on it, but I saw his intention was to search whether it had a tuck in it, for he tried to draw the head; but when he found it was fast he returned it to me.

He told me I should ride with him to his house in his coach, which was nothing pleasant to me; for I had rather have gone on foot, as bad as the ways were, that I might have been out of his company. Wherefore I took no notice of any kindness in the offer, but only answered, I was at his disposal, not mine own.

When we were ready to go, the marshall came to me and told me, if I pleased I should ride his horse, and he would go in the coach with Mr. Clark. I was glad of the offer, and only told him he should take out his pistols then, for I would not ride with them. He took them out and laid them in the coach by him and away we went.

It was a very fine beast that I was set on, by much the best in the company. But though she was very tall, yet the ways being very foul, I found it needful, as soon as I was out of town, to alight and take up the stirrups.



Meanwhile, they driving on, I was so far behind, that being at length missed by the company, a soldier was sent back to look after me.

As soon as I had fitted my stirrups and was remounted, I gave the rein to my mare, which being courageous and nimble, and impatient of delay, made great speed to recover the company. And in a narrow passage, the soldier, who was my barber that had fetched me from home, and I met upon so brisk a gallop, that we had enough to do on either side to take up our horses and avoid a brush.

When we were come to Weston, where Esquire Clark lived, he took the marshall and some others with him into the parlour; but I was left in the hall, to be exposed a second time for the family to gaze on.

At length himself came out to me, leading in his hand a beloved daughter of his, a young woman of about eighteen years of age, who wanted nothing to have made her comely, but gravity. An airy piece she was; and very merry she made herself at me.

When they had made themselves as much sport with me as they would, the marshall took his leave of them, and mounting me on a horse of Clark's, had me home to my father's that night.

Next morning before the marshall went away, my father and he consulted together how to entangle me. I felt there were snares laid, but I did not know in what manner or to what end, till the marshall was ready to go. And then, coming where he was to take his leave of me, he desired me to take notice, that although he had brought me home to my father's house again, yet I was not discharged from my imprisonment, but was his prisoner still; and that he had committed me to the care of my father, to see me forth-coming whenever I should be called for. And therefore he expected I should in all things observe my father's orders, and not to go at any time from the house without his leave.

I now plainly saw the snare, and to what end it was laid. I asked him, if this device was not contrived to keep me from going to meetings? He said I must not go to meetings. Whereupon I desired him to take notice, that I would not own myself a prisoner to any man while I continued here. That if he had power to detain me a prisoner, he might take me back again with him if he would, and I should not refuse to go. But I bid him assure himself, that while at home I would take my liberty, both to go to meetings and to visit Friends. He smiled, and said if I would be resolute he could not help it; and so took his leave of me.

By this I perceived that the plot was of my

father's laying, to have brought me under such an engagement as should have tied me from going to meetings; and thereupon I expected I should have a new exercise from my father.

It was the constant manner of my father, to have all the keys of the out-doors of his house, which were four, and those linked upon a chain, brought up into his chamber every night, and fetched out from thence in the morning; so that none could come in or go out in the night without his knowledge.

I knowing this, suspected that if I got not out before my father came down, I should be stopped from going out at all that day. Wherefore, the passage from my room lying by his chamber door, I went down softly without my shoes, and as soon as the maid had opened the door, I went out, though too early, and walked towards the meeting at Meadle, four long miles off.

I expected to have been talked with about it when I came home, but heard nothing of it, my father resolving to watch me better next time.

This I was aware of; and therefore on the next first-day I got up early, went down softly, and hid myself in a back room before the maid was stirring.

When she was up, she went into my father's chamber for the keys; but he bid her leave them till he was up, and he would bring them down himself; which he did, and tarried in the kitchen, through which he expected I would go.

The manner was, that when the common doors were opened, the keys were hung upon a pin in the hall. While therefore my father staid in the kitchen expecting my coming, I stepping gently out of the room where I was, reached the keys, and opening another door, not often used, slipped out and so got away.

I thought I had gone off undiscovered. But whether my father saw me through a window, or by what other means he knew of my going, I know not; but I had gone but a little way, before I saw him coming after me.

The sight of him put me to a stand in my mind, whether I should go on or stop. Had it been in any other case than that of going to a meeting I could not in any wise have gone a step further. But I considered, that the intent of my father's endeavouring to stop me, was to hinder me from obeying the call of my heavenly Father, and to stop me from going to worship him in the assembly of his people; upon this I found it my duty to go on, and observing that my father gained ground upon me, I somewhat mended my pace.

This he observing, mended his pace also,

and at length ran. Whereupon I ran also; and a fair course we had through a large meadow of his, which lay behind his house and out of sight of the town. He was not, I suppose, then above fifty years of age, and being light of body and nimble of foot, he held me to it for a while. But afterwards slacking his pace to take breath, and observing that I had gotten ground of him, he turned back and went home; and, as I afterwards understood, told my sisters how I had served him, and said, 'Nay, if he will take so much pains to go, let him go if he will.' From that time forward he never attempted to stop me, but left me to my liberty, to go when and whither I would; yet kept me at the usual distance, avoiding the sight of me as much as he could, as not able to bear the sight of my hat on, nor willing to contend with me again about it.

Nor was it long after this, before I was left not only to myself, but in a manner by myself. For the time appointed for the coronation of the king, which was the 23rd of the second month, called April, drawing on, my father taking my two sisters with him, went up to London some time before, that they might be there in readiness, and put themselves into a condition to see that great solemnity, leaving nobody in the house but myself and a couple of servants. Though this was intended only for a visit on that occasion, yet it proved the breaking up of the family; for he bestowed both his daughters there in marriage, and took lodgings for himself, so that afterwards they never returned to settle at Crowell.

Being now at liberty, I walked over to Aylesbury with some other Friends, to visit my dear friend Isaac Penington, who was still a prisoner there. With him I found dear John Whitehead, and between sixty and seventy more, being well nigh all the men Friends that were then in the county of Bucks; many of them were taken out of their houses by armed men, and sent to prison, as I had been, for refusing to swear. Most of these were thrust into an old room behind the gaol, which had anciently been a malt-house, but was now so decayed, that it was scarcely fit for a dog-house. It lay so open, that the prisoners might have gone out at pleasure. But these were purposely put there, in confidence that they would not go out, that there might be room in the prison for others, of other professions and names, whom the gaoler did not trust there.

While this imprisonment lasted, which was for some months, I went afterwards thither sometimes to visit my suffering brethren; and because it was a pretty long way, some eight or nine miles, too far to be walked forward

and backward in one day, I sometimes staid a day or two there, and lay in the malt-house among my friends, with whom I delighted to be.

After this imprisonment was over, I went sometimes to Isaac Penington's house at Chalfont, to visit that family and the Friends thereabouts. There was then a meeting, for the most part twice a week in his house; but one first-day in four there was a more general meeting, which was thence called the monthly meeting, to which resorted most of the Friends of other adjacent meetings; and to that I usually went, and sometimes made some stay there.

Here I came acquainted with a Friend of London, whose name was Richard Greenaway, by trade a tailor, a very honest man, and one who had received a gift for the ministry.

He having been formerly in other professions of religion, had then been acquainted with one John Ovy of Watlington, in Oxfordshire, a man of some note among the professors there, and understanding, upon inquiry, that I knew him, he had some discourse with me about him. The result of this was, that he, having an intention then shortly to visit some meetings of Friends in this county and the adjoining parts of Oxfordshire and Berkshire, invited me to meet him, upon notice given, and to bear him company in that journey; and in the way bring him to John Ovy's house, with whom I was well acquainted; which I did.

We were kindly received, the man and his wife being very glad to see both their old friend Richard Greenaway and me also, whom they had been very well acquainted with formerly, but had never seen me since I was a Quaker.

Here we tarried that night, and in the evening had a little meeting there with some few of John Ovy's people, amongst whom Richard Greenaway declared the Truth; which they attentively heard and did not oppose, which at that time of day we reckoned was pretty well—for many were apt to cavil.

This visit gave John Ovy an opportunity to inquire of me after Isaac Penington, whose writings, or those which he had written before he came among Friends, he had read and had a great esteem of; and he expressed a desire to see him, that he might have some discourse with him, if he knew how. Whereupon I told him, that if he would take the pains to go to his house, I would bear him company thither, introduce him, and engage he should have a kind reception.

This pleased him much; and he embracing the offer, I undertook to give him notice of a suitable time; which, after I had gone this



little journey with my friend Richard Greenaway, and was returned, I did, making choice of the monthly meeting to go to.

We met by appointment at Stoken-Church, with our staves in our hands like a couple of pilgrims, intending to walk; and having taken some refreshment and rest at Wiccomb, went on cheerfully in the afternoon, entertaining each other with grave religious discourse, which made the walk the easier, and so reached thither in good time on the seventh-day of the week.

I gave my friends an account who this person was, whom I had brought to visit them, and the ground of his visit. He had been a professor of religion, from his childhood to his old age, for he was now both grey-headed and elderly, and was a teacher at this time, and had long been so amongst a people, whether Independents or Baptists, I do not well remember. And so well thought of he was, for his zeal and honesty, that in those late professing times he was thrust into the commission of the peace, and thereby lifted up upon the bench; which neither became him, nor he it. For he wanted indeed most of the qualifications requisite for a justice of the peace; an estate to defray the charge of the office, and to bear him up in a course of living above contempt; a competent knowledge in the laws, and a presence of mind or body, or both, to keep offenders in some awe; in all which he was deficient. He was a fellmonger by trade, accustomed to ride upon his pack of skins; and had very little estate, as little knowledge in law, and of but a mean presence and appearance to look on. But as my father, I suppose, was the means of getting him put into the commission, so I know he did what he could to countenance him in it, and help him through it at every turn, till that turn came, at the king's return, which turned them both out together.

My friends received me in affectionate kindness, and my companion with courteous civility. The evening was spent in common, but grave conversation; for it was not a proper season for private discourse, both as we were somewhat weary with our walk, and there were other companies of Friends come into the family, to be at the meeting next day.

But in the morning I took John Ovy into a private walk, in a pleasant grove near the house, whither Isaac Penington came to us; and there, in discourse, both answered all his questions, objections and doubts, and opened to him the principles of Truth, to his admiration and present satisfaction. Which done, we went in to take some refreshment before the meeting began.

Of those Friends who were come over

night, in order to be at the meeting, there was Isaac's brother, William Penington, a merchant of London; and with him a Friend, whose name I have forgotten, a grocer of Colchester in Essex; and there was also our friend George Whitehead, whom I had not, that I remember, seen before.

The nation had been in a ferment ever since that mad action of the frantic fifth-monarchymen, and was not yet settled; but storms, like thunder showers, flew here and there, so that we could not promise ourselves any safety or quiet in our meetings. And though they had escaped disturbance for some little time before, yet so it fell out, that a party of horse were appointed to come and break up the meeting that day, though we knew nothing of it till we heard and saw them.

The meeting was not fully gathered when they came. But we that were in the family, and many others, were settled in it in great peace and stillness, when on a sudden the prancing of the horses gave notice that lightning was at hand.

We all sat still in our places, except my companion John Ovy, who sat next to me. But he being of a profession that approved Peter's advice to his Lord, to save himself, soon took the alarm; and with the nimbleness of a stripling, cutting a caper over the form that stood before him, ran quickly out at a private door, he had before observed, which led through the parlour into the gardens, and from thence into an orchard; where he hid himself in a place so obscure, and withal so convenient for his intelligence by observation of what passed, that one of the family could scarcely have found a likelier.

By that time he was got into his burrow the soldiers came in, being a party of the county troop, commanded by Matthew Archdale of Wiccomb. He behaved himself civilly, and said he was commanded to break up the meeting, and carry the men before a justice of the peace; but he said, he would not take all; and thereupon began to pick and choose, chiefly as his eye guided him, for I suppose he knew very few.

He took Isaac Penington and his brother, George Whitehead and the Friend of Colchester, and me, with three or four more of the country, who belonged to that meeting.

He was not fond of the work, and that made him take no more. But he must take some, he said; and bade us provide to go with him before Sir William Boyer of Denham, who was a justice of the peace. Isaac Penington being but weakly, rode; but the rest of us walked thither, it being about four miles.

When we came there, the justice carried himself civilly to us all, courteously to Isaac

Penington as being a gentleman of his neighbourhood, and there was nothing charged against us, but that we were met together without word or deed. Yet this being contrary to a late proclamation, given forth upon the rising of the fifth-monarchy-men, whereby all dissenters' meetings were forbidden, the justice could do no less than take notice of us.

Wherefore he examined all of us whom he did not personally know, asking our names and the places of our respective habitations. But when he had them, and considered from what distant parts of the nation we came, he was amazed. For George Whitehead was of Westmoreland, in the north of England; the grocer was of Essex; I was of Oxfordshire; and William Penington was of London.

Hereupon he told us that our case looked ill, and he was sorry for it. 'For how,' said he, 'can it be imagined that so many could jump altogether at one time and place, from such remote quarters and parts of the kingdom, if it was not by combination and appointment?'

He was answered, that we were so far from coming thither by agreement or appointment, that none of us knew of the others coming, and for the most of us, we had never seen one another before; and that therefore he might impute it to chance, or, if he pleased, to Providence.

He urged upon us, that an insurrection had been lately made by armed men, who pretended to be more religious than others: that that insurrection had been plotted and contrived in their meeting-house, where they assembled under colour of worshipping God; that in their meeting-house they hid their arms, and armed themselves, and out of their meeting-house issued forth in arms and killed many; so that the government could not be safe, unless such meetings were suppressed.

We replied, that we hoped he would distinguish and make a difference between the guilty and the innocent; and between those who were principled for fighting, and those who were principled against it; which we were, and had been always known to be so. That our meetings were public, our doors standing open to all comers, of all ages, sexes and persuasions, those that were not of our religion, as well as those that were; and that it was next to madness for people to plot in such meetings.

He told us we must find sureties for our good behaviour, and to answer our contempt of the king's proclamation at the next general Quarter Sessions; or else he must commit us.

We told him, that knowing our innocence,

and that we had not mis-behaved ourselves, nor met in contempt of the king's authority, but purely in obedience to the Lord's requirements, to worship him, which we held ourselves in duty bound to do, we could not consent to be bound, for that would imply guilt, which we were free from.

'Then,' said he, 'I must commit you;' and ordered his clerk to make a mittimus. And divers mittimuses were made, but none of them would hold; for still when they came to be read, we found such flaws in them, as made him throw them aside and write more.

He had his eye often upon me, for I was a young man, and had at that time a black suit on. At length he bid me follow him, and went into a private room and shut the door upon me.

I knew not what he meant by this; but I cried in spirit to the Lord, that he would be pleased to be a mouth and wisdom to me, and keep me from being entangled in any snare.

He asked me many questions concerning my birth, my education, my acquaintance in Oxfordshire; particularly what men of note I knew there. To all which I gave him brief, but plain and true answers, naming several families of the best rank, in that part of the country where I dwelt.

He asked me how long I had been of this way, and how I came to be of it? When I had given him some account he began to persuade me to leave it, and return to the right way, the church, as he called it. I desired him to spare his pains in that respect, and forbear any discourse of that kind, for that I was fully satisfied, the way I was in was the right way, and hoped the Lord would so preserve me in it, that nothing should be able to draw or drive me out of it. He seemed not pleased with that; and thereupon went out to the rest of the company, and I followed him, glad in my heart that I had escaped so well, and praising God for my deliverance.

When he had taken his seat again at the upper end of a fair hall, he told us, he was not willing to take the utmost rigour of the law against us, but would be as favourable to us as he could. And therefore he would discharge, he said, Mr. Penington himself, because he was but at home in his own house. And he would discharge Mr. Penington of London, because he came but as a relation to visit his brother. And he would discharge the grocer of Colchester, because he came to bear Mr. Penington of London, company, and to be acquainted with Mr. Isaac Penington, whom he had never seen before. And as for those others of us, who were of this country, he would discharge them for the present at



least, because they being his neighbours, he could send for them when he would. 'But for you,' said he to George Whitehead and me, 'I can see no business you had there; and therefore I intend to hold you to it, either to give bail, or go to gaol.'

We told him we could not give bail. 'Then,' said he, 'you must go to gaol;' and thereupon he began to write our mittimus; which puzzled him again. For he had discharged so many, that he was at a loss what to lay as the ground of our commitment, whose case differed nothing in reality from theirs whom he had discharged.

At length, having had made divers draughts, of which still George Whitehead showed him the defects, he seemed to be weary of us; and rising up said to us, 'I consider that it is grown late in the day, so that the officer cannot carry you to Aylesbury to night, and I suppose you will be willing to go back with Mr. Penington; therefore if you will promise to be forthcoming at his house to-morrow morning, I will dismiss you for the present, and you shall hear from me again to-morrow.'

We told him, we did intend, if he did not otherwise dispose of us, to spend that night with our friend Isaac Penington, and would, if the Lord gave us leave, be there in the morning ready to answer his requirings. Whereupon he dismissed us all, willing, as we thought, to be rid of us; for he seemed not to be of an ill temper, nor desirous to put us to trouble if he could help it.

Back then we went to Isaac Penington's. But when we were come thither, O the work we had with poor John Ovy! He was so dejected in mind, so covered with shame and confusion of face for his cowardliness, that we had enough to do to pacify him towards himself.

The place he had found out to shelter himself in, was so commodiously contrived, that undiscovered he could discern when the soldiers went off with us, and understand when the bustle was over and the coast clear. Whereupon he ventured to peep out of his hole, and in a while drew near, by degrees, to the house again; and finding all things quiet and still, he adventured to step within the doors, and found the Friends, who were left behind, peaceably settled in the meeting again.

The sight of this smote him, and made him sit down among them. And after the meeting was ended, and the friends departed to their several homes, addressing himself to Mary Penington as the mistress of the house, he could not enough magnify the bravery and courage of the Friends, nor sufficiently debase himself. He told her how long he had been

a professor, what pains he had taken, what hazards he had run, in his youthful days, to get to meetings; how, when the ways were forelaid, and passages stopped, he swam through rivers to reach a meeting; 'And now,' said he, 'that I am grown old in the profession of religion, and have long been an instructor and encourager of others, that I should thus shamefully fall short myself, is matter of shame and sorrow to me.'

Thus he bewailed himself to her;—when we came back, he renewed his complaints of himself to us, with high aggravations of his own cowardice. Which gave occasion to some of the Friends, tenderly to represent to him the difference between profession and possession, form and power.

He was glad, he said, on our behalf, that we came off so well, and escaped imprisonment.

But when he understood that George Whitehead and I were liable to an after-reckoning next morning, he was troubled, and wished the morning was come and gone, that we might be gone with it.

We spent the evening in grave conversation, and in religious discourse, attributing the deliverance, we hitherto had, to the Lord. The next morning when we were up and had eaten, we tarried some time to see what the justice would do further with us, and to discharge our engagement to him; the rest of the Friends, who were before fully discharged, tarrying also with us to see the event.

When we had staid so long, that on all hands it was concluded we might safely go, George Whitehead and I left a few words in writing, to be sent to the justice, if he sent after us, importing that we had tarried till such an hour, and not hearing from him, did now hold ourselves free to depart; yet so, as that if he should have occasion to send for us again, upon notice thereof we would return.

This done, we took our leave of the family, and one of another; they who were for London taking horse, and I and my companion, setting forth on foot for Oxfordshire, went to Wiccomb, where we made a short stay to rest and refresh ourselves, and from thence reached our respective homes that night.

After I had spent some time at home, where, as I had no restraint, so my sisters being gone, I had now no society, I walked up to Chalfont again, and spent a few days with my friends there.

As soon as I came in, I was told that my father had been there that day to see Isaac Penington and his wife; but they being abroad at a meeting, he returned to his inn in the town, where he intended to lodge that night. After supper, Mary Penington told me she

had a mind to go and see him at his inn, the woman of the house being a friend of ours, and I went with her. He seemed somewhat surprised to see me there, because he thought I had been at home at his house; but he took no notice of my hat, at least showed no offence at it; for as I afterwards understood, he had now an intention to sell his estate, and thought he should need my concurrence therein; which made him now hold it necessary to admit me again into some degree of favour. After we had tarried some little time with him, she rising up to be gone, he waited on her home, and having spent about an hour with us in the family, I waited on him back to his inn. On the way, he invited me to come up to London to see my sisters, the younger of whom was then newly married, and directed me where to find them; and also gave me money to defray my charges. Accordingly I went; yet staid not long there, but returned to my friend Isaac Penington's where I made a little stay, and from thence went back to Crowell.

When I was ready to set forth, my friend Isaac Penington was so kind as to send a servant with a brace of geldings, to carry me as far as I thought fit to ride, and to bring the horses back. I, intending to go no farther that day than to Wiccomb, rode no farther than to Beaconsfield town's-end, having then but five miles to walk. But here a new exercise befel me, the manner of which was thus:

Before I had walked to the middle of the town, I was stopped and taken up by the watch. I asked the watchman, what authority he had to stop me, travelling peaceably on the highway? He told me he would show me his authority; and in order thereunto, had me into a house hard by, where dwelt a scrivener, whose name was Pepys. To him he gave the order which he had received from the constables, which directed him to take up all rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars. I asked him, for which of these he stopped me? but he could not answer me.

I thereupon informed him what a rogue in law is, viz. One, who for some notorious offence was burnt on the shoulder; and I told them they might search me if they pleased, and see if I was so branded. A vagabond, I told them, was one that had no dwelling-house, nor certain place of abode; but I had, and was going to it; and I told them where it was. And for a beggar, I bid them bring any one that could say, I had begged or asked relief.

This stopped the fellow's mouth, yet he would not let me go; but being both weak-headed and strong-willed, he left me there with the scrivener, and went out to seek the constable; and having found him, brought him

thither. He was a young man, by trade a tanner, somewhat better mannered than this wardsman, but not of much better judgment. He took me with him to his house. And having settled me there, went out to take advice, as I supposed, what to do with me; leaving nobody in the house to guard me, but his wife, who had a young child in her arms.

She inquired of me, upon what account I was taken up; and seeming to have some pity for me, endeavoured to persuade me not to stay, but to go my way—offering to show me a back way from their house, which would bring me into the road again beyond the town, so that none of the town should see me, or know what was become of me. But I told her I could not do so.

Then having sat a while in a muse, she asked me if there was not a place in Scripture which said, Peter was at a tanner's house? I told her there was such a Scripture, and directed her where to find it.

After some time, she laid her child to sleep in the cradle, and stepped out on a sudden; but came not in again in a pretty while.

I was uneasy that I was left alone in the house, fearing lest, if any thing should be missing, I might be suspected to have taken it; yet I durst not go out to stand in the street, lest it should be thought I intended to slip away.

But besides that, I soon found work to employ myself in; for the child quickly waking, fell to crying, and I was fain to rock the cradle in my own defence, that I might not be annoyed with a noise, to me not more unpleasant than unusual. At length the woman came in again, and finding me nursing the child, gave me many thanks, and seemed well pleased with my company.

When night came on, the constable himself came in again, and told me some of the chief of the town were met together, to consider what was fit to do with me; and that I must go with him to them. I went, and he brought me to a little nasty hut, which they called a town-house, adjoining to their market-house, in which dwelt a poor old woman whom they called mother Grime, where also the watch used by turns to come in and warm themselves in the night.

When I came in among them, some of them looked sourly on me, and asked me some impertinent questions; to which I gave them suitable answers.

Then they consulted one with another, how they should dispose of me that night, till they could have me before some justice of peace to be examined. Some proposed that I should be had to an inn, or other public house, and a guard set on me there. He that started this



was probably an inn-keeper, and consulted his own interest. Others objected against this, that it would bring a charge on the town. To avoid which, they were for having the watch take charge of me, and keep me walking about the streets with them till morning. Most voices seemed to go this way; till a third wished them to consider, whether they could answer the doing of that, and the law would bear them out in it? And this put them to a stand. I heard all their debates, but let them alone, and kept my mind to the Lord.

While they thus banded the matter to and fro, one of the company asked the rest, if any of them knew who this young man was, and whither he was going? Whereupon the constable, to whom I had given both my name and the name of the town where I dwelt, told them my name was Ellwood, and that I lived at a town called Crowell, in Oxfordshire.

Old mother Grime, sitting by and hearing this, clapped her hand on her knee, and cried out, 'I know Mr. Ellwood of Crowell very well. For when I was a maid I lived with his grandfather there, when he was a young man.' And thereupon she gave them such an account of my father, as made them look more regardfully on me; and so mother Grime's testimony turned the scale, and took me off from walking the rounds with the watch that night.

The constable hereupon bid them take no further care, I should lie at his house that night, and accordingly took me home with him, where I had as good accommodation as the house did afford. Before I went to bed, he told me that there was to be a visitation, or spiritual court, as he called it, holden next day at Amersham, about four miles from Beaconsfield, and that I was to be carried thither.

This was a new thing to me, and it brought a fresh exercise upon my mind. But being given up, in the will of God, to suffer what he should permit to be laid on me, I endeavoured to keep my mind quiet and still.

In the morning, as soon as I was up, my spirit, was exercised towards the Lord, in strong cries to him, that he would stand by me and preserve me, and not suffer me to be taken in the snare of the wicked. While I was thus crying to the Lord, the other constable came, and I was called down.

This was a budge fellow, and talked high. He was a shoe-maker by trade, and his name was Clark. He threatened me with the spiritual court. But when he saw I did not regard it, he stopped, and left the matter to his partner, who pretended more kindness for me, and therefore went about to persuade Clark to let me go out at the back door, and so slip away.

The plot, I suppose, was so laid, that Clark should seem averse, but at length yield, which he did; but would have me take it for a favour. But I was so far from taking it so, that I would not take it at all; but told them plainly, that as I came in at the fore-door, so I would go out at the fore-door. When therefore they saw they could not bow me to their will, they brought me out at the fore-door into the street, and wished me a good journey. Yet before I went, calling for the woman of the house, I paid her for my supper and lodging, for I had now got a little money in my pocket again.

After this I got home, as I thought, very well; but I had not been long at home, before an illness seized on me, which proved to be the small-pox. Of which, so soon as Friends had notice, I had a nurse sent me; and in a while Isaac Penington and his wife's daughter, Gulielma Maria Springett, to whom I had been playfellow in our infancy, came to visit me, bringing with them our dear friend Edward Burrough, by whose ministry I was called to the knowledge of the Truth.

It pleased the Lord to deal favourably with me in this illness, both inwardly and outwardly. For his supporting presence was with me, which kept my spirit near unto him; and though the distemper was strong upon me, yet I was preserved through it, and my countenance was not much altered by it. But after I was got up again, and while I kept my chamber, wanting some employment for entertainment sake, to spend the time with, and there being at hand a pretty good library of books, amongst which were the works of Augustine, and others of those ancient writers, who were by many called the Fathers, I betook myself to reading. These books being printed in the old black letter, with abbreviations of the words, difficult to be read, I spent too much time therein, and much impaired my sight, which was not strong before, and was now weaker than usual, by reason of the illness I had so newly had, which proved an injury to me afterwards; for which reason I here mention it.

After I was well enough to go abroad, with respect to my own health and the safety of others, I went up, in the beginning of the twelfth month, 1661, to my friend Isaac Penington's at Chalfont, and abode there some time, for airing myself more fully, that I might be more fit for conversation.

1662.—I mentioned before, that when I was a boy, I had made good progress in learning, and lost it all again before I came to be a man; nor was I rightly sensible of my loss, until I came amongst the Quakers. But then I both saw my loss, and lamented it; and applied myself with the utmost diligence, at all leisure

times, to recover it; so false I found that charge to be, which in those times was cast as a reproach upon the Quakers, that they despised and decried all human learning; because they denied it to be essentially necessary to a gospel ministry, which was one of the controversies of those times.

But though I toiled hard and spared no pains, to regain what once I had been master of; yet I found it a matter of so great difficulty, that I was ready to say as the noble eunuch to Philip in another case, 'How can I, unless I had some man to guide me?'

This I had formerly complained of to my especial friend Isaac Penington, but now more earnestly; which put him upon considering, and contriving a means for my assistance.

He had an intimate acquaintance with Dr. Paget, a physician of note in London, and he with John Milton, a gentleman of great note for learning throughout the learned world, for the accurate pieces he had written on various subjects and occasions.

This person having filled a public station in the former times, lived now a private and retired life in London; and having wholly lost his sight, kept always a man to read to him, which usually was the son of some gentleman of his acquaintance, whom in kindness he took to improve in his learning.

Thus by the mediation of my friend Isaac Penington with Dr. Paget, and of Dr. Paget with John Milton, was I admitted to come to him; not as a servant to him, which at that time he needed not, nor to be in the house with him; but only to have the liberty of coming to his house, at certain hours, when I would, and to read to him what books he should appoint me; which was all the favour I desired.

But this being a matter which would require some time to bring it about, in the meanwhile, I returned to my father's house in Oxfordshire.

I had before received direction, by letters from my eldest sister, written by my father's command, to put off what cattle he had left about his house, and to discharge his servants; which I had done at the time called Michaelmas. So that all that winter, when I was at home, I lived like a hermit, having a pretty large house, and no body in it but myself, at nights especially; but an elderly woman, whose father had been an old servant to the family, came every morning and made my bed, and did what else I had occasion for her to do, till I fell ill of the small-pox, and then I had her with me, and the nurse. But now, understanding by letter from my sister, that my father did not intend to return to settle there, I disposed of those provisions which

were in the house, that they might not be spoiled when I was gone; and because they were what I should have spent, if I had tarried there, I took the money made of them to myself, for my support at London, if the project succeeded for my going thither.

This done, I committed the care of the house to a tenant of my father's, who lived in the town, and taking my leave of Crowell, went up to my sure friend Isaac Penington again. Where understanding that the mediation used for my admittance to John Milton, had succeeded so well that I might come when I would, I hastened to London, and in the first place went to wait upon him.

He received me courteously, as well for the sake of Dr. Paget who introduced me, as of Isaac Penington who recommended me; to both of whom he bore a good respect. And having inquired divers things of me, with respect to my former progress in learning, he dismissed me, to provide myself such accommodations as might be most suitable to my future studies.

I went therefore and took myself a lodging as near to his house, which was then in Jewen street, as I conveniently could, and from thenceforward went every day in the afternoon, except on the first-days of the week, and sitting by him in his dining-room, read to him in such books in the Latin tongue as he pleased to hear me read.

At my first sitting to read to him, observing that I used the English pronunciation, he told me, if I would have the benefit of the Latin tongue, not only to read and understand Latin authors, but to converse with foreigners, either abroad or at home, I must learn the foreign pronunciation. To this I consenting, he instructed me how to sound the vowels; so different from the common pronunciation used by the English, who Anglicise their Latin, that (with some few other variations in sounding some consonants, in particular cases; sa *c* before *e* or *i*, like *ch*;—*sc* before *i*, like *sh*, &c.) the Latin thus spoken, seemed as different from that which was delivered as the English generally speak it, as if it were another language.

I had before, during my retired life at my father's, by unwearied diligence and industry, so far recovered the rules of grammar, in which I had once been very ready, that I could both read a Latin author, and after a sort, hammer out his meaning. But this change of pronunciation proved a new difficulty to me. It was now harder to me to read, than it was before to understand when read. But

Incessant pains,  
The end obtains.



And so did I; which made my reading the more acceptable to my master. He, on the other hand, perceiving with what earnest desire I pursued learning, gave me not only all the encouragement, but all the help he could. For having a curious ear, he knew by my tone when I understood what I read, and when I did not; and accordingly would stop me, examine me, and open the most difficult passages to me.

Thus I went on for about six weeks time, reading to him in the afternoons; and exercising myself with my own books, in my chamber in the forenoons, and I was sensible of an improvement.

But, alas! I had fixed my studies in a wrong place. London and I could never agree for health; my lungs, as I suppose, were too tender to bear the sulphurous air of that city, so that I soon began to droop; and in less than two months time, I was fain to leave both my studies and the city, and return into the country to preserve life; and much ado I had to get thither.

I chose to go down to Wiccomb, and to John Raunce's house there; both as he was a physician, and his wife an honest, hearty, discreet and grave matron, of whom I had a very good esteem, and who I knew had a good regard for me.

There I lay ill a considerable time, and in that degree of weakness, that scarcely any who saw me, expected my life. But the Lord was gracious to me in my illness, and was pleased to raise me up again, that I might serve him in my generation.

As soon as I had recovered so much strength as to be fit to travel, I obtained of my father, who was then at his house in Crowell, to dispose of some things he had there, and who in my illness had come to see me, so much money as would clear all charges in the house, for both physic, food and attendance; and having fully discharged all, I took leave of my friends in that family and in the town, and returned to my studies at London.

I was very kindly received by my master, who had conceived so good an opinion of me, that my conversation I found was acceptable to him, and he seemed heartily glad of my recovery and return; and we fell again into our old method of study, I reading to him, and he explaining to me as occasion required.

But as if learning had been a forbidden fruit to me, scarcely was I well settled in my work, before I met with another diversion, which turned me quite out of it.

A sudden storm arising, from I know not what surmise of a plot, and thereby danger to the government—the meetings of dissenters, such I mean as could be found, which per-

haps were not many besides the Quakers', were broken up throughout the city, and the prisons mostly filled with our friends.

I was that morning, which was the 26th day of the eighth month 1662, at the meeting at the Bull and Mouth, by Aldersgate, when on a sudden, a party of soldiers of the trained bands of the city, rushed in with noise and clamour, being led by one who was called major Rosewell, an apothecary, if I misremember not, and at that time under the ill name of a papist.

As soon as he was come within the room, having a file or two of musketeers at his heels, he commanded his men to present their muskets at us, which they did; with intent I suppose to strike terror into the people. Then he made a proclamation, that all who were not Quakers might depart if they would.

It so happened, that a young man, an apprentice in London, whose name was — Dove, the son of Dr. Dove of Chinner, near Crowell in Oxfordshire, came that day in curiosity to see the meeting; and coming early, and finding me there, whom he knew, came and sat down by me.

As soon as he heard the noise of soldiers, he was much startled, and asked me softly, if I would not shift for myself and try to get out. I told him, no; I was in my place, and was willing to suffer if it was my lot. When he heard the notice given, that they who were not Quakers might depart, he solicited me again to be gone. I told him, I could not do so, for that would be to renounce my profession, which I would by no means do; but as for him, who was not one of us, he might do as he pleased. Whereupon, wishing me well, he turned away, and with cap in hand went out. And truly I was glad he was gone, for his master was a rigid Presbyterian, who in all likelihood would have led him a wretched life, had he been taken and imprisoned among the Quakers.

The soldiers came so early, that the meeting was not fully gathered; and when the mixt company were gone out, we were so few, and sat so thin in that large room, that they might take a clear view of us all, and single us out as they pleased.

He that commanded the party, gave us first a general charge to come out of the room. But we, who came thither at God's requiring, to worship him, like that good man of old, who said, we ought to obey God rather than men, Acts v. 29., stirred not, but kept our places. Whereupon he sent some of his soldiers among us, with command to drag or drive us out; which they did roughly enough.

When we came out into the street, we were received there by other soldiers, who with their

piques holden length-ways from one to another, encompassed us round as sheep in a pound; and there we stood a pretty time, while they were picking up more to add to our number.

In this work none seemed so eager and active as their leader, major Rosewell. Which I observing, stepped boldly to him, as he was passing by me, and asked him if he intended a massacre? for of that, in those times, there was a great apprehension and talk. The suddenness of the question, from such a young man especially, somewhat startled him; but recollecting himself, he answered, 'No; but I intend to have you all hanged by the whole-some laws of the land.'

When he had gotten as many as he could, or thought fit, which were in number thirty-two, whereof two were caught up in the street, who had not been at the meeting, he ordered the piques to be opened before us; and giving the word to march, went himself at the head of us—the soldiers with their piques making a lane to keep us from scattering.

He led us up Martins, and so turned down to Newgate, where I expected he would have lodged us. But to my disappointment, he went on through Newgate, and turning through the Old-Bailey, brought us into Fleet street. I was then wholly at a loss to conjecture whither he would lead us, unless it were to Whitehall, for I knew nothing then of Old-Bridewell; but on a sudden he gave a short turn, and brought us before the gate of that prison, where knocking, the wicket was forthwith opened, and the master with his porter ready to receive us.

One of those two who were picked up in the street, being near me, and telling me his case, I stepped to the major, and told him, that this man was not at the meeting, but was taken up in the street; and showed him how hard and unjust a thing it would be to put him into prison.

I had not pleased him before in the question I had put to him about a massacre; and that, I suppose, made this solicitation less acceptable to him from me, than it might have been from some other. For looking sternly on me, he said, 'Who are you, that take so much upon you? Seeing you are so busy, you shall be the first man that shall go into Bridewell;' and taking me by the shoulders, he thrust me in.

As soon as I was in, the porter pointing with his finger, directed me to a fair pair of stairs on the further side of a large court, and bid me go up those stairs, and go on till I could go no further.

Accordingly I went up the stairs; the first flight whereof brought me to a fair chapel on my left hand, which I could look into through

the iron grates, but could not have gone into if I would.

I knew that was not a place for me. Wherefore following my direction, and the winding of the stairs, I went up a story higher, which brought me into a room, which I soon perceived to be a court-room, or place of judicature. After I had stood a while there, and taken a view of it, observing a door on the further side, I went to it and opened it, with intention to go in; but I quickly drew back, being almost affrighted at the dismalness of the place. For besides that the walls quite round were laid all over, from top to bottom in black, there stood in the middle of it a great whipping-post, which was all the furniture it had.

In one of these two rooms judgment was given, and in the other it was executed on those ill people, who for their lewdness were sent to this prison, and there sentenced to be whipped. Which was so contrived, that the court might not only hear, but if they pleased, see their sentence executed.

A sight so unexpected, and withal so unpleasing, gave me no encouragement either to rest, or indeed to enter at all there; till looking earnestly, I spied on the opposite side a door, which giving me hopes of a further progress, I ventured to step hastily to it, and opened it.

This let me into one of the fairest rooms that, so far as I remember, I was ever in; and no wonder,—for though it was now put to this mean use, it had, for many ages past, been the royal seat or palace of the kings of England, until Cardinal Wolsey built Whitehall, and offered it as a peace offering to king Henry the eighth; who until that time had kept his court in this house, and had this, as the people in the house reported, for his dining-room, by which name it then went.

This room in length, for I lived long enough in it to have time to measure it, was three-score feet; and had breadth proportionable to it. In it, on the front side, were very large bay windows, in which stood a large table. It had other very large tables in it, with benches round; and at that time the floor was covered with rushes against some solemn festival, which I heard it was bespoken for.

Here was my *nil ultra*, and here I found I might set up my pillar; for although there was a door out of it, to a back pair of stairs which led to it, yet that was kept locked. So that finding I had now followed my keeper's direction to the utmost point, beyond which I could not go, I sat down and considered that rhetorical saying, "That the way to Heaven lay by the gate of hell;" the black room, through which I passed into this, bearing some



resemblance to the latter, as this comparatively and by way of allusion, might in some sort be thought to bear to the former.

But I was quickly put out of these thoughts, by the flocking in of the other Friends, my fellow-prisoners; amongst whom yet, when all were come together, there was but one whom I knew so much as by face, and with him I had no acquaintance. For I having been but a little while in the city, and in that time kept close to my studies, I was by that means known to very few.

Soon after we were all gotten together, the master of the house came up after us, and demanded our names; which we might reasonably have refused to give, till we had been legally convened before some civil magistrate, who had power to examine us and demand our names. But we, who were neither guileful nor wilful, simply gave him our names, which he took down in writing.

It was, as I hinted before, a general storm which fell that day, but it lighted most heavily upon our meetings; so that most of our men Friends were made prisoners, and the prisons generally filled. And great work had the women, to run about from prison to prison, to find their husbands, their fathers, their brothers, or their servants; for accordingly as they had disposed themselves to several meetings, so were they dispersed to several prisons. And no less care and pains had they, when they had found them, to furnish them with provisions and other necessary accommodations.

But an excellent order, even in those early days, was practised among the Friends of that city, by which there were certain Friends of either sex, appointed to have the oversight of the prisons in every quarter, and to take care of all Friends, the poor especially, that should be committed thither.

This prison of Bridewell, was under the care of two honest, grave, discreet and motherly women, whose names were Anne Merriker, afterwards Vivers, and Anne Travers, both widows.

So soon as they understood that there were Friends brought into that prison, they provided some hot victuals, meat and broth, for the weather was cold, and ordering their servants to bring it, with bread, cheese and beer, came themselves also with it; and having placed it on a table, gave notice to us, that it was provided for all those that had not others to provide for them; or were not able to provide for themselves. And there wanted not among us a competent number of such guests.

As for my part, though I had lived as frugally as possibly I could, that I might draw

out the thread of my little stock to the utmost length, yet had I, by this time, reduced it to ten pence, which was all the money I had about me, or any where else at my command.

This was but a small estate to enter upon an imprisonment with, yet was I not at all discouraged at it, nor had I a murmuring thought. I had known what it was moderately to abound, and if I should now come to suffer want, I knew I ought to be content; and through the grace of God I was so. I had lived by Providence before, when for a long time I had no money at all, and I had always found the Lord a good provider. I made no doubt, therefore, that He who sent the ravens to feed Elijah, and who clothes the lilies, would find some means to sustain me with needful food and raiment; and I had learned by experience, the truth of that saying, "Nature is content with few things, or a little."

Although the sight and smell of hot food was sufficiently enticing to my empty stomach, for I had eaten little that morning, and was hungry; yet considering the terms of the invitation, I questioned whether I was included in it; and after some reasonings, at length concluded, that while I had ten pence in my pocket, I should be but an intruder to that mess, which was provided for such as, perhaps, had not two pence in theirs.

Being come to this resolution, I withdrew as far from the table as I could, and sat down in a quiet retirement of mind, till the repast was over, which was not long; for there were hands enough at it, to make light work of it.

When evening came, the porter came up the back stairs, and opening the door, told us, if we desired to have any thing that was to be had in the house, he would bring it to us; for there was in the house, a chandler's shop, at which beer, bread, butter, cheese, eggs, and bacon, might be had for money. Upon which many went to him, and spoke for what of these things they had a mind to, giving him money to pay for them.

Among the rest went I, and intending to spin out my ten pence as far as I could, desired him to bring me a penny loaf only. When he returned, we all resorted to him to receive our several provisions, which he delivered; and when he came to me, he told me he could not get a penny loaf, but he had brought me two half-penny loaves.

This suited me better; wherefore returning to my place again, I sat down and eat up one of my loaves, reserving the other for the next day.

This was to me both dinner and supper. And so well satisfied I was with it, that I could willingly then have gone to bed, if I

had had one to go to ; but that was not to be expected there, nor had any one any bedding brought in that night.

Some of the company had been so considerate, as to send for a pound of candles, that we might not sit all night in the dark, and having lighted divers of them, and placed them in several parts of that large room, we kept walking to keep us warm.

After I had warmed myself pretty thoroughly, and the evening was pretty far spent, I bethought myself of a lodging ; and cast mine eye on the table which stood in the bay-window, the frame whereof, looked, I thought, somewhat like a bedstead. Willing to make sure of that, I gathered up a good arm-full of the rushes, wherewith the floor was covered, and spreading them under that table, crept in upon them in my clothes, and keeping on my hat, laid my head upon one end of the table's frame, instead of a bolster.

My example was followed by the rest, who gathering up the rushes as I had done, made themselves beds in other parts of the room, and so to rest we went.

I having a quiet, easy mind, was soon asleep, and slept till about the middle of the night. And then waking, finding my legs and feet very cold, I crept out of my cabin and began to walk about.

This waked and raised all the rest, who finding themselves cold, as well as I, got up and walked about with me, till we had pretty well warmed ourselves, and then we all lay down again and rested till morning.

Next day, all they who had families, or belonged to families, had bedding of one sort or other, brought in, which they disposed at the ends and sides of the room, leaving the middle void to walk in.

But I, who had nobody to look after me, kept to my rush-pallet under the table, for four nights together, in which time I did not put off my clothes ; yet, through the merciful goodness of God to me, I rested and slept well, and enjoyed health, without taking cold.

In this time, divers of our company, through the solicitations of some of their relations or acquaintance to Sir Richard Brown, who was at that time a great master of misrule in the city, and over Bridewell more especially, were released ; and among these, one William Mucklow, who lay in a hammock. He having observed that I only was unprovided with lodging, came very courteously to me, and kindly offered me the use of his hammock while I should continue a prisoner.

This was a providential accommodation to me, which I received thankfully, both from the Lord and from him ; and from thenceforth

I thought I lay as well as ever I had done in my life.

Amongst those that remained, there were several young men who cast themselves into a club, and laying down every one an equal proportion of money, put it into the hand of our friend Anne Travers, desiring her to lay it out for them in provisions, and send them in every day, a mess of hot meat ; and they kindly invited me to come into their club with them. These saw my person, and judged of me by that ; but they saw not my purse, nor understood the lightness of my pocket. But I, who alone understood my own condition, knew I must sit down with lower commons. Wherefore, not giving them the true reason, I as fairly as I could, excused myself from entering at present into their mess, and went on as before, to eat by myself, and that very sparingly, as my stock would bear. And before my ten pence was quite spent, Providence, on whom I relied, sent me in a fresh supply.

For William Penington, a brother of Isaac Penington's, a Friend and merchant in London, at whose house, before I came to live in the city, I was wont to lodge, having been at his brother's that day upon a visit, escaped this storm, and so was at liberty ; and understanding when he came back, what had been done, bethought himself of me, and upon inquiry, hearing where I was, came in love to see me.

He in discourse, amongst other things, asked me how it was with me as to money ? and how well I was furnished ? I told him I could not boast of much, and yet I could not say I had none ; though what I then had was indeed next to none. Whereupon he put twenty shillings into my hand, and desired me to accept of that for the present. I saw a Divine hand in thus opening his heart and hand in this manner to me. And though I would willingly have been excused from taking so much, and would have returned one half of it, yet he pressing it all upon me, I received it with a thankful acknowledgment, as a token of love from the Lord and from him.

On the seventh-day he went down again, as he usually did, to his brother's house at Chalfont, and in discourse gave them an account of my imprisonment. Whereupon, at his return on the second-day of the week following, my affectionate friend, Mary Penington, sent me by him, forty shillings, which he soon after brought me ; out of which I would have repaid him the twenty shillings he had so kindly furnished me with, but he would not admit it, telling me, I might have occasion for that and more, before I got my liberty.



Not many days after this, I received twenty shillings from my father, who being then at his house in Oxfordshire, and by letter from my sister, understanding that I was a prisoner in Bridewell, sent this money to me for my support there; and withal a letter to my sister, for her to deliver to one called Mr. Wray, who lived near Bridewell, and was a servant to sir Richard Brown in some wharf of his, requesting him to intercede with his master, who was one of the governors of Bridewell, for my deliverance. But that letter coming to my hands, I suppressed it, and have it yet by me.

Now was my pocket, from the lowest ebb, risen to a full tide. I was at the brink of want, next door to nothing, yet my confidence did not fail, nor my faith stagger; and now on a sudden I had plentiful supplies, shower upon shower, so that I abounded, yet was not lifted up, but in humility could say, This is the Lord's doing. And without defrauding any of the instruments of the acknowledgment due to them, mine eye looked over and beyond them to the Lord, who I saw was the author thereof and prime agent therein, and with a thankful heart I returned thanksgivings and praises to him. And this great goodness of the Lord to me, I thus record, to the end that all into whose hands this may come, may be encouraged to trust in the Lord, whose mercy is over all his works, and who is indeed a God near at hand, to help in the needful time.

I durst now venture myself into the club, to which I had been invited, and accordingly, having by this time gained an acquaintance with them, took an opportunity to cast myself among them; and thenceforward, so long as we continued prisoners together, I was one of their mess.

And now the chief thing I wanted was employment, which scarcely any wanted but myself; for the rest of my company were generally tradesmen, of such trades as could set themselves at work. Of these, divers were tailors, some masters, some journeymen, and with these I most inclined to settle. But because I was too much a novice in their art to be trusted with their work, lest I should spoil the garment, I got work from a hosier in Cheapside, which was to make night-waistcoats of red and yellow flannel, for women and children. And with this I entered myself among the tailors; sitting cross-legged as they did, and so spent those leisure hours with innocency and pleasure, which want of business would have made tedious. And indeed that was, in a manner, the only advantage I had by it; for my master, though a very wealthy man, and one who professed not only friend-

ship, but particular kindness to me, dealt I thought but hardly with me. For, though he knew not what I had to subsist by, he never offered me a penny for my work, till I had done working for him, and went, after I was released, to give him a visit; and then he would not reckon with me neither, because, as he smilingly said, he would not let me so far into his trade, as to acquaint me with the prices of the work; but would be sure to give me enough. And thereupon he gave me one crown-piece and no more; though I had wrought long for him, and made him many dozens of waistcoats, and bought the thread myself; which I thought was very poor pay. But, as Providence had ordered it, I wanted the work more than the wages, and therefore took what he gave me without complaining.

About this time, while we were prisoners in our fair chamber, a Friend was brought and put in among us, who had been sent thither by Richard Brown to beat hemp; whose case was thus:

He was a very poor man, who lived by mending shoes; and late on a seventh-day night a car-man, or some other such labouring man, brought him a pair of shoes to mend, desiring him to mend them that night, that he might have them in the morning, for he had no other to wear. The poor man sat up at work upon them till after midnight, and then finding he could not finish them, he went to bed, intending to do the rest in the morning.

Accordingly he got up betimes, and though he wrought as privately as he could in his chamber, that he might avoid giving offence to any, yet could he not do it so privately, but that an ill-natured neighbour perceived it, who went and informed against him for "working on the Sunday." Whereupon he was had before Richard Brown, who committed him to Bridewell for a certain time, to be kept to hard labour in beating hemp, which is labour hard enough.

It so fell out, that at the same time were committed thither, for what cause I do not now remember, two lusty young men who were called Baptists, to be kept also at the same labour.

The Friend was a poor little man, of a low condition and mean appearance; whereas these two Baptists were topping blades, that looked high and spake big. They scorned to beat hemp, and made a *pish* at the whipping-post; but when they had once felt the smart of it, they soon cried *peccavi*, and submitting to the punishment, set their tender hands to the beetles.

The Friend, on the other hand acting upon a principle, as knowing he had done no evil for which he should undergo that punishment,

refused to work, and for refusing was cruelly whipped; which he bore with wonderful constancy and resolution of mind.

The manner of whipping there, is to strip the party to the skin from the waist upwards, and having fastened him to the whipping-post, so that he can neither resist nor shun the strokes, to lash the naked body with long, but slender twigs of holly, which will bend almost like thongs and lap round the body; and these having little knots upon them, tear the skin and flesh, and give extreme pain.

With these rods they tormented the Friend most barbarously; and the more, for that having mastered the two braving Baptists, they disdained to be mastered by this poor Quaker. Yet were they fain at last to yield, when they saw their utmost severity could not make him yield. And then not willing to be troubled longer with him, they turned him up among us.

When we had inquired of him how it was with him; and he had given us a brief account of both his cause and usage, it came in my mind, that I had in my box, which I had sent for from my lodging, to keep some few books and other necessities in, a little gally-pot with Lucatelli's balsam in it.

Wherefore causing a good fire to be made, and setting the Friend within a blanket before the fire, we stripped him to the waist, as if he had been to be whipped again, and found his skin so cut and torn with the knotty holly rods, both back, side, arm and breast, that it was a dismal sight to look upon. Then melting some of the balsam, I with a feather anointed all the sores, and putting a softer cloth between his skin and his shirt, helped him on with his clothes again. This dressing gave him much ease, and I continued it till he was well. And because he was a very poor man, we took him into our mess, contriving that there should always be enough for him as well as for ourselves. Thus he lived with us until the time he was committed for was expired, and then he was released.

But we were still continued prisoners by an arbitrary power, not being committed by the civil authority, nor having seen the face of any civil magistrate, from the day we were thrust in here by soldiers, which was the 26th day of the eighth month, to the 19th of the tenth month following.

On that day we were had to the sessions at the Old-bailey. But not being called there, we were brought back to Bridewell, and continued there to the 29th of the same month, and then we were carried to the sessions again.

I expected I should have been called the first, because my name was first taken down;

but it proved otherwise, so that I was one of the last that was called; which gave me the advantage of hearing the pleas of the other prisoners, and discovering the temper of the court.

The prisoners complained of the illegality of their imprisonment, and desired to know what they had lain so long in prison for? The court regarded nothing of that, and did not stick to tell them so. 'For,' said the recorder to them, 'if you think you have been wrongfully imprisoned, you have your remedy at law, and may take it, if you think it worth your while. The court,' said he, 'may send for any man out of the street, and tender him the oath: so we take no notice how you came hither, but finding you here, we tender you the oath of allegiance; which if you refuse to take, we shall commit you, and at length preunire you.' Accordingly, as every one refused it, he was set aside and another called.

By this I saw, it was in vain for me to insist upon false imprisonment, or ask the cause of my commitment; though I had before furnished myself with some authorities and maxims of law on that subject, to have pleaded if room had been given; and I had the book, out of which I took them, in my bosom; for the weather being cold, I wore a gown girt about the middle, and had put the book within it. But I now resolved to wave all that, and insist upon another plea, which just then came into my mind.

As soon therefore as I was called, I stepped nimbly to the bar, and stood up upon the stepping, that I might the better both hear and be heard; and laying my hands upon the bar, stood ready, expecting what they would say to me.

I suppose they took me for a confident young man, for they looked very earnestly upon me; and we faced each other, without words, for a while. At length the recorder, who was called sir John Howell, asked me if I would take the oath of allegiance?

To which I answered, I conceive this court hath not power to tender that oath to me, in the condition wherein I stand.

This unexpected plea seemed to startle them, so that they looked one upon another, and said somewhat low one to another, 'What! doth he demur to the jurisdiction of the court?' And thereupon the recorder asked me, 'Do you then demur to the jurisdiction of the court?' Not absolutely, answered I, but conditionally, with respect to my present condition, and the circumstances I am now under.

'Why, what is your present condition?' said the recorder. A prisoner, replied I. 'And what is that,' said he, 'to your taking, or not taking the oath?' Enough, said I, as I con-



ceive, to exempt me from the tender thereof, while I am under this condition. 'Pray, what is your reason for that?' said he. This, said I; that if I rightly understand the words of the statute, I am required to say, that I do take this oath freely and without constraint; which I cannot say, because I am not a free man, but in bonds, and under constraint. Wherefore I conceive, that if you would tender that oath to me, you ought first to set me free from my present imprisonment.

'But,' said the recorder, 'will you take the oath if you be set free?' 'Thou shalt see that,' said I, when I am set free. Therefore set me free first, and then ask the question.

'But,' said he again, 'you know your own mind sure, and can tell now what you would do, if you were at liberty.' Yes, replied I, that I can; but I don't hold myself obliged to tell it until I am at liberty. Therefore set me at liberty, and you shall soon hear it.

Thus we fenced a good while, till I was both weary of such trifling, and doubted also, lest some of the standers by should suspect I would take it, if I was at liberty. Wherefore when the recorder put it upon me again, I told him plainly, no; though I thought they ought not to tender it me till I had been set at liberty; yet if I was set at liberty, I could not take that or any other oath, because my Lord and Master Christ Jesus, had expressly commanded his disciples not to swear at all.

As his command was enough to me, so this confession of mine was enough to them. 'Take him away,' said they: and away I was taken and thrust into the bail-dock to my other friends, who had been called before me. And as soon as the rest of our company were called, and had refused to swear, we were all committed to Newgate, and thrust into the common side.

When we came there, we found that side of the prison very full of Friends, who were prisoners there before, as indeed were, at that time, all the other parts of that prison, and most of the other prisons about the town, and our addition caused a great throng on that side. Notwithstanding which, we were kindly welcomed by our friends, whom we found there, and entertained by them, as well as their condition would admit, until we could get in our own accommodations, and provide for ourselves.

We had the liberty of the hall, which is on the first story over the gate, and which, in the day-time, is common to all the prisoners on that side, felons as well as others, to walk in and to beg out of, and we had also the liberty of some other rooms over that hall, to walk or work in by day. But in the night we all lodged in one room, which was large and

round, having in the middle of it a great pillar of oaken timber, which bore up the chapel that is over it.

To this pillar we fastened our hammocks at the one end, and to the opposite wall on the other end, quite round the room, and in three degrees, or three stories high, one over the other; so that they who lay in the upper and middle row of hammocks, were obliged to go to bed first, because they were to climb up to the higher, by getting into the lower. And under the lower rank of hammocks, by the wall-sides were laid beds upon the floor, in which the sick, and such weak persons as could not get into the hammocks, lay. And indeed, though the room was large and pretty airy, yet the breath and steam that came from so many bodies of different ages, conditions and constitutions, packed up so close together, was enough to cause sickness amongst us, and I believe did so. For there were many sick and some very weak; though we were not long there, yet in that time one of our fellow-prisoners, who lay in one of those pallet-beds, died.

This caused some bustle in the house. For the body of the deceased being laid out, and put into a coffin, was carried down and set in the room called the Lodge, that the coroner might inquire into the cause and manner of his death. And the manner of their doing it is thus: as soon as the coroner is come, the turnkeys run out into the street under the gate, and seize upon every man that passes by, till they have got enough to make up the coroner's inquest. And so resolute these rude fellows are, that if any man resist, or dispute it with them, they drag him in by main force, not regarding what condition he is of. Nay, I have been told, they will not stick to stop a coach, and pluck the men out of it.

It so happened, that at this time they lighted on an ancient man, a grave citizen, who was trudging through the gate in great haste, and him they laid hold on, telling him he must come in and serve upon the coroner's inquest. He pleaded hard, begged and besought them to let him go, assuring them he was going on very urgent business, and that the stopping him would be greatly to his prejudice. But they were deaf to all entreaties, and hurried him in, the poor man chafing without remedy.

When they had got their complement and were shut in together, the rest of them said to this ancient man, 'Come, father, you are the oldest among us, you shall be our foreman.' And when the coroner had sworn them on the jury, the coffin was uncovered, that they might look upon the body. But the old man, disturbed in his mind at the interruption they had given him, was grown somewhat

fretful upon it—said to them, ‘To what purpose do you show us a dead body here? You would not have us think sure, that this man died in this room? How then shall we be able to judge how this man came by his death, unless we see the place wherein he died, and wherein he hath been kept prisoner before he died? How know we, but that the incommodiousness of the place wherein he was kept may have occasioned his death? Therefore show us,’ said he, ‘the place wherein this man died.’

This much displeased the keepers, and they began to banter the old man, thinking to have beaten him off it. But he stood up tightly to them; ‘Come, come,’ said he, ‘though you have made a fool of me in bringing me in hither, ye shall not find a child of me now I am here. Mistake not yourselves; I understand my place and your duty; and I require you to conduct me and my brethren, to the place where this man died: refuse it at your peril.

They now wished they had let the old man go about his business, rather than by troubling him, have brought this trouble on themselves. But when they saw he persisted in his resolution, and was peremptory, the coroner told them they must show him the place.

It was in the evening when they began this work; and by this time it was grown bed-time with us, so that we had taken down our hammocks, which in the day were hung up by the walls, and had made them ready to go into, and were undressing ourselves in readiness to go into them. When on a sudden we heard a great noise of tongues and of trampling of feet coming up towards us. And by and by one of the turnkeys opening our door, said, ‘Hold, hold, don’t undress yourselves, here’s the coroner’s inquest coming to see you.’

As soon as they were come to the door, for within the door there was scarcely room for them to come, the foreman who led them, lifting up his hand, said, ‘Lord bless me, what a sight is here! I did not think there had been so much cruelty in the hearts of Englishmen, to use Englishmen in this manner! We need not now question,’ said he to the rest of the jury, ‘how this man came by his death; we may rather wonder that they are not all dead, for this place is enough to breed an infection among them. Well,’ added he, ‘if it please God to lengthen my life till to-morrow, I will find means to let the king know how his subjects are dealt with.’

Whether he did so or no, I cannot tell; but I am apt to think that he applied himself to the mayor, or the sheriffs of London. For the next day one of the sheriffs, called sir William Turner, a woollen draper in Paul’s yard, came to the press yard, and having ordered the

porter of Bridewell to attend him there, sent up a turnkey amongst us, to bid all the Bridewell prisoners come down to him, for they knew us not, but we knew our own company.

Being come before him in the press yard, he looked kindly on us, and spake courteously to us. ‘Gentlemen,’ said he, ‘I understand the prison is very full, and I am sorry for it. I wish it were in my power to release you and the rest of your friends that are in it. But since I cannot do that, I am willing to do what I can for you. And therefore I am come hither to inquire how it is: and I would have all you, who came from Bridewell, to return thither again, which will be a better accommodation to you; and your removal will give the more room to those that are left behind; and here is the porter of Bridewell, your old keeper, to attend you thither.’

We duly acknowledged the favour of the sheriff to us and our friends above, in this removal of us, which would give them more room, and us better air. But before we parted from him, I spake particularly to him on another occasion, which was this:

When we came into Newgate, we found a shabby fellow there among the Friends, who upon inquiry, we understood had thrust himself among our Friends, when they were taken at a meeting, on purpose to be sent to prison with them, in hopes to be maintained by them. They knew nothing of him, till they found him shut in with them in the prison, and then took no notice of him, as not knowing how or why he came thither. But he soon gave them cause to take notice of him; for wherever he saw any victuals brought forth for them to eat, he would be sure to thrust in with knife in hand, and make himself his own carver; and so impudent was he, that if he saw the provision was short, whoever wanted, he would be sure to take enough.

Thus lived this lazy drone upon the labours of the industrious bees, to his high content and their no small trouble, to whom his company was as offensive, as his ravening was oppressive; nor could they get any relief by their complaining of him to the keepers.

This fellow hearing the notice which was given for the Bridewell men to go down, in order to be removed to Bridewell again, and hoping no doubt, that fresh quarters would produce fresh commons, and that he should fare better with us than where he was, thrust himself amongst us, and went down into the press yard with us. Which I knew not of, till I saw him standing there with his hat on, and looking as demurely as he could, that the sheriff might take him for a Quaker: at sight of which my spirit was much stirred.

Wherefore, as soon as the sheriff had done



speaking to us, and we had made our acknowledgment of his kindness, I stepped a little nearer to him, and pointing to that fellow, said, That man is not only none of our company, for he is no Quaker; but is an idle dissolute fellow, who hath thrust himself in among our friends, to be sent to prison with them, that he might live upon them; therefore I desire we may not be troubled with him at Bridewell.

At this the sheriff smiled; and calling the fellow forth, said to him, 'How came you to be in prison?' 'I was taken at a meeting,' said he. 'But what business had you there?' said the sheriff. 'I went to hear,' said he. 'Aye, you went upon a worse design, it seems,' replied the sheriff, 'but I'll disappoint you,' said he; 'for I'll change your company, and send you to them that are like yourself.' Then calling for the turnkey, he said, 'Take this fellow, and put him among the felons; and be sure let him not trouble the Quakers any more.'

Hitherto this fellow had stood with his hat on, as willing to have passed, if he could, for a Quaker; but as soon as he heard this doom passed on him, off went his hat, and to bowing and scraping he fell, with 'good your worship have pity upon me, and set me at liberty.' 'No, no, said the sheriff, I will not so far disappoint you; since you had a mind to be in prison, in prison you shall be for me.' Then bidding the turnkey take him away, he had him up, and put him among the felons; and so Friends had a good deliverance from him.

The sheriff then bidding us farewell, the porter of Bridewell came to us, and told us, we knew our way to Bridewell without him, and he could trust us; therefore he would not stay or go with us, but left us to take our own time, so we were in before bed-time.

Then went we up again to our friends in Newgate, and gave them an account of what had passed; and having taken a solemn leave of them, we made up our packs to be gone. But before I pass from Newgate, I think it not amiss to give the reader some little account of what I observed while I was there.

The common side of Newgate is generally accounted, as it really is, the worst part of that prison; not so much from the place, as the people, it being usually stocked with the veriest rogues, and meanest sort of felons and pick-pockets, who not being able to pay chamber-rent on the master's side, are thrust in there. And if they come in bad, to be sure they do not go out better; for here they have an opportunity to instruct one another in their art, and impart each to the other what improvements they have made therein.

The common hall, which is the first room

over the gate, is a good place to walk in, when the prisoners are out of it, saving the danger of catching some cattle which they may have left in it; and there I used to walk in a morning before they were let up, and sometimes in the day-time when they have been there.

They all carried themselves respectfully towards me; which I imputed chiefly to this, That when any of our women Friends came there to visit the prisoners, if they had not relations of their own there to take care of them, I, as being a young man, and more at leisure than most others, for I could not play the tailor there, was forward to go down with them to the grate, and see them safely out. And sometimes they have left money in my hands for the felons, who at such times were very importunate beggars, which I forthwith distributed among them in bread, which was to be had in the place. But so troublesome an office it was, that I thought one had as good have had a pack of hungry hounds about one, as these, when they knew there was a *dole* to be given. Yet this I think, made them a little the more observant to me; for they would dispose themselves to one side of the room, that they might make way for me to walk on the other. And when I walked there, I had usually a book in my hand, on which I had mine eye; which made them think I did not heed what they said. By this means my ear being attentive to them, I heard them relate one to another many of their roguish pranks.

One day, as I was thus walking to and fro beside them, I heard them recounting one to another what feats they had done at pocket-picking and shop-lifting. Whereupon, turning short upon them, I asked them, Which of you all will undertake to pick my pocket? They were not very forward to answer, but viewed me round. I wore a long gown, which was lapped over before and tied about the middle, and had no pocket holes in it. When they had a while considered it, and I having taken another turn, was come up again to them, one of them said, 'Why master, if you will promise not to prosecute us, we will show you a piece of our skill.' Nay, hold there, said I, I won't so far encourage you in evil, as to promise not to prosecute; and away I turned again, having mine eye on my book, but my ears to them. And in a while I heard them contriving how they would have done it. 'I,' said one of them, 'would give him the budge, and before he can recover himself, you,' said he to another of them, 'having your penknife ready, should slit his gown; and then,' said he, 'let Honeypot alone for the diving part.' This Honeypot was a little boy, then in prison with them for picking a pocket, who by his stature did not seem to be above ten, or a do-

zen years old; but for his dexterity at pocket-picking, was held to be one of the top of the trade. As for the budge, I had it given me often in the street, but understood not the meaning of it till now; and now I found it was a jostle enough to throw one almost upon his nose.

These are some of the common evils which make the common side of Newgate in measure a type of hell upon earth. But there was at that time, something of another nature, more particular and accidental, which was very offensive to me.

When we came first into Newgate, there lay in a little by-place like a closet, near the room where we were lodged, the quartered bodies of three men, who had been executed some days before, for a real or pretended plot; which was the ground, or at least pretext, for that storm in the city, which had caused this imprisonment. The names of these three men were Philips, Tongue, and Gibbs; and the reason why their quarters lay so long there was, the relations were all that while petitioning to have leave to bury them; which at length with much ado was obtained for the quarters, but not for the heads, which were ordered to be set up in some parts of the city.

I saw the heads when they were brought up to be boiled. The hangman fetched them in a dirty dust basket, out of some by-place, and setting them down amongst the felons, he and they made sport with them. They took them by the hair, flouting, jeering and laughing at them; and then giving them some ill names, boxed them on the ears and cheeks. Which done, the hangman put them into his kettle, and parboiled them with bay salt and cummin seed; that to keep them from putrefaction, and this to keep off the fowls from seizing on them. The whole sight, as well that of the bloody quarters first, as this of the heads afterwards, was both frightful and loathsome, and begat an abhorrence in my nature. Which as it had rendered my confinement there by much the more uneasy, so it made our removal from thence to Bridewell, even in that respect, the more welcome: whither we now go.

For having, as I hinted before, made up our packs, and taken our leave of our friends, whom we were to leave behind, we took our bundles on our shoulders, and walked two and two abreast, through the Old-bailey into Fleet street, and so to old Bridewell. And it being about the middle of the afternoon, and the streets pretty full of people, both the shopkeepers at their doors, and passengers in the way, would stop us, and ask us what we were, and whither we were going? And when we had told them we were prisoners, going

from one prison to another, from Newgate to Bridewell,—‘What,’ said they, ‘without a keeper?’ ‘No,’ said we, ‘for our word which we have given, is our keeper.’ Some thereupon would advise us not to go to prison, but to go home. But we told them, we could not do so; we could suffer for our testimony, but could not fly from it. I do not remember we had any abuse offered us, but were generally pitied by the people.

When we were come to Bridewell, we were not put up into the great room in which we had been before, but into a low room in another fair court, which had a pump in the middle of it. And here we were not shut up as before, but had the liberty of the court to walk in, and of the pump to wash or drink at. And indeed we might easily have gone quite away if we would, there being a passage through the court into the street; but we were true and steady prisoners, and looked upon this liberty, arising from their confidence in us, to be a kind of parole upon us; so that both conscience and honour stood now engaged for our true imprisonment.

Adjoining to this room wherein we were, was such another, both newly fitted up for work-houses, and accordingly furnished with very great blocks for beating hemp upon, and a lusty whipping-post there was in each. And it was said, that Richard Brown had ordered those blocks to be provided for the Quakers to work on, resolving to try his strength with us in that case; but if that was his purpose, it was over-ruled, for we never had any work offered us, nor were we treated after the manner of those that are to be so used. Yet we set ourselves to work on them; for being very large, they served the tailors for shop-boards, and others wrought upon them as they had occasion; and they served us very well for tables to eat on.

We had also besides this room, the use of our former chamber above, to go into when we thought fit; and thither sometimes I withdrew, when I found a desire for retirement and privacy, or had something on my mind to write, which could not so well be done in company. And indeed, about this time my spirit was more than ordinarily exercised, though on very different subjects. For, on the one hand, the sense of the exceeding love and goodness of the Lord to me, in his gracious and tender dealings with me, deeply affected my heart, and caused me to break forth in a song of thanksgiving and praise to him: and on the other hand, a sense of the profaneness, debaucheries, cruelties, and other horrid impieties of the age, fell heavy on me, and lay as a pressing weight upon my spirit.

In this sort did I spend some leisure hours



during my confinement in Bridewell, especially after our return from Newgate thither; when we had more liberty, and more opportunity and room for retirement and thought.

And this privilege we enjoyed by the indulgence of our keeper, whose heart God disposed to favour us. So that both the master and his porter were very civil and kind to us, and had been so indeed all along. For when we were shut up before, the porter would readily let some of us go home in the evening, and stay at home till next morning; which was a great conveniency to men of trade and business, which I being free from, forbore asking for myself, that I might not hinder others.

This he observed, and asked me when I meant to ask to go out? I told him I had not much occasion or desire; yet at some time or other, perhaps I might have; but when I had, I would ask him but once, and if he then denied me, I would ask him no more.

After we were come back from Newgate, I had a desire to go thither again, to visit my friends who were prisoners there, more especially my dear friend, and father in Christ, Edward Burrough, who was then a prisoner, with many Friends more, in that part of Newgate which was then called justice hall. Whereupon the porter coming in my way, I asked him to let me go out for an hour or two, to see some friends of mine that evening.

He to enhance the kindness, made it a matter of some difficulty, and would have me stay till another night. I told him I would be at a word with him; for as I had told him before, that if he denied me, I would ask him no more; so he should find I would keep to it.

He was no sooner gone out of my sight, but I espied his master crossing the court. Wherefore stepping to him, I asked him if he was willing to let me go out for a little while, to see some friends of mine that evening. 'Yes,' said he, 'very willing;' and thereupon away walked I to Newgate, where having spent the evening among Friends, I returned in good time.

Under this easy restraint we lay, till the court sat at the Old-bailey again; and then, whether it was that the heat of the storm was somewhat abated, or by what other means Providence wrought it, I know not; we were called to the bar, and without further question discharged.

Whereupon we returned to Bridewell again, and having raised some monies among us, and therewith gratified both the master and his porter for their kindness to us, we spent some time in a solemn meeting, to return our thankful acknowledgment to the Lord, both for his preservation of us in prison, and deliverance of us out of it; and then taking a solemn

farewell of each other, we departed with bag and baggage. And I took care to return my hammock to the owner, with due acknowledgment of his great kindness in lending it me.

Being now at liberty, I visited more generally my friends that were still in prison, and more particularly my friend and benefactor, William Penington, at his house, and then went to wait upon my master Milton. With whom yet I could not propose to enter upon my intermitted studies, until I had been in Buckinghamshire, to visit my worthy friends Isaac Penington and his virtuous wife, with other Friends in that country.

Thither therefore I betook myself, and the weather being frosty, and the ways, by that means, clean and good, I walked it through in a day, and was received by my friends there with such demonstration of hearty kindness, as made my journey very easy to me.

I had spent in my imprisonment that twenty shillings which I had received of William Penington; and twenty of the forty which had been sent me from Mary Penington, and had the remainder then about me. That therefore I now returned to her, with due acknowledgment of her husband's and her great care of me, and liberality to me in the time of my need. She would have had me kept it. But I begged her to accept it from me again, since it was the redundancy of their kindness, and the other part had answered the occasion for which it was sent: and my importunity prevailed.

I intended only a visit thither, not a continuance; and therefore purposed, after I had staid a few days, to return to my lodging and former course in London; but Providence ordered it otherwise.

Isaac Penington had at that time two sons and one daughter, all then very young; of whom the eldest son, John Penington, and the daughter, Mary, the wife of Daniel Wharley, are yet living at the writing of this. And being himself both skilful and curious in pronunciation, he was very desirous to have them well grounded in the rudiments of the English tongue—to which end he had sent for a man out of Lancashire, whom, upon inquiry, he had heard of, who was undoubtedly the most accurate English teacher that ever I met with, or have heard of. His name was Richard Bradley. But as he pretended no higher than the English tongue, and had led them, by grammar rules to the highest improvement they were capable of in that, he had then taken his leave of them, and was gone up to London to teach an English school of Friends' children there.

This put my friend to a fresh strait. He

had sought for a new teacher to instruct his children in the Latin tongue, as the old had done in the English, but had not yet found one. Wherefore, one evening as we sat together by the fire in his bed-chamber, which for want of health he kept, he asked me, his wife being by, if I would be so kind to him as to stay awhile with him, till he could hear of such a man as he aimed at; and in the mean time enter his children in the rudiments of the Latin tongue.

This question was not more unexpected than surprising to me; and the more, because it seemed directly to thwart my former purpose and undertaking, of endeavouring to improve myself by following my studies with my master Milton, which this would give at least a present diversion from, and for how long I could not foresee.

But the sense I had of the manifold obligations I lay under to these worthy Friends, shut out all reasonings, and disposed my mind to an absolute resignation to their desire, that I might testify my gratitude by a willingness to do them any friendly service that I could be capable of.

And though I questioned my ability to carry on that work, to its due height and proportion; yet as that was not proposed, but an initiation only by accident into grammar, I consented to the proposal, as a present expedient, till a more qualified person should be found, without further treaty or mention of terms between us, than that of mutual friendship. And to render this digression from my own studies the less uneasy to my mind, I recollected, and often thought of that rule in Lilly;

He that th' unlearned doth teach, may  
quickly be  
More learn'd than they, though most  
unlearned be.

With this consideration I undertook this province, and left it not until I married, which was not till the year 1669, nearly seven years from the time I came thither. In which time, having the use of my friend's books, as well as of mine own, I spent my leisure hours much in reading, not without some improvement to myself in my private studies; which, with the good success of my labours bestowed on the children, and the agreeableness of conversation which I found in the family, rendered my undertaking more satisfactory, and my stay there more easy to me.

But, alas! not many days had I been there, ere we were almost overwhelmed with sorrow, for the unexpected loss of Edward Burrough, who was justly very dear to us all.

This not only good, but great good man,

by a long and close confinement in Newgate, through the cruel malice and malicious cruelty of Richard Brown, was taken away by hasty death, to the unutterable grief of very many, and unspeakable loss to the church of Christ in general.

The particular obligation I had to him, as the immediate instrument of my conviction, and high affection for him resulting therefrom, did so deeply affect my mind, that it was some pretty time before my passion could prevail to express itself in words; so true I found that of the tragedian,

Light griefs break forth, and easily get vent,  
Great ones are through amazement closely pent.

1663.—I went on in my new province, instructing my little pupils in the rudiments of the Latin tongue, to the mutual satisfaction of both their parents and myself. As soon as I had gotten a little money in my pocket, which as a premium without compact I received from them, I took the first opportunity to return to my friend William Penington the money which he had so kindly furnished me with in my need, at the time of my imprisonment in Bridewell, with a due acknowledgment of my obligation to him for it. He was not at all forward to receive it, so that I was fain to press it upon him.

While I remained in this family, various suspicions arose in the minds of some concerning me, with respect to Mary Penington's fair daughter Guli. For she having now arrived to a marriageable age, and being in all respects a very desirable woman, whether regard was had to her outward person, which wanted nothing to render her comely; or to the endowments of her mind, which were every way extraordinary, and highly obliging; or to her outward fortune, which was fair, and which with some hath not the last, nor the least place in consideration,—she was openly and secretly sought, and solicited by many, and some of them almost of every rank and condition; good and bad, rich and poor, friend and foe. To whom, in their respective turns, till he at length came, for whom she was reserved—she carried herself with so much evenness of temper, such courteous freedom, guarded with the strictest modesty, that as it gave encouragement or ground of hopes to none, so neither did it administer any matter of offence or just cause of complaint to any.

But such as were thus either engaged for themselves, or desirous to make themselves advocates for others, could not, I observed, but look upon me with an eye of jealousy and fear that I would improve the opportunities I had, by frequent and familiar conversation



with her, to my own advantage, in working myself into her good opinion and favour, to the ruin of their pretences.

According, therefore, to the several kinds and degrees of their fears of me, they suggested to her parents their ill surmises against me.

Some stuck not to question the sincerity of my intentions in coming at first among the Quakers; urging, with a *Why* may not it be so? That the desire and hopes of obtaining, by that means, so fair a fortune, might be the prime and chief inducement to me, to thrust myself amongst that people. But this surmise could find no place with those worthy Friends, her father-in-law and her mother, who, besides the clear sense and sound judgment they had in themselves, knew very well upon what terms I came among them—how strait and hard the passage was to me—how contrary to all worldly interest, which lay fair another way, how much I had suffered from my father for it, and how regardless I had been of attempting or seeking any thing of that nature, in these three or four years that I had been amongst them.

Some others, measuring me by the propensity of their own inclinations, concluded I would steal her, run away with her, and marry her. Which they thought I might be the more easily induced to do, from the advantageous opportunities I frequently had of riding and walking abroad with her, by night as well as by day, without any other company than her maid. For so great indeed was the confidence that her mother had in me, that she thought her daughter safe if I was with her, even from the plots and designs that others had upon her. And so honourable were the thoughts she entertained concerning me, that they would not suffer her to admit a suspicion that I could be capable of so much baseness, as to betray the trust she with so great freedom reposed in me.

I was not ignorant of the various fears which filled the jealous heads of some concerning me, neither was I so stupid, nor so divested of all humanity, as not to be sensible of the real and innate worth and virtue which adorned that excellent dame, and attracted the eyes and hearts of so many, with the greatest importunity to seek and solicit her; nor was I so devoid of natural heat, as not to feel some sparklings of desire as well as others. But the force of truth and sense of honour, suppressed whatever would have risen beyond the bounds of fair and virtuous friendship. For I easily foresaw, that if I should attempt any thing in a dishonourable way, by force or fraud upon her, I should have thereby brought a wound upon my own soul, a foul scandal

upon my religious profession, and an infamous stain upon my honour; either of which was far more dear to me than my life. Wherefore, having observed how some others had befooled themselves by misconstruing her common kindness, expressed in an innocent, open, free and familiar conversation, springing from the abundant affability, courtesy and sweetness of her natural temper, to be the effect of a singular regard and peculiar affection to them, I resolved to shun the rock on which I had seen so many run and split, and governed myself in a free, yet respectful carriage towards her, that I thereby both preserved a fair reputation with my friends, and enjoyed as much of her favour and kindness, in a virtuous and firm friendship, as was fit for her to show, or for me to seek.

About this time, my father resolving to sell his estate, and having reserved for his own use such parts of his household goods as he thought fit—not willing to take upon himself the trouble of selling the rest, gave them to me. Whereupon I went down to Crowell, and having before given notice there and thereabouts, that I intended a public sale of them, I sold them, and thereby put some money into my pocket. Yet I sold such things only as I judged useful; leaving the pictures and armour, of which there was some store there, unsold.

Not long after this, my father sent for me to come to him at London about some business; which, when I came there, I understood was to join with him in the sale of his estate, which the purchaser required for his own satisfaction and safety, I being then the next heir to it in law. And although I might probably have made some advantageous terms for myself by standing off; yet when I was satisfied by counsel, that there was no entail upon it, or right of reversion to me, but that he might lawfully dispose of it as he pleased, I readily joined with him in the sale, without asking or having the least gratuity or compensation; no, not so much as the fee I had given to counsel, to secure me from any danger in doing it.

Some time before this, a very severe law was made against the Quakers by name, prohibiting our meetings under the penalty of five pounds for the first offence so called, ten pounds for the second, and banishment for the third; with pain of felony for escaping or returning without license. This law was looked upon to have been procured by the bishops, in order to bring us to a conformity to their way of worship.

1665.—And no sooner was it made, but it was put in execution with great severity. The sense whereof working strongly on my spirit,

made me cry earnestly to the Lord, that he would arise and set up his righteous judgment in the earth, for the deliverance of his people from all their enemies, both inward and outward.

Although the storm, raised by the act for banishment, fell with the greatest weight and force upon some other parts—as at London, Hertford, &c., yet we were not, in Buckinghamshire, wholly exempted therefrom, for a part of the shower reached us also.

A friend of Amersham, whose name was Edward Perot, or Parret, departing this life, and notice being given that his body would be buried there on such a day, which was the first-day of the fifth month 1665, the Friends of the adjacent parts of the country resorted pretty generally to the burial; so that there was a fair appearance of Friends and neighbours, the deceased having been well-beloved by both.

After we had spent some time together in the house, Morgan Watkins, who at that time happened to be at Isaac Penington's, being with us, the body was taken up and bore on Friends' shoulders along the street, in order to be carried to the burying ground, which was at the town's end, being part of an orchard belonging to the deceased, which he in his life-time had appointed for that service.

It so happened that one Ambrose Bennett, a barrister at law and a justice of the peace for that county, riding through the town that morning in his way to Aylesbury, was by some ill-disposed person or other, informed that there was a Quaker to be buried there that day, and that most of the Quakers in the country were come thither to the burial.

Upon this he set up his horses and staid; and when we, not knowing any thing of his design against us, went innocently forward to perform our Christian duty for the interment of our friend,—he rushed out of his inn upon us, with the constables and a rabble of rude fellows, whom he had gathered together, and having his drawn sword in his hand, struck one of the foremost of the bearers with it, commanding them to set down the coffin. But the Friend who was so stricken, whose name was Thomas Dell, being more concerned for the safety of the dead body than his own, lest it should fall from his shoulder, and any indecency thereupon follow, held the coffin fast; which the justice observing, and being enraged that his word, how unjust soever, was not forthwith obeyed, set his hand to the coffin, and with a forcible thrust threw it off from the bearers' shoulders, so that it fell to the ground in the midst of the street, and there we were forced to leave it.

For immediately thereupon the justice giv-

ing command for apprehending us, the constables with the rabble fell on us, and drew some, and drove others into the inn, giving thereby an opportunity to the rest to walk away.

Of those that were thus taken, I was one. And being, with many more, put into a room under a guard, we were kept there till another justice, called sir Thomas Clayton, whom justice Bennett had sent for to join with him in committing us, was come. And then, being called forth severally before them, they picked out ten of us, and committed us to Aylesbury jail, for what neither we nor they knew. We were not convicted of having either done or said any thing which the law could take hold of; for they took us up in the open street, the king's highway, not doing any unlawful act, but peaceably carrying and accompanying the corpse of our deceased friend to bury it. Which they would not suffer us to do, but caused the body to lie in the open street, and in the cart-way; so that all the travellers that passed by, whether horsemen, coaches, carts, or wagons, were fain to break out of the way to go by it, that they might not drive over it, until it was almost night. And then having caused a grave to be made in the unconsecrated part, as is accounted, of that which is called the church-yard, they forcibly took the body from the widow, whose right and property it was, and buried it there.

When the justices had delivered us prisoners to the constable, it being then late in the day, which was the seventh-day of the week, he not willing to go so far as Aylesbury, nine long miles, with us that night, nor to put the town to the charge of keeping us there that night, and the first-day and night following, dismissed us upon our parole to come to him again at a set hour on the second-day morning; whereupon we all went home to our respective habitations; and coming to him punctually according to promise, were by him, without guard, conducted to the prison.

The jailer, whose name was Nathaniel Birch, had not long before behaved himself very wickedly, with great rudeness and cruelty to some of our friends of the lower side of the county, whom he, combining with the clerk of the peace, whose name was Henry Wells, had contrived to get into his jail; and after they were legally discharged in court, detained them in prison, using great violence and shutting them up close in the common jail among the felons, because they would not give him his unrighteous demand of fees; which they were the more straitened in, from his treacherous dealing with them. And they having through suffering, maintained their freedom, and obtained their liberty, we were



the more concerned to keep what they had so hardly gained, and therefore resolved not to make any contract or terms for either chamber rent or fees, but to demand a free prison; which we did.

When we came in, the jailer had ridden out to wait on the judges, who came in that day to begin the assize, and his wife was somewhat at a loss how to deal with us; but being a cunning woman, she treated us with great appearance of courtesy, offering us the choice of all her rooms; and when we asked upon what terms? she still referred us to her husband; telling us she did not doubt but that he would be very reasonable and civil to us. Thus she endeavoured to draw us to take possession of some of her chambers at a venture, and trust to her husband's kind usage. But we, who at the cost of our friends had a proof of his kindness, were too wary to be drawn in by the fair words of a woman; and therefore told her, we would not settle any where till her husband came home, and then would have a free prison where-so-ever he put us.

Accordingly, walking all together into the court of the prison, in which was a well of very good water, and having beforehand sent to a Friend in the town, a widow woman whose name was Sarah Lambarn, to bring us some bread and cheese, we sat down upon the ground round about the well, and when we had eaten, we drank of the water out of the well.

Our great concern was for our friend Isaac Penington, because of the tenderness of his constitution; but he was so lively in his spirit, and so cheerfully given up to suffer, that he rather encouraged us, than needed any encouragement from us.

In this posture the jailer, when he came home, found us; and having before he came to us consulted his wife, and by her understood on what terms we stood—when he came to us he hid his teeth, and putting on a show of kindness, seemed much troubled that we should sit there abroad, especially his old friend Mr. Penington; and thereupon invited us to come in, and take what rooms in his house we pleased. We asked upon what terms? letting him know withal, that we determined to have a free prison.

He, like the sun and wind in the fable, that strove which of them should take from the traveller his cloak—having, like the wind, tried rough, boisterous, violent means to our friends before, but in vain, resolved now to imitate the sun, and shine as pleasantly as he could upon us. Wherefore he told us we should make the terms ourselves, and be as free as we desired. If we thought fit, when

we were released, to give him any thing, he would thank us for it; and if not he would demand nothing.

Upon these terms we went in and disposed ourselves; some in the dwelling-house, others in the malt-house, where they chose to be.

During the assize we were brought before judge Morton, a sour angry man, who very rudely reviled us, but would not hear either us or the cause; but referred the matter to the two justices who had committed us.

They, when the assize was ended, sent for us to be brought before them at their inn, and fined us, as I remember, six shillings and eight pence a-pièce; which we not consenting to pay, they committed us to prison again for one month from that time, on the act for banishment.

When we had lain there that month, I with another went to the jailer to demand our liberty; which he readily granted, telling us the door should be open when we pleased to go.

This answer of his I reported to the rest of my friends there, and thereupon we raised among us a small sum of money, which they put into my hand for the jailer. Taking another friend with me, I went to him with the money, and reminding him of the terms upon which we accepted the use of his rooms, I told him that although we could not pay chamber-rent or fees, yet inasmuch as he had now been civil to us, we were willing to acknowledge it by a small token, and thereupon gave him the money. He putting it into his pocket, said, 'I thank you and your friends for it; and to let you see I take it as a gift, not a debt, I will not look on it to see how much it is.'

The prison door being then set open for us, we went out, and departed to our respective homes.

Some little time before I went to Aylesbury prison, I was desired by my quondam master Milton, to take a house for him in the neighbourhood where I dwelt, that he might go out of the city, for the safety of himself and his family, the pestilence then growing hot in London. I took a pretty box for him in Giles-Chalfont, a mile from me, of which I gave him notice, and intended to have waited on him, and seen him well settled in it, but was prevented by that imprisonment.

But now being released and returned home, I soon made a visit to him, to welcome him into the country.

After some common discourse had passed between us, he called for a manuscript of his; which being brought, he delivered it to me, bidding me take it home with me, and read it at my leisure; and when I had so done, return it to him with my judgment thereupon.

When I came home, and had set myself to read it, I found it was that excellent poem, which he entitled *Paradise Lost*. After I had, with the best attention, read it through, I made him another visit, and returned him his book, with due acknowledgment of the favour he had done me in communicating it to me. He asked me how I liked it, and what I thought of it? which I modestly but freely told him; and after some further discourse about it, I pleasantly said to him, Thou hast said much here of *Paradise lost*; but what hast thou to say of *Paradise found*? He made me no answer, but sat some time in a muse; then broke off that discourse and fell upon another subject.

After the sickness was over and the city well cleansed and become safely habitable again, he returned thither. And when afterwards I went to wait on him there, which I seldom failed of doing whenever my occasions drew me to London, he showed me his second poem, called *Paradise Regained*; and in a pleasant tone said to me, 'This is owing to you; for you put it into my head by the question you put to me at Chalfont; which before I had not thought of.' But from this digression I return to the family I then lived in.

We had not been long at home, about a month perhaps, before Isaac Penington was taken out of his house in an arbitrary manner by military force, and carried prisoner to Aylesbury jail again; where he lay three quarters of a year, with great hazard of his life, it being the sickness year, and the plague being not only in the town but in the jail.

Meanwhile his wife and family were turned out of his house, called the Grange at Peter's-Chalfont, by them who had seized upon his estate; and the family being by that means broken up, some went one way, others another. Mary Penington herself, with her younger children, went down to her husband at Aylesbury. Guli, with her maid, went to Bristol, to see her former maid Anne Hersent, who was married to a merchant of that city, whose name was Thomas Biss; and I went to Aylesbury with the children; but not finding the place agreeable to my health, I soon left it and returning to Chalfont, took a lodging, and was dieted in the house of a friendly man; and after some time, went to Bristol to conduct Guli home.

Meanwhile Mary Penington took lodgings in a farm-house called Bottrels, in the parish of Giles-Chalfont, where, when we returned from Bristol, we found her.

We had been there but a very little time, before I was sent to prison again upon this occasion. There was in those times, a meet-

ing once a month at the house of George Salter, a Friend of Hedgerly, to which we sometimes went; and Morgan Watkins being with us, he and I, with Guli and her maid, and one Judith Parker, wife of Dr. Parker, one of the college of physicians at London, with a maiden daughter of theirs, neither of whom were Quakers, but as acquaintance of Mary Penington, were with her on a visit, walking over to that meeting, it being about the middle of the first month, and the weather good.

This place was about a mile from the house of Ambrose Bennett, the justice, who the summer before had sent me and some other Friends to Aylesbury prison, from the burial of Edward Parret of Amersham; and he, by what means I know not, getting notice, not only of the meeting, but as was supposed, of our being there, came himself to it; and as he came, caught up a stack-wood stick, big enough to have knocked any man down, and brought it with him hidden under his cloak.

Being come to the house, he stood for a while without the door and out of sight, listening to hear what was said, for Morgan was then speaking in the meeting. But certainly he heard very imperfectly, if it was true which we heard he said afterwards among his companions, as an argument that Morgan was a Jesuit, viz. That in his preaching he trolled over his Latin as fluently as ever he heard any one; whereas Morgan, good man, was better versed in Welch than in Latin, which, I suppose he had never learned; I am sure he did not understand it.

When this martial justice, who at Amersham had with his drawn sword struck an unarmed man, who he knew would not strike again, had now stood some time abroad, on a sudden he rushed in among us, with the stack-wood stick held up in his hand ready to strike, crying out, 'Make way there;' and an ancient, woman not getting soon enough out of his way, he struck her with the stick a hard blow over the breast. Then pressing through the crowd to the place where Morgan stood, he plucked him from thence, and caused so great a disorder in the room, that it broke the meeting up; yet would not the people go away or disperse themselves, but tarried to see what the issue would be.

Then taking pen and paper, he sat down at the table among us, and asked several of us our names, which we gave and he set down in writing.

Amongst others, he asked Judith Parker, the doctor's wife, what her name was; which she readily gave; and thence taking occasion to discourse him, she so over-mastered him by clear reason, delivered in fine language, that



he, glad to be rid of her, struck out her name and dismissed her; yet she did not remove, but kept her place amongst us.

When he had taken what number of names he thought fit, he singled out half a dozen, whereof Morgan was one, I another, one man more, and three women, of whom the woman of the house was one, although her husband then was, and for divers years before had been, a prisoner in the Fleet for tithes, and had nobody to take care of his family and business but her his wife.

Us six he committed to Aylesbury jail. Which when the doctor's wife heard him read to the constable, she attacked him again, and having put him in mind that it was a sickly time, and that the pestilence was reported to be in that place, she in handsome terms, desired him to consider in time, how he would answer the cry of our blood, if by his sending us to be shut up in an infected place, we should lose our lives there? This made him alter his purpose, and by a new mittimus he sent us to the house of correction at Wiccomb. And although he committed us upon the act for banishment, which limited a certain time for imprisonment; yet he in his mittimus, limited no time, but ordered us to be kept till we should be delivered by due course of law; so little regardful was he, though a lawyer, of keeping to the letter of the law.

We were committed on the 13th day of the month called March 1665-6, and were kept close prisoners there till the 7th day of the month called June 1666, which was some days above twelve weeks, and much above what the act required.

Then we were sent for to the justice's house, and the rest being released, Morgan Watkins and I were required to find sureties for our appearance at the next assize; which we refusing to do, were committed a-new to our old prison, the house of correction at Wiccomb, there to lie until the next assizes: Morgan being in this second mittimus, represented as a notorious offender in preaching, and I as being upon the second conviction, in order to banishment. There we lay till the 25th day of the same month; and then, by the favour of the earl of Ancram, being brought before him at his house, we were discharged from the prison, upon our promise to appear, if at liberty and in health, at the assizes. Which we did, and were there discharged by proclamation.

During my imprisonment in this prison, I betook myself for an employment, to making of nets for kitchen service, to boil herbs, &c., in; which trade I learned of Morgan Watkins, and selling some, and giving others, I pretty well stocked the Friends of that county with them.

Though in that confinement I was not very well suited with company for conversation, Morgan's natural temper not being very agreeable to mine; yet we kept a fair and brotherly correspondence, as became friends, prison-fellows and bed-fellows, which we were. And indeed, it was a good time, I think, to us all, for I found it so to me; the Lord being graciously pleased to visit my soul with the refreshing dews of his divine life, whereby my spirit was more and more quickened to him, and Truth gained ground in me over the temptations and snares of the enemy; which frequently raised in my heart thanksgivings and praises unto the Lord. And at one time more especially, the sense I had of the prosperity of Truth, and the spreading thereof, filling my heart with abundant joy, made my cup overflow.

After we had been discharged at the assizes, I returned to Isaac Penington's family at Bottrel's in Chalfont, and as I remember, Morgan Watkins with me, leaving Isaac Penington a prisoner in Aylesbury jail.

The lodgings we had in this farm house, Bottrel's, proving too strait and inconvenient for the family, I took larger and better lodgings for them in Berrie-house at Amersham, whither we went at the time called Michaelmas, having spent the summer at the other place.

1667.—Some time after was that memorable meeting appointed to be holden at London, through a divine opening in the motion of life, in that eminent servant and prophet of God, George Fox, for the restoring and bringing in again those who had gone out from Truth, and the holy unity of Friends therein, by the means and ministry of John Perrot.

This man came pretty early amongst Friends, and too early took upon him the ministerial office; and being, though little in person, yet great in opinion of himself, nothing less would serve him than to go and convert the Pope. In order whereto, he having a better man than himself, John Luff, to accompany him, travelled to Rome, where they had not been long, ere they were taken up and clapped into prison; Luff, as I remember, was put in the Inquisition, and Perrot in their bedlam or hospital for madmen.

Luff died in prison, not without well-grounded suspicion of being murdered there, but Perrot lay there some time, and now and then sent over an epistle to be printed here, written in such an affected and fantastic style, as might have induced an indifferent reader to believe they had suited the place of his confinement to his condition.

After some time, through the mediation of Friends—who hoped better of him than he

proved—with some person of note and interest there, he was released and came back for England. And the report of his great sufferings there, far greater in report than in reality, joined with a singular show of sanctity, so far opened the hearts of many tender and compassionate Friends towards him, that it gave him the advantage of insinuating himself into their affections and esteem, and made way for the more ready propagation of that peculiar error of his, of keeping on the hat in time of prayer, as well public as private, unless they had an immediate motion at that time to put it off.

Now although I had not the least acquaintance with this man, not having ever exchanged a word with him, though I knew him by sight; nor had I any esteem of him for either his natural parts, or ministerial gift, but rather a dislike of his aspect, preaching and way of writing; yet this error of his being broached in the time of my infancy and weakness of judgment as to Truth, while I lived privately in London, and had little converse with Friends,—I, amongst the many who were caught in the snare, was taken with the notion, as what then seemed to my weak understanding, suitable to the doctrine of a spiritual dispensation. And the matter coming to warm debates, both in words and writing, I, in a misguided zeal, was ready to have entered the lists of contention about it, not then seeing what spirit it proceeded from and was managed by, nor foreseeing the disorder and confusion in worship which must naturally attend it.

But as I had no evil intention or sinister end in engaging in it, but was simply betrayed by the specious pretence and show of greater spirituality, the Lord, in tender compassion to my soul, was graciously pleased to open my understanding, and give me a clear sight of the enemy's design in this work, and drew me off from the practice of it, and to bear testimony against it as occasion offered.

But when that solemn meeting was appointed at London, for a travail in spirit on behalf of those who had thus gone out, that they might rightly return, and be sensibly received into the unity of the body again, my spirit rejoiced, and with gladness of heart I went to it, as did many more of both city and country, and with great simplicity and humility of mind, did honestly and openly acknowledge our outgoings, and take condemnation and shame to ourselves. And some that lived at too remote distance, in this nation as well as beyond the seas, upon notice given of that meeting, and the intended service of it, did the like by writing, in letters directed to and openly read in the meeting, which for that purpose was continued many days.

Thus, in the motion of life, were the healing waters stirred, and many, through the virtuous power thereof, restored to soundness, and indeed not many were lost. And though most of these who thus returned, were such as with myself had before renounced the error, and forsaken the practice; yet did we sensibly find, that forsaking without confessing, in case of public scandal, was not sufficient; but that an open acknowledgment of open offences, as well as forsaking them, was necessary to the obtaining complete remission.

1668.—Not long after this, George Fox was moved of the Lord to travel through the country, from county to county, to advise and encourage Friends to set up monthly and quarterly meetings, for the better ordering the affairs of the church, in taking care of the poor, and exercising a true gospel discipline, for a due dealing with any that might walk disorderly under our name, and to see that such as should marry among us, did act fairly and clearly in that respect.

When he came into this county, I was one of the many Friends that were with him at the meeting for that purpose. And afterwards I travelled with Guli and her maid, into the west of England to meet him there, and to visit Friends in those parts; and we went as far as Topsham in Devonshire before we found him. He had been in Cornwall, and was then returning, and came in unexpectedly at Topsham, where we then were providing, if he had not then come thither, to have gone that day towards Cornwall. But after he was come to us, we turned back with him through Devonshire, Somersetshire, and Dorsetshire, having generally very good meetings where he was; and the work he was chiefly concerned in, went on very prosperously and well, without any opposition or dislike; save that in the general meeting of Friends in Dorsetshire, a quarrelsome man who had gone out from Friends in John Perrot's business, and had not come rightly in again, but continued in the practice of keeping on his hat in time of prayer, to the great trouble and offence of Friends, began to cavil and raise disputes, which occasioned some interruption and disturbance.

Not only George, and Alexander Parker who was with him, but divers of the ancient Friends of that county, endeavoured to quiet that troublesome man, and make him sensible of his error; but his unruly spirit would still be opposing what was said unto him, and justifying himself in that practice. This brought a great weight and exercise upon me, who sat at a distance in the outward part of the meeting; and after I had for some time bore the



burden thereof, I stood up in the constraining power of the Lord, and in great tenderness of spirit declared unto the meeting, and to that person more particularly, how it had been with me in that respect; how I had been betrayed into that wrong practice—how strong I had been therein, and how the Lord had been graciously pleased to show me the evil thereof, and recover me out of it.

This coming unexpectedly from me, a young man and a stranger, and one who had not intermeddled with the business of the meeting, had that effect upon the cavalier, that if it did not satisfy him, it did at least silence him, and made him for the present sink down and be still, without giving any further disturbance to the meeting. And the Friends were well pleased with this unlooked for testimony from me; and I was glad that I had that opportunity to confess to the truth, and to acknowledge once more, in so public a manner, the mercy and goodness of the Lord to me therein.

By the time we came back from this journey, the summer was pretty far gone, and the following winter I spent with the children of the family as before, without any remarkable alteration in my circumstances, until the next spring; when I found in myself a disposition of mind to change my single life for a married state.

1669.—I had always entertained so high a regard for marriage, as it was a divine institution, that I held it not lawful to make it a sort of political trade to rise in the world by. And therefore as I could not but, in my judgment, blame such as I found made it their business to hunt after, and endeavour to gain those who were accounted great fortunes; not so much regarding what she is, as what she has, but making wealth the chief, if not the only thing they aimed at; so I resolved to avoid, in my own practice, that course; and how much soever my condition might have prompted me, as well as others, to seek advantage that way, never to engage on the account of riches, nor at all to marry, till judicious affection drew me to it, which I now began to feel at work in my breast.

The object of this affection was a Friend, whose name was Mary Ellis, whom for divers years I had had an acquaintance with, in the way of common friendship only; and in whom I thought I then saw those fair prints of truth and solid virtue, which I afterwards found in an eminent degree in her; but what her condition in the world was, as to estate, I was wholly a stranger to, nor desired to know.

I had once, a year or two before, had an opportunity to do her a small piece of service, in which she wanted some assistance; wherein I acted with all sincerity and freedom of

mind, not expecting or desiring any advantage by her, or reward from her, being very well satisfied in the act itself, that I had served a friend and helped the helpless.

That little intercourse of common kindness between us, ended without the least thought, I am verily persuaded, on her part, well assured on my own, of any other or further relation than that of free and fair friendship; nor did it, at that time, lead us into any closer conversation, or more intimate acquaintance one with the other, than had been before.

But some time, and that a good while after, I found my heart secretly drawn and inclining towards her; yet was I not hasty in proposing, but waited to feel a satisfactory settlement of mind therein, before I made any step thereto.

After some time, I took an opportunity to open my mind therein to my much honoured friends, Isaac and Mary Penington, who then stood in the place or stead of parents to me. They having solemnly weighed the matter, expressed their unity therewith; and indeed their approbation thereof was no small confirmation to me therein. Yet took I further deliberation, often retiring in spirit to the Lord, and crying to him for direction, before I addressed myself to her. At length, as I was setting all alone waiting upon the Lord for counsel and guidance in this in itself, and to me so important affair, I felt a word sweetly arise in me, as if I had heard a voice which said, Go and prevail. And faith springing in my heart with the word, I immediately arose and went nothing doubting.

When I was come to her lodgings, which were about a mile from me, her maid told me she was in her chamber; for having been under some indisposition of body, which had obliged her to keep her chamber, she had not yet left it. Wherefore I desired the maid to acquaint her mistress, that I was come to give her a visit; whereupon I was invited to go up to her. And after some little time spent in common conversation, feeling my spirit weightily concerned, I solemnly opened my mind unto her, with respect to the particular business I came about; which I soon perceived was a great surprisal to her, for she had taken in an apprehension, as others also had done, that my eye had been fixed elsewhere and nearer home.

I used not many words to her; but I felt a divine power went along with the words and fixed the matter expressed by them so fast in her breast, that as she afterwards acknowledged to me she could not shut it out.

I made at that time but a short visit. For having told her, I did not expect an answer from her now, but desired she would, in the

most solemn manner, weigh the proposal made, and in due time give me such an answer thereunto, as the Lord should give her; I took my leave of her and departed, leaving the issue to the Lord.

I had a journey then at hand, which I foresaw would take me up about two weeks time. Wherefore, the day before I was to set out, I went to visit her again, to acquaint her with my journey and excuse my absence; not yet pressing her for an answer, but assuring her, that I felt in myself an increase of affection to her, and hoped to receive a suitable return from her in the Lord's time; to whom, in the mean time, I committed both her, myself, and the concern between us. And indeed, I found at my return, that I could not have left it in a better hand; for the Lord had been my advocate in my absence, and had so far answered all her objections, that when I came to her again, she rather acquainted me with them than urged them.

From that time forwards we entertained each other with affectionate kindness in order to marriage; which yet we did not hasten to, but went on deliberately. Neither did I use those vulgar ways of courtship, by making frequent and rich presents; not only for that my outward condition would not comport with the expense, but because I liked not to obtain by such means; but preferred an unbribed affection.

While this affair stood thus with me, I had occasion to take another journey into Kent and Sussex; which yet I would not mention here, but for a particular accident which befel me on the way.

The occasion of this journey was this. Mary Penington's daughter Guli intending to go to her uncle Springett's in Sussex, and from thence amongst her tenants, her mother desired me to accompany her, and assist her in her business with her tenants.

We tarried at London the first night, and set out next morning on the Tunbridge road, and Seven-Oak lying in our way, we put in there to bait: but truly, we had much ado to get either provisions or room for ourselves or our horses, the house was so filled with guests, and those not of the better sort. For the duke of York being, as we were told, on the road that day for the Wells, divers of his guards, and the meaner sort of his retinue, had nearly filled all the inns there.

I left John Gigger, who waited on Guli in this journey, and was afterwards her servant, to take care for the horses, while I did the like, as well as I could for her. I got a little room to put her into, and having shut her into it, went to see what relief the kitchen would afford us; and with much ado, by praying

hard and paying dear, I got a small joint of meat from the spit, which served rather to stay than satisfy our stomachs, for we were pretty sharp set.

After this short repast, being weary of our quarters, we quickly mounted and took the road again, willing to hasten from a place where we found nothing but rudeness; for the roysters, who at that time swarmed there, besides the damning oaths they belched out at one another, looked very sourly on us, as if they grudged us both the horses we rode and the clothes we wore.

A knot of these soon followed us, designing, as we afterwards found, to put an abuse upon us, and make themselves sport with us. We had a spot of fine smooth sandy way, whereon the horses trod so softly, that we heard them not till one of them was upon us. I was then riding abreast with Guli, and discoursing with her; when on a sudden hearing a little noise, and turning my eye that way, I saw a horseman coming up on the further side of her horse, having his left arm stretched out, just ready to take her about the waist, and pluck her off backwards from her own horse, to lay her before him upon his. I had but just time to thrust forth my stick between him and her, and bid him stand off; and at the same time reining my horse, to let hers go before me, thrust in between her and him; and being better mounted than he, my horse run him off. But his horse, though weaker than mine, being nimble, he slipped by me, and got up to her on the near side, endeavouring to offer abuse to her: to prevent which, I thrust in upon him again, and in our jostling, we drove her horse quite out of the way, and almost into the next hedge.

While we were thus contending, I heard a noise of loud laughter behind us, and turning my head that way, I saw three or four horsemen more, who could scarce sit their horses for laughing, to see the sport their companion made with us. From thence I saw it was a plot laid, and that this rude fellow was not to be dallied with; wherefore I bestirred myself the more to keep him off, admonishing him to take warning in time, and give over his abusiveness, lest he repented too late. He had in his hand a short thick truncheon, which he held up at me; and on which laying hold with a strong gripe, I suddenly wrenched it out of his hand, and threw it at as far a distance behind me as I could.

While he rode back to fetch his truncheon, I called up honest John Gigger, who was indeed a right honest man, and of a temper so thoroughly peaceable, that he had not hitherto put in at all. But now I roused him, and bid him ride so close up to his mistress's horse on



the further side, that no horse might thrust in between, and I would endeavour to guard the near side. But he, good man, not thinking it perhaps decent enough for him to ride so near his mistress, left room enough for another to ride between. And indeed, so soon as the ruffian had recovered his truncheon, he came up directly thither, and had thrust in again, had not I, by a nimble turn, chopped in upon him and kept him at a bay.

I then told him, I had hitherto spared him; but wished him not to provoke me further. This I said with such a tone, as bespoke a high resentment of the abuse put upon us, and withal pressed so close upon him with my horse, that I suffered him not to come up any more to Guli.

This his companions, who kept an equal distance behind us, both heard and saw, and thereupon two of them advancing came up to us. I then thought I might likely have my hands full, but Providence turned it otherwise. For they, seeing the contest rise so high, and probably fearing it would rise higher, not knowing where it might stop, came in to part us; which they did, by taking him away—one of them leading his horse by the bridle, and the other driving him on with his whip, and so carried him off.

One of their company staid yet behind. And it so happening that a great shower just then fell, we betook ourselves for shelter to a thick and well-spread oak, which stood hard by. Thither also came that other person, who wore the duke's livery; and while we put on our defensive garments against the weather, which then set in to be wet, he took the opportunity to discourse with me about the man that had been so rude to us, endeavouring to excuse him, by alledging that he had drunk a little too liberally. I let him know, that one vice would not excuse another; that although but one of them was actually concerned in the abuse, yet both he and the rest of them were abettors of it, and accessories to it; that I was not ignorant whose livery they wore, and was well assured their lord would not maintain them in committing such outrages upon travellers on the road, to our injury and his dishonour; that I understood the duke was coming down, and that they might expect to be called to an account for this rude action.

He then begged hard that we would pass by the offence, and make no complaint to their lord; for he knew, he said, the duke would be very severe, and it would be the utter ruin of the young man. When he had said what he could, he went off before us, without any ground given him to expect favour; and when we had fitted ourselves for the weather, we followed after at our own pace.

When we came to Tunbridge, I set John Gigger foremost, bidding him lead on briskly through the town—and placing Guli in the middle, I came close up after her, that I might both observe and interpose, if any fresh abuse should be offered her. We were expected, I perceived; for though it rained very hard, the street was thronged with men, who looked very earnestly on us, but did not put any affront upon us.

We had a good way to ride beyond Tunbridge, and beyond the Wells, in by-ways among the woods, and were the later for the hindrance we had on the way. And when, being come to Harbert Springett's house, Guli acquainted her uncle what danger and trouble she had gone through on the way; he resented it so highly, that he would have had the persons prosecuted for it. But, since Providence had interposed, and so well preserved and delivered her, she chose to pass by the offence.

When Guli had finished the business she went upon, we returned home, and I delivered her safe to her glad mother. From that time forward, I continued my visits to my best beloved friend until we married, which was on the 28th day of the eighth month called October, in the year 1669. We took each other in a select meeting of the ancient and grave Friends of that country, holden in a Friend's house, where in those times, not only the monthly meeting for business, but the public meeting for worship, was sometimes kept. A very solemn meeting it was, and in a weighty frame of spirit we were, in which we sensibly felt the Lord with us and joining us; the sense whereof remained with us all our life-time, and was of good service, and very comfortable to us on all occasions.

My next care after marriage, was to secure my wife what monies she had, and with herself bestowed upon me. For I held it would be an abominable crime in me, and savour of the highest ingratitude, if I, though but through negligence, should leave room for my father, in case I should be taken away suddenly, to break in upon her estate, and deprive her of any part of that which had been and ought to be her own. Wherefore with the first opportunity, as I remember, the very next day, and before I knew particularly what she had, I made my will, and thereby secured to her whatever I was possessed of, as well all that which she brought either in monies, or in goods, as that little which I had before I married her; which indeed was but little, yet more, [by all that little] than I had ever given her ground to expect with me.

She had indeed been advised by some of her relations, to secure before marriage some part at least, of what she had, to be at her

own disposal. Which, though perhaps not wholly free from some tincture of self-interest in the proposer, was not in itself the worst of counsel. But the worthiness of her mind, and the sense of the ground on which she received me, would not suffer her to entertain any suspicion of me; and this laid on me the greater obligation, in point of gratitude as well as of justice, to regard and secure her—which I did.

I had not been long married, before I was solicited by my dear friends Isaac and Mary Penington, and her daughter Guli, to take a journey into Kent and Sussex, to accompt with their tenants, and overlook their estates in those counties, which, before I was married, I had had the care of; and accordingly I undertook the journey, though in the depth of winter.

My travels into those parts were the more irksome to me, from the solitariness I underwent, and want of suitable society. For my business lying among the tenants, who were a rustic sort of people, of various persuasions and humours, but not Friends, I had little opportunity of conversing with Friends; though I contrived to be with them as much as I could, especially on the first-day of the week.

But that which made my present journey more heavy to me, was a sorrowful exercise which was newly fallen upon me from my father, harder to be borne than any I had ever met with before.

He had, upon my first acquainting him with my inclination to marry, and to whom, not only very much approved the match, but voluntarily offered, without my either asking or expecting, to give me a handsome portion at present, with assurance of an addition to it hereafter. He not only made this offer to me in private, but came down from London into the country on purpose to be better acquainted with my friend; and did there make the same proposal to her; offering also to give security to any friend or relation of hers for the performance. Which offer she most generously declined, leaving him as free as she found him. But after we were married, notwithstanding such his promise, he wholly declined the performance of it, under pretence of our not being married by the priest and liturgy. This usage and evil treatment of us thereupon, was a great trouble to me; and when I endeavoured to soften him in the matter, he forbade me speaking to him of it any more, and removed his lodgings that I might not find him.

The grief I conceived on this occasion, was not for any disappointment to myself or to my wife; for neither she nor I had any strict or necessary dependence upon that promise;

but my grief was partly for the cause assigned by him, as the ground of it; which was, that our marriage was not by priest or liturgy, and partly for that his lower circumstances in the world, might probably tempt him to find some such, though unwarrantable excuse, to avoid performing his promise.

And surely hard would it have been for my spirit to have borne up under the weight of this exercise, had not the Lord been exceedingly gracious to me, and supported me with the inflowings of his love and life, wherewith he visited my soul in my travel. The sense whereof raised in my heart a thankful remembrance of his manifold kindnesses in his former dealings with me. And in the evening, when I came to my inn, while supper was getting ready, I took my pen, and put into words what had in the day revolved in my thoughts.

As soon as I had despatched the business I went about, I returned home without delay, and to my great comfort found my wife well, and myself very welcome to her; both which I esteemed as great favours.

1670.—Towards the latter part of the summer following, I went into Kent again, and in my passage through London, received the unwelcome news of the loss of a very hopeful youth, who had formerly been under my care for education. It was Isaac Penington, the second son of my worthy friends Isaac and Mary Penington, a child of excellent natural parts, whose great abilities bespake him likely to be a great man, had he lived to be a man. He was designed to be bred a merchant, and before he was thought ripe enough to be entered thereto, his parents, at somebody's request, gave leave that he might go a voyage to Barbadoes, only to spend a little time, see the place and be somewhat acquainted with the sea, under the care and conduct of a choice friend and sailor, John Grove of London, who was master of a vessel, and traded to that island; and he had a little venture with him, made up by divers of his friends, and by me among the rest. He made the voyage thither very well, found the watery element agreeable, had his health there, liked the place, was much pleased with his entertainment there, and was returning home with his little cargo, in return for the goods he carried out; when on a sudden, through unwariness, he dropped overboard, and the vessel being under sail with a brisk gale, was irrecoverably lost, notwithstanding the utmost labour, care and diligence of the master and sailors to save him.

This unhappy accident took from the afflicted master all the pleasure of his voyage, and he mourned for the loss of this youth, as



if it had been his own, yea, only son; for as he was in himself a man of a worthy mind, so the boy, by his witty and handsome behaviour in general, and respectful carriage towards him in particular, had very much wrought himself into his favour.

As for me, I thought it one of the sharpest strokes I had met with, for I both loved the child very well, and had conceived great hopes of general good from him; and it pierced me the deeper, to think how deeply it would pierce his afflicted parents.

Sorrow for this disaster was my companion in this journey, and I travelled the roads under great exercise of mind, revolving in my thoughts the manifold accidents, which the life of man was attended with and subject to, and the great uncertainty of all human things. I could find no centre, no firm basis for the mind of man to fix upon, but the divine power and will of the Almighty. This consideration wrought in my spirit a sort of contempt of what supposed happiness or pleasure this world, or the things that are in and of it, can of themselves yield, and raised my contemplation higher.

It was about this time that some bickerings happening between the Baptists, and some of the people called Quakers, in or about High-Wiccomb in Buckinghamshire, occasioned by some reflecting words a Baptist preacher had publicly uttered in one of their meetings there, against the Quakers in general, and William Penn in particular—it came at length to this issue, that a meeting for a public dispute was appointed, to be holden at West-Wiccomb, between Jeremy Ives, who espoused his brother's cause, and William Penn.

To this meeting, it being so near me, I went, rather to countenance the cause, than for any delight I took in such work; for indeed, I have rarely found the advantage equivalent to the trouble and danger arising from those contests. For which cause I would not choose them, though being justly engaged in, I would not refuse them.

The issue of this proved better than I expected. For Ives having undertaken an ill cause, to argue against the divine light and universal grace, conferred by God on all men—when he had spent his stock of arguments, which he brought with him, on that subject, finding his work go on heavily, and the auditory not well satisfied, he stepped down from his seat and departed, with purpose to have broken up the assembly. But, except some few of his party who followed him, the people generally staid, and were the more attentive to what was afterwards delivered amongst them. Ives understanding this, came in again, and in an angry railing manner, expressing his dislike

that we all went not away when he did, gave more disgust to the people.

After the meeting was ended, I sent to my friend Isaac Penington by his son and servant, who, though it was late, returned home that evening, a short account of the business in the following distich.

Truth hath prevailed, the enemies did fly:  
We are in safety; praise to God on high.

But both they and we had quickly other work found us; for it soon became a stormy time. The clouds had been long gathering and threatened a tempest. The parliament had sat some time before, and hatched that unaccountable law, which was called the Conventicle Act, if that may be allowed to be called a law, by whomsoever made, which was so directly contrary to the fundamental laws of England, to common justice, equity and right reason, as this manifestly was. For,

First, It broke down and overrun the bounds anciently set for the defence and security of Englishmen's lives, liberties and properties, viz. trial by juries. Instead thereof, directing and authorizing justices of the peace, and that too privately out of sessions, to convict, fine, and by their warrants distrain upon offenders against it; directly contrary to the Great Charter.

Secondly, By that act the informers, who swear for their own advantage, as being thereby entitled to a third part of the fines, were many times concealed, driving on an underhand private trade; so that men might be, and often were convicted and fined, without having any notice or knowledge of it, till the officers came and took away their goods, nor even then could they tell by whose evidence they were convicted. What could be more opposite to common justice than this? which requires that every man should be openly charged, and have his accuser face to face, that he might both answer for himself before he be convicted, and object to the validity of the evidence given against him.

Thirdly, By that act the innocent were punished for the offences of the guilty. If the wife or child was convicted of having been at one of those assemblies, which by that act was adjudged unlawful—the fine was levied on the goods of the husband or father of such wife or child, though he was neither present at such assembly, nor was of the same religious persuasion that they were of, but perhaps an enemy to it.

Fourthly, It was left in the arbitrary pleasure of the justices, to lay half the fine for the house or ground where such assembly was holden, and half the fine for a pretended unknown preacher; and the whole fines of such

and so many of the meeters as they should account poor, upon any other or others of the people, who were present at the same meeting, not exceeding a certain limited sum; without any regard to equity or reason. And yet, such blindness doth the spirit of persecution bring on men, otherwise sharp sighted enough, that this unlawful, unjust, unequal, unreasonable and unrighteous law took place in almost all places, and was vigorously prosecuted against the meetings of dissenters in general, though the brunt of the storm fell most sharply on the people called Quakers; not that it seemed to be more particularly levelled at them, but that they stood more fair, steady and open, as a butt to receive all the shot that came, while some others found means and freedom to retire to covert for shelter.

No sooner had the bishops obtained this law, for suppressing all other meetings than their own, but some of the clergy of most ranks, and some others too, who were over-much bigotted to that party, bestirred themselves with might and main, to find out and encourage the most profligate wretches to turn informers; and to get such persons into parochial offices, as would be most obsequious to their commands, and ready at their beck, to put it into the most rigorous execution. Yet it took not alike in all places; but some were more forward in the work than others, according as the agents, intended to be chiefly employed, had been predisposed to it.

For in some parts of the nation care had been timely taken, by some not of the lowest rank, to choose out some particular persons, men of sharp wit, close countenances, pliant tempers and deep dissimulation, and send them forth among the sectaries, so called; with instructions to thrust themselves into all societies, conform to all or any sort of religious profession, and Proteus-like, to change their shapes and transform themselves from one religious appearance to another, as occasion should require. In a word, to be all things to all; not that they might win some, but that they might, if possible, ruin all, or at least many.

The drift of this design was, that they who employed them might, by this means, get a full account what number of dissenters' meetings, of every sort, there were in each county, and where kept; what number of persons frequented them and of what ranks; who amongst them were persons of estate, and where they lived; that when they should afterwards have troubled the waters, they might the better know where, with most advantage, to cast their nets.

One of these emissaries, whose post was assigned in this county of Bucks, adventured to thrust himself upon a Friend, under the

counterfeit appearance of a Quaker; but being by the Friend suspected and thereupon dismissed unentertained, he was forced to betake himself to an inn or alehouse for accommodation. Long he had not been there, ere his unruly nature, not to be long kept under by the curb of a feigned sobriety, broke forth into open profaneness.

To fuddling now falls he with those whom he found tippling there before; and who but he amongst them! In him was then made good the proverb, *in vino veritas*; for in his cups he out with that which was, no doubt, to have been kept a secret. It was to his pot-companions that, after his head was somewhat heated with strong liquors, he discovered that he was sent forth by Dr. Mew, the then vice-chancellor of Oxford, on the design before related, and under the protection of justice Morton, a warrant under whose hand and seal he there produced.

Sensible of his error too late, when sleep had restored him to some degree of sense, and discouraged with this ill success of his attempt upon the Quakers, he quickly left that place, and crossing through the country, cast himself among the Baptists, at a meeting which they held in a private place; of which, the over-easy credulity of some who went among them, with whom he had craftily insinuated himself, had given him notice. The entertainment he found amongst them, deserved a better return than he made them. For, having smoothly wrought himself into their good opinion, and cunningly drawn some of them into an unwary openness and freedom of conversation with him, upon the displeasing subject of the severity of those times, he most villainously impeached one of them, whose name was — Headach, a man well reputed amongst his neighbours, of having spoken treasonable words; and thereby brought the man in danger of losing both his estate and life, had not a seasonable discovery of his abominable practices elsewhere, imprinting terror, the effect of guilt, upon him, caused him to fly both out of the court and country, at that very instant of time, when the honest man stood at the bar, ready to be arraigned upon his false accusation.

This his false charge against that Baptist, left him no further room to play the hypocrite in those parts. Off therefore go his cloak and vizor. And now he openly appears in his proper colours to disturb the assemblies of God's people; this being indeed the very end for which the design at first was laid.

But because the law provided that a conviction must be grounded upon the oaths of two witnesses, it was needful for him, in order to the carrying on his intended mischief, to



find out an associate, who might be both sor-did enough for such an employment, and vicious enough to be his companion.

This was not an easy task; yet he found out one, who had already given an experiment of his readiness to take other men's goods, being not long before released out of Aylesbury jail, where he very narrowly escaped the gallows for having stolen a cow.

The names of these fellows being yet unknown in that part of the country where they began their work, the former, by the general voice of the country, was called the Trepan; the latter, the Informer, and from the colour of his hair, Red-head. But in a little time the Trepan called himself John Poulter, adding withal, that judge Morton used to call him John for the king; and that the archbishop of Canterbury had given him a deaconry. That his name was indeed John Poulter, the reputed son of one — Poulter, a butcher in Salisbury, and that he had long since been there branded for a fellow egregiously wicked and debauched, we were assured by the testimony of a young man then living in Amersham, who was his countryman, and had known him in Salisbury; as well as by a letter from an inhabitant of that place, to whom his course of life had been well known.

His comrade, who for some time was only called the Informer, was named Ralph Lacy, of Risborough, and surnamed the cow-stealer.

These agreed between themselves where to make their first onset, which was to be, and was, on the meeting of the people called Quakers, then holden at the house of William Russel, called Jourdan's, in the parish of Giles-Chalfont in the county of Bucks. That which was wanting to their accommodation, was a place of harbour, fit for such beasts of prey to lurk in; for assistance wherein, recourse was had to parson Philips, none being so ready, none so willing, none so able to help them as he.

A friend he had in a corner, a widow woman, not long before one of his parishioners. Her name was Anne Dell, and at that time she lived at a farm called Whites, a by-place in the parish of Beaconsfield, whither she removed from Hitchindon. To her these fellows were recommended by her old friend the parson. She with all readiness received them, her house was at all times open to them, and what she had was at their command.

She had two sons at home with her, both at man's estate; against the eldest of whom, her maid-servant not long before had laid a charge, to smother up the infamy of which proved expensive to them. The younger son, whose name was John Dell, hoping by the pillage of his honest neighbours, to regain

what the profligacy of his brother had mispent, listed himself in the service of his mother's new guests, to attend on them as their guide, and to inform them, (who were too much strangers to pretend to know the names of any of the persons there) whom they should inform against.

Thus consorted, and in a triple league confederated, on the 24th day of the fifth month, commonly called July, in the year 1670, they appeared openly, and began to act their intended tragedy upon the Quakers' meeting at the place aforesaid, to which I belonged, and at which I was present. The chief actor, Poulter, behaved himself with such impetuous violence and brutish rudeness, as gave occasion for inquiry, who or what he was? He was soon discovered to be the Trepan, so infamous and abhorred by all sober people, and afterwards daily detected of gross impieties, and even capital crimes; and the felonious taking of certain goods from one of Brainford, whom also he cheated of money. These things raising an outcry in the country upon him, made him consult his own safety, and leaving his part to be acted by others, he quitted the country as soon as he could.

He being gone, Satan soon supplied his place, by sending one Richard Aris, a broken ironmonger of Wiccomb, to join with Lacy in his service, prompted thereto, in hopes that he might thereby repair his broken fortunes.

Of this new adventurer this single character may serve, whereby the reader may make judgment of him, as of the lion by his paw; that at the sessions holden at Wiccomb in October then last past, he was openly accused of having enticed one Harding of the same town, to be his companion and associate in robbing on the highway, and proof offered to be made that he had made bullets in order to that service; which charge Harding himself, whom he had endeavoured to draw into that heinous wickedness, was ready in court to prove upon oath, had not the prosecution been discountenanced and smothered.

Lacy the cow-stealer, having thus got Aris, the intended highwayman to be his comrade, they came on the 21st of the month called August 1670, to the meeting of the people called Quakers, where Lacy with Poulter had been a month before; and taking for granted that the same who had been there before, were there then, they went to a justice of the peace called sir Thomas Clayton, and swore at all adventure, against one Thomas Zachary and his wife, whom Lacy understood to have been there the month before, that they were then present in that meeting. Whereas neither the said Thomas Zachary nor his wife were at that meeting, but were both of them at Lon-

don, above twenty miles distant, all that day, having been there some time before and after. Notwithstanding, upon this false oath of these false men, the justice laid fines upon the said Thomas Zachary of ten pounds for his own offence, ten pounds for his wife's, and ten pounds for the offence of a pretended preacher, though indeed there was not any that preached at that meeting that day; and issued forth his warrant to the officers of Beaconsfield, where Thomas Zachary dwelt, for the levying of the same upon his goods.

I mention these things thus particularly, though not an immediate suffering of my own, because, in the consequence thereof, it occasioned no small trouble and exercise to me.

For when Thomas Zachary, returning home from London, understanding what had been done against him, and advising what to do, was informed by a neighbouring attorney, that his remedy lay in appealing from the judgment of the convicting justice, to the general Quarter Sessions of the peace; he thereupon ordering the said attorney to draw up his appeal in form of law, went himself with it and tendered it to the justice. But the justice being a man neither well principled, nor well natured, and uneasy that he should lose the advantage, both of the present conviction and future service of such, in his judgment, useful men, as those two bold informers were likely to be, fell sharply upon Thomas Zachary, charging him that he suffered justly, and that his suffering was not on a religious account.

This rough and unjust dealing engaged the good man to enter into further discourse with the justice, in defence of his own innocence. From which discourse the insidious justice, taking offence at some expression of his, charged him with saying, the righteous are oppressed and the wicked go unpunished; which the justice interpreting to be a reflection on the government, and calling it a high misdemeanor, required sureties of the good man to answer it at the next Quarter Sessions, and in the mean time to be bound to his good behaviour. But he, well knowing himself to be innocent of having broken any law, or done in this matter any evil, could not answer the justice's unjust demand, and therefore was sent forthwith a prisoner to the county jail.

By this severity it was thought the justice designed not only to wreak his displeasure on this good man, but to prevent the further prosecution of his appeal; whereby he should at once both oppress the righteous, by the levying the fines unduly imposed upon him, and secure the informers from a conviction of wilful perjury, and the punishment due therefor,

that so they might go on without control in the wicked work they were engaged in.

But so great wickedness was not to be suffered to go unpunished, or at least undiscovered. Wherefore, although no way could be found at present, to get the good man released from his unjust imprisonment; yet that his restraint might not hinder the prosecution of his appeal, on which the detection of the informers' villainy depended, consideration being had thereof amongst some Friends, the management of the prosecution was committed to my care, who was thought, with respect at least to leisure and disengagement from other business, most fit to attend it; and very willingly I undertook it.

Wherefore at the next general Quarter Sessions of the peace, holden at High-Wiccomb in October following, I took care that four substantial witnesses, citizens of unquestionable credit, should come down from London, in a coach and four horses hired on purpose.

These gave so punctual and full evidence, that Thomas Zachary and his wife were in London all that day, whereon the informers had sworn them to have been at an unlawful meeting, at a place more than twenty miles distant from London, that notwithstanding what endeavours were used to the contrary, the jury found them not guilty. Whereupon the money deposited for the fines, at the entering of the appeal, ought to have been returned, and so was ten pounds of it; but the rest of the money being in the hand of the clerk of the peace, whose name was Wells, could never be got out again.

Thomas Zachary himself was brought from Aylesbury jail to Wiccomb, to receive his trial, and though no evil could be charged upon him, yet justice Clayton, who at first committed him, displeased to see the appeal prosecuted, and the conviction he had made set aside, by importunity prevailed with the bench to remand him to prison again, there to lie until another sessions.

While this was doing, I got an indictment drawn up against the informers, Aris and Lacy, for wilful perjury, and caused it to be delivered to the grand jury—who found the bill. And although the court adjourned from the town-hall to the chamber at their inn, in favour as it was thought to the informers, on supposition we would not pursue them thither, yet thither they were pursued; and there being two counsels present from Windsor, the name of the one was Starky, and of the other, as I remember, Forster; the former of whom I had before retained upon the trial of the appeal, I now retained them both, and sent them into court again to prosecute the informers upon



this indictment; which they did so smartly, that the informers being present, not suspecting any such sudden danger, were of necessity called to the bar and arraigned; and having pleaded not guilty, were forced to enter a traverse to avoid a present commitment. All the favour the court could show them, was to take them bail one for the other, though probably both not worth a groat, else they must have gone to jail for want of bail, which would have put them beside their business, spoiled the informing trade, and broken the design; whereas now they were turned loose again, to do what mischief they could until the next sessions.

Accordingly they did what they could, and yet could make little or no earnings at it; for this little step of prosecution had made them so known, and their late apparent perjury had made them so detestable, that even the common sort of bad men shunned them, and would not willingly yield them any assistance.

The next Quarter Sessions was holden at Aylesbury, whither we were fain to bring down our witnesses again from London, in like manner and at like charge as before. And though I met with great discouragements in the prosecution, yet I followed it so vigorously, that I got a verdict against the informers for wilful perjury; and had forthwith taken them up, had not they fled from justice and hid themselves. However, I moved by my attorney for an order of court, directed to all mayors, bailiffs, high constables, petty constables, and other inferior officers of the peace, to arrest and take them up, where ever they should be found within the county of Bucks, and bring them to the county jail.

The report of this so terrified them, that of all things dreading the misery of lying in a jail, out of which they could not hope for deliverance, otherwise than by at least the loss of their ears,—and hopeless now of carrying on their informing trade, they disjoined, and one of them, Aris, fled the country; so that whatever gallows caught him, he appeared no more in this country. Lacy lurked privily for a while in woods and by-places, till hunger and want forced him out; and then casting himself upon a hazardous adventure, which yet proved to him the best course he could have taken, he went directly to the jail, where he knew the innocent man suffered imprisonment by his means, and for his sake; and asking for, and being brought to Thomas Zachary, he cast himself on his knees, at his feet, and with appearance of sorrow confessing his fault, so earnestly begged for forgiveness, that he wrought upon the tender nature of that good man, not only to put him in hopes of mercy,

but to be his advocate by letter to me, to mitigate at least, if not wholly to remit the prosecution. To which I so far consented, as to let him know, I would suspend the execution of the warrant upon him, according as he behaved himself, or until he gave fresh provocation. At which message the fellow was so overjoyed, that relying with confidence thereon, he returned openly to his family and labour, and applied himself to business, as his neighbours observed and reported, with greater diligence and industry than he had ever done before.

Thus began and thus ended the informing trade, in these parts of the county of Bucks; the ill success that these informers found, discouraging all others, how vile soever, from attempting the like enterprise there ever after. And though it cost some money to carry on the prosecution, and some pains too; yet, for every shilling so spent, a pound probably was saved, of what in all likelihood would have been lost, by the spoil and havock that might have been made by distresses taken on their informations.

But so angry was the convicting justice, whatever others of the same rank were, at this prosecution, and the loss thereby of the service of those “honest men,” the perjured informers; for as I heard an attorney (one Hitchcock of Aylesbury, who was their advocate in court) say, a great lord, a peer of the realm, called them so in a letter directed to him, whereby he recommended to him the care and defence of them and their cause; that he prevailed to have the oath of allegiance tendered in court to Thomas Zachary, which he knew he would not take, because he could not take any oath at all; by which snare he was kept in prison a long time after, and so far as I remember, until a general pardon released him.

But though it pleased divine Providence, who sometimes vouchsafes to bring good out of evil, to put a stop, in a great measure at least, to the prosecution here begun; yet in other parts, both of the city and country, it was carried on with great severity and rigor; the worst men, for the most part, being set up for informers—the worst magistrates encouraging and abetting them; and the worst of the priests, who first began to blow the fire, now seeing how it took, spread and blazed, clapping their hands, and hallooing them on to this evil work.

The sense whereof, as it deeply affected my heart with a sympathizing pity for the oppressed sufferers, so it raised in my spirit a holy disdain and contempt of that spirit and its agent, by which this ungodly work was stirred up and carried on.

1672.—Scarcely was the before-mentioned storm of outward persecution from the government blown over, when Satan raised against us a storm of another kind. The former lasted long, and in many parts of the nation, particularly at London, it fell very sharply and violently, especially on the Quakers. For they having no refuge but God alone to fly to, could not dodge and shift to avoid the suffering, as others of other denominations, in their worldly wisdom and policy did—altering their meetings, with respect both to place and time, and forbearing to meet when forbidden, or kept out of their meeting-houses. So that of the several sorts of dissenters, the Quakers only held up a public testimony, as a standard or ensign of religion, by keeping their meetings duly and fully, at the accustomed times and places, so long as they were suffered to enjoy the use of their meeting-houses; and when they were shut up, and Friends kept out of them by force, they assembled in the streets, as near to their meeting-houses as they could.

This bold and truly Christian behaviour in the Quakers, disturbed and not a little displeased the persecutors, who fretted and complained, that the stubborn Quakers brake their strength, and bore off the blow from those other dissenters whom they most feared, and principally aimed at. For indeed they rather despised than feared the Quakers, as being a people, from whose peaceable principles and practices, they held themselves secure from danger; whereas having suffered severely, and that lately too, by and under the other dissenters, they thought they had just cause to be apprehensive of danger from them, and good reason to suppress them.

On the other hand, the more ingenuous amongst other dissenters of each denomination, sensible of the ease they enjoyed by our bold and steady suffering, which abated the heat of the persecutors, and blunted the edge of the sword before it came to them, frankly acknowledged the benefit received; calling us the bulwark that kept off the force of the stroke from them; and praying that we might be preserved and enabled to break the strength of the enemy; nor could some of them forbear, those especially who were called Baptists, to express their kind and favourable opinion of us, and of the principles we professed, which emboldened us to go through that, which but to hear of was a terror to them.

This raised ill-will against us in some of their teachers, who though willing to reap the advantage of a shelter, by a retreat behind us during the storm; yet partly through an evil emulation, partly through fear lest they should lose some of those members of their society,

who had discovered such favourable thoughts of our principles and us, they set themselves, as soon as the storm was over, to represent us in as ugly a dress, and in as frightful a figure to the world, as they could invent and put upon us.

1673.—In order whereto, one Thomas Hicks, a preacher among the Baptists, at London, took upon him to write several pamphlets successively, under the title of a Dialogue between a Christian and a Quaker; which were so craftily contrived, that the unwary reader might conclude them to be not merely fictions, but real discourses, actually held between one of the people called Quakers, and some other person. In these feigned dialogues, Hicks, having no regard to justice or common honesty, had made his counterfeit Quaker say whatever he thought would render him, one while sufficiently erroneous; another while ridiculous; forging in the Quaker's name, some things so abominably false—others so intolerably foolish, as could not reasonably be supposed to have come into the conceit, much less to have dropped from the lip or pen of any who went under the name of a Quaker.

These dialogues were answered by our friend William Penn, in two books; the first being entitled, Reason against Railing; the other, the Counterfeit Christian detected; in which Hicks being charged with manifest, as well as manifold forgeries, perversions, downright lyes and slanders, against the people called Quakers in general, and William Penn, George Whitehead and divers others by name; complaint was made, by way of an appeal, to the Baptists in and about London, for justice against Thomas Hicks.

1674.—Those Baptists, who it seems were in the plot with Hicks, to defame at any rate, right or wrong, the people called Quakers, taking the advantage of the absence of William Penn and George Whitehead, who were the persons most immediately concerned, and who were then gone a long journey in the service of truth, to be absent from the city, in all probability, for a considerable time, appointed a public meeting in one of their meeting-houses, under pretence of calling Thomas Hicks to account and hearing the charge made good against him; but with design to give the greater stroke to the Quakers, when they who should make good the charge against Hicks, could not be present. Upon their sending notice to the lodgings of William Penn and George Whitehead, of their intended meeting, they were told by several Friends, that both of them were from home, travelling in the countries, but uncertain where; and therefore could not be informed of their intended meeting, either by letter or express, within



the time by them limited. For this reason they were desired to defer the meeting till they could have notice of it, and time to return, that they might be at it. But these Baptists, whose design was otherwise laid, would not be prevailed with to defer their meeting; but glad of the advantage, gave their brother Hicks opportunity to make a colourable defence, where he had his party to help him, and none to oppose him; and having made a mock show of examining him and his works of darkness, and having heard one side only, they acquitted him.

This gave just occasion for a new complaint and demand of justice, against him and them. For as soon as William Penn returned to London, he in print exhibited his complaint of this unfair dealing, and demanded justice, by a rehearing of the matter in a public meeting, to be appointed by joint agreement. This went down hardly with the Baptists, nor could it be obtained from them, without great importunity and hard pressing. At length, after many delays and tricks used to shift it off, constrained by necessity, they yielded to have a meeting at their own meeting-house in Barbican, London.

There, amongst other Friends, was I, and undertook to read our charge against Thomas Hicks, which, not without much difficulty, I did; they, inasmuch as the house was theirs, putting all the inconveniences they could could upon us.

The particular occurrences and arrangement of this meeting, I forbear here to mention, there being a narrative in print, to which I refer the reader; as also for an account of another which followed soon after, and was held in our own meeting-house by Wheeler street, near Spitalfields, London; the Baptists having refused to us any other public meeting, but we gave them timely notice of this.

To this meeting Thomas Hicks would not come, but lodged himself at an ale-house hard by: yet sent his brother Ives, with some others of the party, by clamorous noises to divert us from the prosecution of our charge against him; which they so effectually performed, that they would not suffer the charge to be heard, though often attempted to be read.

This rude behaviour was a cause of grief to me; and afterwards when I understood that they used evasive tricks to avoid another meeting with us, and refused to do us right, my spirit was greatly stirred at their injustice, and in the sense thereof, willing if possible, to provoke them to more fair and manly dealing, I let fly a broad-side at them, in a single sheet of paper, under the title of a *Fresh Pursuit*. In which, having restated the controversy between them and us, and rein-

forced our charge of forgery, &c. against Thomas Hicks and his abettors, I offered a fair challenge to them, not only to Thomas Hicks himself, but to all his compurgators, who had before undertaken to acquit him from our charge, together with their companion Jeremy Ives, to give me a fair and public meeting, in which I would make good our charge against him as principal, and all the rest of them as accessaries. But nothing could provoke them to come fairly forth.

Yet not long after, finding themselves galled by the narrative lately published, of what had passed in the last meeting near Wheeler street, they to help themselves, if they could, sent forth a counter account of that meeting, and of the former at Barbican, as much to the advantage of their own cause, as they upon deliberate consideration could contrive it. This was published by Thomas Plant, a Baptist teacher, and one of Thomas Hicks' former compurgators, and bore (but falsly) the title of a *Contest for Christianity*; or a faithful relation of two late meetings, &c.

To this I quickly wrote and published an answer. And because I saw the design and whole drift of the Baptists, was to shroud Thomas Hicks from our charge of forgery, under the specious pretence of his and their standing up and contending for Christianity, I gave my book this general title, *Forgery no Christianity*; or a brief *Examen* of a late book, &c. And having from their own book, plainly convicted that which they called a faithful relation, to be indeed a false relation—in an ex-postulatory postscript, I reinforced our charge and my former challenge; offering to make it good against them before a public and free auditory. But they were too wary to appear further, either in person or in print.

This was the end of that controversy, which was observed to have this issue; that what those dialogues were written to prevent, was by them and the unfair, unmanly, unchristian carriage of the Baptists, in endeavouring to defend them, hastened and brought to pass. For not a few of their members, upon this occasion left their meetings and society, and came over to the Quakers' meetings, and were joined in fellowship with them. Thanks be to God.

Though many of the most eminent among the Baptists, in and about London, engaged themselves in this quarrel, to have defended, or at least, to have brought fairly off, if it had been possible, their brother Hicks, yet the main service lay upon Jeremy Ives. Who having been an unsuccessful trader in cheese, and therein failed more than once; had now for some time given over that employment, and undertook to be the champion for the Bap-

tists, and to maintain their quarrels against all comers.

His name was up for a topping disputant; but on the best observation I could make of him, both now and formerly, I could not find him a fair disputant. He seemed, I confess, well read in the fallacies of logic, and was indeed rather more ready, than true and sound, in framing syllogisms. But his chief art lay in tickling the humor of rude, unlearned and injudicious hearers, thereby insinuating himself into their good opinion, and then bantering his opponent.

1675.—The controversy which had been stirred up by those cavilling Baptists, had not been long ended, before another was raised by an Episcopal priest in Lincolnshire, who fearing, as it seemed, to lose some of his hearers to the Quakers, wrote a book, which he mis-called, a Friendly Conference between a minister and a parishoner of his, inclining to Quakerism. In this he misstated and greatly perverted the Quakers' principles, that he might thereby beget an aversion to them; and that he might abuse us the more securely, he concealed himself, sending forth his book without a name.

1676.—This book coming to my hand, it became my concern, (after I had read it, and considered the evil management, and worse design thereof) to answer it; which I did in a treatise called Truth prevailing, and detecting Error; published in the year 1676.

My answer I divided, according to the several subjects handled in the conference, into divers distinct chapters, the last of which treated of tithes.

This being the priests' Delilah; and that chapter of mine pinching them it seems in a tender part, they laid their heads together, and with what speed they could, sent forth a distinct reply to that chapter, under the title of the Right of Tithes asserted and proved. This also came forth without a name, yet pretended to be written by another hand.

Before I had finished my rejoinder to this, came forth another, called a Vindication of the Friendly Conference; said to be written by the author of the feigned conference, who was not yet willing to trust the world with his name. So much of it as related to the subject I was then upon, I took into my rejoinder to the right of tithes, which I published in the year 1678, with this title, the Foundation of Tithes shaken, &c.

1680.—After this, it was a pretty while before I heard from either of them again. But at length came forth a reply to my last, supposed to be written by the same hand, who had before written the Right of Tithes asserted, &c. but still without a name. This latter

book had more of art than argument in it. It was indeed an ill-cooked hash, set off with as much flourish as the author was master of, and swelled by many quotations; but those so wretchedly misgiven, misapplied or perverted, that to a judicious and impartial reader, I durst oppose my Foundation of Tithes shaken, to the utmost force that book has in it. Yet it coming forth at a time when I was pretty well at leisure, I intended a full refutation of it; and in order thereto, had written between forty and fifty sheets; when other business more urgent intervening, took me off and detained me so long, that it was then judged out of season, and so it was laid aside.

Hitherto the war I had been engaged in, was in a sort foreign, with people of other religious persuasions, such as were open and avowed enemies; but now another sort arose, an intestine war, raised by some among ourselves—such as had once been of us, and yet retained the same profession, and would have been thought to be of us still; but having through ill-grounded jealousies, let in discontent, and thereupon fallen into jangling, chiefly about church discipline, they at length brake forth into an open schism, headed by two northern men of name and note, John Wilkinson and John Story. The latter of whom, as being the most active and popular man, having gained a considerable interest in the west, carried the controversy with him thither, and there spreading it, drew many to abet him therein.

Among these, William Rogers, a merchant of Bristol, was not the least, nor least accounted of, by himself and some others. He was a bold and active man, moderately learned, but immoderately conceited of his own parts and abilities, which made him forward to engage, as thinking none would dare to take up the gauntlet he should cast down. This high opinion of himself, made him rather a trouble-some than formidable enemy.

I shall pass over the various steps by which he advanced to open hostility, in which I was not actually, or personally engaged. In a while he arrived to that height of folly and wickedness, that he wrote and published a large book in five parts, to which he maliciously gave for a title, the Christian Quaker distinguished from the Apostate and Innovator, thereby arrogating to himself and those who were of his party, the stile of Christian Quaker; and no less impiously than uncharitably branding and rejecting all others, even the main body of Friends, for apostates and innovators.

1681.—When this book came abroad, it was not a little (and he, for its sake) cried up by his injudicious admirers, whose applause setting his head afloat, he came up to London



at the time of the yearly meeting following, and at the close thereof, gave notice in writing to this effect, viz: that if any were dissatisfied with his book, he was there ready to maintain and defend both it and himself against all comers.

This daring challenge was neither dreaded nor slighted; but an answer forthwith returned in writing, signed by a few Friends, amongst whom I was one, to let him know, that as many were dissatisfied with his book and him, he should not fail, God willing, to be met by the sixth hour next morning, at the meeting-place at Devonshire house.

Accordingly we met, and continued the meeting till noon or after; in which time he, surrounded with those of his own party, who might abet and assist him, was so fairly foiled and baffled, and so fully exposed, that he was glad to quit the place, and early next morning the town also; leaving, in excuse for his going so abruptly off, and thereby refusing us another meeting with him, which we had earnestly provoked him to, this slight shift, that he had before given earnest for his passage in the stage-coach home, and was not willing to lose it.

1682.—I had before this gotten a sight of his book, and procured one for my use on this occasion, but I had not time to read it through. But a while after, providence cast another of them into my hands very unexpectedly; for our dear Friend George Fox, passing through this county among Friends, and lying in his journey at my house, had one of them in his bags, which he had made some marginal notes upon. For that good man, like Julius Cæsar, willing to improve all parts of his time, did usually, even in his travels, dictate to his amanuensis what he would have committed to writing. I knew not that he had this book with him, for he had not said any thing to me of it, till going in the morning into his chamber, while he was dressing himself, I found it lying on the table by him. And understanding that he was going but for a few weeks, to visit Friends in the meetings hereabouts, and the neighbouring parts of Oxford and Berkshire, and so return through this county again, I made bold to ask him if he would favour me so much, as to leave it with me till his return, that I might have the opportunity of reading it through. He consented, and as soon almost as he was gone, I set myself to read it over. But I had not gone far in it, ere, observing the many foul falsehoods, malicious slanders, gross perversions and false doctrines abounding in it, the sense thereof inflamed my breast with a just and holy indignation against the work, and that devilish spirit in which it was brought

forth. Wherefore, finding my spirit raised, and my understanding divinely opened to refute it, I began the book again, and reading it with pen in hand, answered it paragraphically as I went. And so clear were the openings I received from the Lord therein, that by the time my friend came back, I had gone through the greatest part of it, and was too far engaged in spirit, to think of giving over the work: wherefore, requesting him to continue the book a little longer with me, I soon after finished the answer, which, with Friends' approbation was printed, under the title of "An Antidote against the infection of William Rogers' book, miscalled *The Christian Quaker*," &c. This was written in the year 1682. But no answer was given to it, as far as I have ever heard, either by him or any other of his party; though many others were concerned therein, and some by name. Perhaps there might be a hand of Providence overruling them therein, to give me leisure to attend some other services, which soon after fell upon me.

It being a stormy time, and persecution waxing hot upon the conventicle act, through the busy boldness of hungry informers, who for their own advantage, did not only themselves hunt after religious and peaceable meetings, but drove on the officers, both the inferior and subordinate, and in some places, even the justices also, for fear of penalties, to hunt with them and for them. I found a pressure upon my spirit to write a small treatise, to inform such officers how they might secure and defend themselves from being ridden by those malepert informers, and made their drudges.

This treatise I called, *A caution to constables, and other inferior officers, concerned in the execution of the conventicle act*. With some observations thereupon, humbly offered by way of advice to such well-meaning and moderate justices of the peace, as would not willingly ruin their peaceable neighbours, &c.

This was thought to have some good service where it came, upon such sober and moderate officers, as well justices as constables, &c., as acted rather by constraint than choice; by encouraging them to stand their ground, with more courage and resolution, against the insults of saucy informers.

1683.—But whatever ease it brought to others, it brought me some trouble, and had like to have brought me into more danger, had not Providence wrought my deliverance by an unexpected way.

For as soon as it came forth in print, which was in the year 1683, one William Ayrs of Watford in Hertfordshire, a friend and acquaintance of mine, who was both an apothecary and barber, being acquainted with divers

of the gentry in those parts, and going often to some of their houses to trim them, took one of these books with him, when he went to trim sir Benjamin Titchborn of Rickmansworth, and presented it to him, supposing he would have taken it kindly, as in like cases he had formerly done. But it fell out otherwise. For he looking it over after Ayrs was gone, and taking it by the wrong handle, entertained an evil opinion of it, and of me for it, though he knew me not.

He thereupon communicated both the book and his thoughts upon it, to a neighbouring justice living in Rickmansworth, whose name was Thomas Fotherly; who concurring with him in judgment, they concluded that I should be taken up and prosecuted for it, as a seditious book. For a libel they could not call it, my name being to it at length.

Wherefore sending for Ayrs who had brought the book, justice Titchborn examined him if he knew me, and where I dwelt. Who telling him, he knew me well, and had been often at my house; he gave him in charge to give me notice, that I should appear before him and the other justice, at Rickmansworth on such a day; threatening that if I did not appear, he himself should be prosecuted for spreading the book.

This put William Ayrs in a fright. Over he came in haste with this message to me, troubled that he should be a means to bring me into trouble. But I endeavoured to give him ease, by assuring him I would not fail with God's leave to appear at the time and place appointed, and thereby free him from trouble or danger.

In the interim I received advice, by an express out of Sussex, that Guli Penn, with whom I had had an intimate acquaintance and firm friendship from our very youths, was very dangerously ill, her husband being absent in Pennsylvania, and that she had a great desire to see and speak with me.

This put me to a great strait, and brought a sore exercise on my mind. I was divided betwixt honour and friendship. I had engaged my word to appear before the justices; which to omit, would bring dishonour on me and my profession. To stay till that time was come and past, might probably prove, if I should then be left at liberty, too late to answer her desire and satisfy friendship.

After some little deliberation, I resolved, as the best expedient to answer both ends, to go over next morning to the justices, and lay my strait before them, and try if I could procure from them a respite of my appearance before them, until I had been in Sussex, and paid the duty of friendship to my sick friend. This I had the more hopes to obtain, because I knew

those justices had a great respect for Guli. For when William Penn and she were first married, they lived for some years in Rickmansworth, in which time they contracted a neighbourly friendship with both these justices and theirs, who ever after retained a kind regard for both.

Early therefore in the morning I rode over. But being wholly a stranger to the justices, I went first to Watford, that I might take Ayrs along with me, who supposed himself to have some interest in justice Titchborn; and when I came there, understanding that another Friend of that Town, whose name was John Wells, was well acquainted with the other justice, Fotherly; having imparted to them the occasion of my coming, I took them both with me and hasted back to Rickmansworth. Having put our horses up at an inn, and leaving William Ayrs (who was a stranger to Fotherly) there, I went with John Wells to Fotherly's house; and being brought into a fair hall, I tarried there while Wells went into the parlour to him, and having acquainted him that I was there, and desired to speak to him, brought him to me with severity in his countenance.

After he had asked me, in a tone which spake displeasure, what I had to say to him? I told him, I came to wait on him upon an intimation given me, that he had something to say to me: he thereupon plucking my book out of his pocket, asked me if I owned myself to be the author of that book? I told him, if he pleased to let me look into it, if it were mine, I would not deny it. He thereupon giving it into my hand, when I had turned over the leaves, and looked it through, finding it to be as it came from the press, I told him, I wrote the book, and would own it, all but the errors of the press. Whereupon he, looking sternly on me, answered, 'Your own errors you should have said.'

Having innocence on my side, I was not at all daunted at either his speech or looks; but feeling the Lord present with me, I replied, I know there are errors of the press in it, and therefore I excepted them; but I do not know there is any error of mine in it, and therefore cannot make that exception. But, added I, if thou pleasest to show me any error of mine in it, I shall readily both acknowledge and retract it. And thereupon I desired him to give me an instance, in any one passage in that book, wherein he thought I had erred. He said he needed not go to particulars; but charge me with the general contents of the whole book. I replied, that such a charge would be too general for me to give a particular answer to; but if he would assign me any particular passage or sentence in the book, wherein he apprehended the ground of offence to



lie—when I should have opened the terms, and explained my meaning therein, he might perhaps find cause to change his mind, and entertain a better opinion both of the book and me. And therefore I again entreated him, to let me know what particular passage or passages had given him an offence. He told me I needed not to be in so much haste for that—I might have it timely enough, if not too soon; ‘but this,’ said he, ‘is not the day appointed for your hearing, and therefore,’ added he, ‘what, I pray, made you in such haste to come now?’ I told him, I hoped he would not take it for an argument of guilt, that I came before I was sent for, and offered myself to my purgation before the time appointed. And this I spake with somewhat a brisker air, which had so much influence on him, as to bring a somewhat softer air over his countenance.

Then going on, I told him I had a particular occasion which induced me to come now, which was, that I received advice last night, by an express out of Sussex, that William Penn’s wife, with whom I had had an intimate acquaintance and strict friendship, lay now there very ill, not without great danger, in the apprehension of those about her, of her life; and that she had expressed her desire that I would come to her, as soon as I could; the rather, for that her husband was absent in America. That this had brought a great strait upon me, being divided between friendship and duty—willing to visit my friend in her illness, which the nature and law of friendship required; yet unwilling to omit my duty, by failing of my appearance before him and the other justice, according to their command and my promise, lest I should thereby subject, not my own reputation only, but the reputation of my religious profession, to the suspicion of guilt, and the censure of willingly shunning a trial. To prevent which I had chosen to anticipate the time and come now, to see if I could give them satisfaction, in what they had to object against me, and thereupon being dismissed, pursue my journey into Sussex; or if by them detained, to submit to providence, and by an express to acquaint my friend therewith, both to free her from an expectation of my coming, and myself from any imputation of neglect.

While I thus delivered myself, I observed a sensible alteration in the justice; and when I had done speaking, he first said, he was very sorry for madam Penn’s illness; of whose virtue and worth he spake very highly, yet not more than was her due. Then he told me, that for her sake, he would do what he could to further my visit to her; ‘But,’ said he, ‘I am but one, and of myself can do no-

thing in it; therefore you must go to sir Benjamin Titchborn, and if he be at home, see if you can prevail with him to meet me, that we may consider of it.’

‘But I can assure you,’ added he, ‘the matter which will be laid to your charge concerning your book, is of greater importance than you seem to think it. For your book has been laid before the king and council; and the earl of Bridgewater, who is one of the council, hath hereupon given us command to examine you about it, and secure you.’

I wish, said I, I could speak with the earl myself; for I make no doubt but to acquit myself to him: and, added I, if thou pleasest to give me thy letter to him, I will wait upon him with it forthwith. For although I know, continued I, that he hath no favour for any of my persuasion, yet knowing myself to be wholly innocent in this matter, I can with confidence appear before him, or even before the king in council.

‘Well,’ said he, ‘I see you are confident; but for all that, let me tell you, how good soever your intention was, you timed the publishing of your book very unluckily; for you cannot be ignorant that there is a very dangerous plot lately discovered, contrived by the dissenters, against the government and his majesty’s life.’ This was the Rye-plot, then newly broke forth, and laid upon the Presbyterians: ‘and for you,’ added he, ‘to publish a book, just at that juncture of time, to discourage the magistrates and other officers, from putting in execution those laws which were made to suppress their meetings, looks, I must tell you, with but a scurvy countenance upon you.’

If, replied I, with somewhat a pleasanter air, there was any mis-timing in the case, it must lie on the part of those plotters, for timing the breaking forth of their plot while my book was printing; for I can bring very good proof, that my book was in the press, and well-nigh wrought off, before any man talked or knew of a plot, but those who were in it.

Here our discourse ended, and I taking my leave of him for the present, went to my horse, and changing my companion, rode to justice Titchborn’s; having with me William Ayrs, who was best acquainted with him, and who had casually brought this trouble on me.

When he had introduced me to Titchborn, I gave him a like account of the occasion of my coming at that time, as I had before given to the other justice. And both he and his lady who was present, expressed much concern for Guli Penn’s illness.

I found this man to be of quite another temper than justice Fotherly; for this man was smooth, soft and oily, whereas the other

was rather rough, severe and sharp. Yet at the winding up, I found Fotherly my truest friend.

When I had told sir Benjamin Titchborn, that I came from justice Fotherly, and requested him to give him a meeting to consider of my business; he readily, without any hesitation, told me he would go with me to Rickmansworth, from which his house was distant about a mile, and calling for his horses, mounted immediately, and to Rickmansworth we rode.

After they had been a little while together, I was called in before them; and in the first place they examined me, what was my intention and design in writing that book? I told them the introductory part of it gave a plain account of it, viz. "That it was to get ease from the penalties of a severe law, often executed with too great a severity by unskilful officers, who were driven on beyond the bounds of their duty, by the impetuous threats of a sort of insolent fellows, as needy as greedy, who for their own advantage, sought our ruin." To prevent which, was the design and drift of that book, by acquainting such officers how they might safely demean themselves, in the execution of their offices, towards their honest and peaceable neighbours, without ruining either their neighbours or themselves, to enrich some of the worst of men. And that I humbly conceived, it was neither unlawful nor unreasonable for a sufferer to do this, so long as it was done in a fair, sober and peaceable way.

They then put me in mind of the plot; told me it was a troublesome and dangerous time, and my book might be construed to import sedition, in discouraging the officers from putting the laws in execution, as by law and by their oath they were bound. And in fine brought it to this issue, that they were directed to secure me, by a commitment to prison until the assize, at which I should receive a further charge than they were provided now to give me; but because they were desirous to forward my visit to madam Penn, they told me they would admit me to bail, and therefore if I would enter a recognizance, with sufficient sureties, for my appearance at the next assize, they would leave me at liberty to go on my journey.

I told them, I could not do it. They said they would give me as little trouble as they could, and therefore they would not put me to seek bail; but would accept those two friends of mine, who were then present, to be bound with me for my appearance.

I let them know, my strait lay not in the difficulty of procuring sureties, for I did suppose myself to have sufficient acquaintance

and credit in that place, if on such an occasion I could be free to use it; but as I knew myself to be an innocent man, I had not satisfaction in myself, to desire others to be bound for me, or to enter myself into a recognizance; that carrying in it, to my apprehension, a reflection on my innocence, and the reputation of my Christian profession.

Here we stuck and struggled about this a pretty while, till at length finding me fixed in my judgment, and resolved rather to go to prison than give bail, they asked me if I was against appearing or only against being bound with sureties to appear. I told them I was not against appearing; which as I could not avoid, if I would, so I would not if I might; but was ready and willing to appear if required, to answer whatsoever should be charged against me. But in any case of a religious nature, or wherein my Christian profession was concerned, which I took this case to be, I could not yield to give any other or further security than my word, or promise, as a Christian.

They, unwilling to commit me, took hold of that, and asked if I would promise to appear. I answered, Yes; with due limitations. 'What do you mean by due limitations,' said they. I mean, replied I, if I am not disabled, or prevented by sickness or imprisonment. For, added I, as you alledge that it is a troublesome time, I perhaps may find it so. I may for ought I know, be seized and imprisoned elsewhere, on the same account for which I now stand here before you, and if I should, how then could I appear at the assize in this county? 'Oh,' said they, 'these are due limitations indeed! Sickness or imprisonment are lawful excuses, and if either of these befall you, we shall not expect your appearance here; but then you must certify us, that you are so disabled by sickness or restraint.'

But, said I, how shall I know when and where I shall wait upon you again after my return from Sussex? 'You need not,' said they, 'trouble yourself about that; we will take care to give you notice of both time and place, and till you hear from us, you may dispose yourself as you please.'

Well then, said I, I do promise you, that when I shall have received from you a fresh command to appear before you, I will, if the Lord permit me life, health and liberty, appear when and where you shall appoint.

'It is enough,' said they, 'we will take your word;' and desiring me to give their hearty respects and service to madam Penn, they dismissed me with their wishes for a good journey.

I was sensible, that in this they had dealt very favourably and kindly with me, there-



fore I could not but acknowledge to them the sense I had of it. Which done I took leave of them, and mounting, returned home with what haste I could, to let my wife know how I had sped. And having given her a summary account of the business, I took horse again, and went so far that evening towards Worminghurst, that I got thither pretty early next morning, and to my great satisfaction, found my friend in a hopeful way towards a recovery.

I staid some days with her; and then finding her illness wear daily off, and some other Friends being come from London to visit her, I was mindful of my engagement to the justices, and unwilling, by too long an absence, to give them occasion to suspect I was willing to avoid their summons, so leaving those other Friends to bear her company longer, I took my leave of her and them, and set my face homewards carrying with me the welcome account of my friend's recovery.

Being returned home, I waited in daily expectation of a command from the justices to appear again before them; but none came. I spake with those Friends who had been with me when I was before them, and they said they had heard nothing of it from them, although they had since been in company with them. At length the assize came; but no notice was given to me, that I should appear there; in fine, they never troubled themselves or me any further about it.

Thus was a cloud that looked black and threatened a great storm, blown gently over by a providential breath, which I could not but acknowledge with a thankful mind, to the all-great, all-good, all-wise disposer, in whose hand, and at whose command, the hearts of all men, even the greatest are, and who turns their counsels, disappoints their purposes, and defeats their designs and contrivances, as he pleases. For if my dear friend Guli Penn had not fallen sick, if I had not thereupon been sent for to her, I had not prevented the time of my appearance, but had appeared on the day appointed. And, as I afterwards understood, that was the day appointed for the appearance of a great many persons, of the dissenting party in that side of the county, who were to be taken up and secured, on the account of the aforementioned plot, which had been cast upon the Presbyterians. So that if I had then appeared, with and amongst them, I had in all likelihood, been sent to jail with them for company, and that under the imputation of a plotter; than which, nothing was more contrary to my profession and inclination.

But though I came off so easy, it fared not so well with others; for the storm increasing,

many Friends in divers parts, both of city and country, suffered greatly; the sense whereof did deeply affect me, and the more, for that I observed the magistrates, not thinking the laws which had been made against us severe enough, perverted the law in order to punish us. For calling our peaceable meetings riots, which in the legal notion of the word [riot] is a contradiction in terms, indicted our friends as rioters for only sitting in a meeting, though nothing was there either said or done by them, and then set fines on them at pleasure.

This I knew to be not only against right and justice, but even against law; and it troubled me to think that we should be made to suffer not only by laws made directly against us, but even by laws that did not at all concern us. Nor was it long before I had occasion offered more thoroughly to consider this matter.

For a justice of the peace in this county, who was called sir Dennis Hampson of Taplow, breaking in with a party of horse upon a little meeting near Woodburn, in his neighbourhood, the 1st of the fifth month 1683, sent most of the men, to the number of twenty-three, whom he found there, to Aylesbury prison, though most of them were poor men who lived by their labour; and not going himself to the next Quarter Sessions at Buckingham, on the 12th of the same month, sent his clerk with directions that they should be indicted for a riot. Thither the prisoners were carried and indicted accordingly; and being pressed by the court to traverse and give bail, they moved to be tried forthwith, but that was denied them. And they giving in writing the reason of their refusing bail and fees, were remanded to prison till next Quarter Sessions; but William Woodhouse was again bailed, as he had been before, and William Mason and John Reeve, who not being Friends, but casually taken at that meeting, entered recognizance as the court desired, and so were released till next sessions. Before which time, Mason died, and Reeve being sick, appeared not, but got himself taken off. In the eighth month following, the twenty-one prisoners that remained were brought to trial, a jury was found, who brought in a pretended verdict, that they were guilty of a riot, for only sitting peaceably together without word or action; though there was no proclamation made, nor they required to depart. But one of the jurymen afterwards did confess, he knew not what a riot was; yet the prisoners were fined a noble apiece, and re-committed to prison during life (a hard sentence) or the king's pleasure, or until they should pay the said fines. William Woodhouse was forthwith discharged, by his kinsman paying the fine and

fees for him. Thomas Dell and Edward Moore also, by other people of the world paying their fines and fees for them; and shortly after Stephen Pewsey, by the town and parish

where he lived, for fear his wife and children should become a charge upon them. The other seventeen remained prisoners till king James' proclamation of pardon.

## APPENDIX.

CONTAINING A SUPPLEMENTARY MEMOIR OF THE LIFE OF THOMAS ELLWOOD.

It does not appear that Thomas Ellwood left any account of his own life, subsequent to the close of 1683, the period at which the preceding memoir concludes; though from thence to the time of his decease, an interval elapsed of about thirty years. During that time his active pen was employed, with but little intermission, in support of the cause, to the service of which his heart and talents were devoted. To this circumstance may reasonably be attributed the deficiency in his narrative; which the following pages, comprising a brief notice of the principal circumstances that have been handed down to us, relating to that portion of his life, may in some measure supply.

In consequence of the imprisonment of Friends under the Riot Act, noticed in page 415, &c., Thomas Ellwood published, in the course of the same year, "A Discourse concerning riots: occasioned by some of the people called Quakers being indicted for a riot," &c. The objects of this tract were, to define the legal signification of the term "riot;" and to prove that the meetings of Friends in no degree partook of that character. The following are extracts from the concluding observations: "How truly I have stated the case on the one hand, with respect to riots, the many quotations in the foregoing discourse will show. How true an account, on the other hand, I have given of our meetings, the whole nation, and all nations where we have meetings, may judge. Upon the whole, my request is, that all, both justices and jurors, who have or shall be concerned in this or the like case, will seriously weigh the matter, and not strain the law beyond its due extent." "To oppress any by colour of law, is the greatest abuse of law."

In the same year he addressed a forcible yet temperate remonstrance, to those whose eyes were not open to the impiety and absurdity of attempting to exact religious compliances; which he entitled, "A seasonable Dissuasive from persecution, humbly and mo-

destly, yet with Christian freedom and plainness of speech, offered to the consideration of all concerned therein; on behalf generally of all that suffer for conscience' sake; particularly the people called Quakers."

The following extracts comprise the author's introduction of his subject, and the heads of his arguments.

"Persecution is a word of so harsh a sound, and so generally distasteful to English ears, that scarcely any of those who are most forward and active in that work, are willing to have their actions called by that name. That none therefore, who have set a hand to that work, or whose minds are any whit inclined thereto, may, from the dislike they have to the word, reject this dissuasive as a thing wherein they are not concerned; I think it needful here to declare, what it is I mean by persecution. By persecution, then, I intend a forcing or compelling of any, by pains or penalties, bodily or pecuniary, to relinquish or forsake that exercise of religion, or way of worship, which they believe to be the right way of worship, and the true and acceptable exercise of religion, which God hath required of them: and to receive, embrace, conform to, and perform some other exercise of religion and way of worship, which they who are so compelled are either firmly persuaded is not right, or at least have no belief that it is right. This, in short, is that which I call persecution; and this is that which I dissuade from, whatever other name the actors of it may please themselves in calling it by.

I. "To begin now with the first of these, viz: the forcing or compelling of any to forsake that exercise of religion, or way of worship, which they believe to be right:—the reasons by which I shall endeavour to dissuade all men from such an undertaking, are these:

"1. You may, for aught you know, be found fighting against God: you are not, you cannot be, upon your own principles, infalli-



bly sure, that that way of worship which you thus endeavour to force us from, is not the true worship of God.

"2. By endeavouring to force us from that way of worship, which we believe the Lord hath led us into, and requireth of us, you endeavour to force us to make shipwreck of faith.

"3. In endeavouring, by force and cruelty, to restrain us from worshipping God, as we are fully persuaded he hath taught us and doth require of us, you go out of the path of the righteous, and tread in the steps of the wicked and ungodly.

"4. That exercise of religion which you would force us from, is not simply of itself condemned and disallowed by that law, by the severity of which you would force us from it.

"5. In thus eagerly pursuing us, and disturbing our peaceable meetings, you give yourselves, as well as us, a great deal of needless trouble. For, as that learned doctor in the Jewish law did well observe, 'if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to naught; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it:'—so I say to you in our case.

"6. And lastly, be pleased to consider, what sort of agents and instruments you are fain to make use of, and not seldom are yourselves made use of by, to carry on this work."

"II. Now for the other branch of persecution, viz: The forcing or compelling of any to embrace some exercise of religion and way of worship, which they are firmly persuaded is not right, or at least have no belief that it is right: the reasons by which I shall endeavour to dissuade all men from such an undertaking, are these:

"1. In thus imposing your way of worship upon others, you act quite contrary to Christ and his apostles.

"2. In thus imposing your way of worship upon others, you follow the worst of patterns, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, &c.

"3. In forcing people to your way of worship, who have no belief that it is the right, you cause them to sin; for whatsoever is not of faith is sin.

"4. In forcing people to your way of worship, who have a firm persuasion and belief that it is not the right, you make men hypocrites and time-servers.

"5. By obtruding and enforcing your religion upon others, you greatly disparage and undervalue it, and give men the more ground to suspect and dislike it.

"6. You break that great command, which Christ says is the law and the prophets, viz: 'All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.'

In conclusion, he makes the following en-

getic appeal to persecutors, founded on the well known character and conduct of the persecuted:-

"Ye have known us long; ye have had large experience of us; ye have tried us many ways, and proved us after divers manners. And what evil can you convict us of to this day? Have we not always been a quiet, peaceable, harmless people? When, being reviled, did we revile? or when, being persecuted, did we not patiently suffer it? Ah! what do you propose to yourselves? Do you think to root us out, and destroy God's heritage? It is impossible. The root of Jesse bears us; and upon the immovable rock are we immovably built. O, dash not yourselves against it! But if you could destroy or ruin persons, yet is it possible that there can lodge in English breasts, such more than barbarous inhumanity, to destroy so many thousand families! The Rome-rid French and Irish have gone far that way; but English hands were never so defiled. God grant they never may! Do you think, by rigorous and cruel usage, to frighten us out of our religion, and force us to desert our principles? How can you hope to accomplish such a thing, who have seen our unmoved constancy, and steadfast perseverance therein, under all the sufferings that have hitherto been inflicted on us.

"Have not many of us been already stript of all their outward substance? not a bed being left them to lie on—not a stool to sit on—not a dish to eat from! Is there a prison in the nation, or a dungeon in a prison, which has not been a witness of our groanings? Have we not been tried by banishment, and proved by death itself? death in New England, by the hand of the hangman!—death in Old England, by the rough hands of rude and boisterous officers and soldiers, who have given divers of our friends those blows, which in few days have brought them to their graves!

"I might add to these, burning in the forehead—cutting off ears—unmerciful beatings, whippings, and cruel scourgings. But did any, or all of these deter us from the worship of our God? Nay! hath not our cheerfully undergoing all these hardships, sufficiently evinced to the world, that our religion and consciences are dearer to us than our estates, our liberties, our limbs, or our lives? Why then will you repeat severities upon us, which have so often been tried before in vain? Can you take pleasure in putting others to pain, and delight yourselves in afflicting others? O, suffer not your nature so far to degenerate from the gentleness and tenderness of true and generous Englishmen!

"And think not the worse of us, for our faithfulness to our God! He that is true to

God, will be true to men also; but he that is false and treacherous to God, how is it likely he should be true to men? Endeavour not, therefore, to draw us into unfaithfulness to our God; for that, to be sure, would be hurtful to us, and no ways advantageous to you. Neither be ye exasperated against us, from the difficulty you find in breaking our meetings; or because that, when you have dragged us out of our meetings, and fined or imprisoned us for being there, you find us there again: but rather take it for an argument, that we sincerely love and believe our religion; and that we find our meetings worth suffering for. For, indeed, in our meetings we do meet with the Lord our God, 'in whose presence is fulness of joy.'"

About the year 1685, William Rogers made another attack upon the Society, directed in particular against George Whitehead; who, as well as Thomas Ellwood, had several years before been engaged in controversy with him, in reply to his Christian Quaker Distinguished. Rogers' present production was styled *A Rhyming Scourge for George Whitehead*, who probably not thinking himself qualified to meet his adversary with a rhyming reply, Thomas Ellwood undertook the defence of his friend, by a publication entitled, *Rogero Mastix—A Rod for William Rogers, in return for his Rhyming Scourge*.

In the early part of the succeeding year, 1686, Thomas Ellwood published a general Epistle to Friends, in which he endeavoured, with affectionate earnestness, to check the tendency to division and declension which had then manifested itself in the Society; exhorting his fellow members to maintain a true consistency of conduct, and to guard against the injurious effects of a worldly spirit, as follows, viz:

"Dear friends, unto whom the gathering arm of the Lord hath reached, and who have known, in your several measures, a being gathered thereby into the heavenly life, and are witnesses of the preserving power, by which you have been kept faithful to the Lord, and regardful of his honour: unto you, in an especial manner, is the salutation of my true and tender love in the Lord; and for you, as for myself, are the breathings and fervent desires of my soul offered up, in the one Spirit, unto him who is your God and mine, that both you and I may be for ever kept in the fresh sense of his tender mercies and great loving-kindness unto us, that therein our souls may cleave firmly unto him, and never depart from him. For, friends, it is a trying day, a day of great difficulty and danger, wherein the enemy is at work, and very busy, setting his snares on every side, and

spreading his temptations on every hand; and some, alas! have entered thereinto, and are caught and held therein, for whom my soul in secret mourns.

"And truly, friends, a great weight hath been upon my spirit for many days, and my mind hath been deeply exercised, in the sense I have of the enemy's prevailing by one bait or other, to unsettle the minds of some, unto whom the arm of the Lord had reached, and in some measure gathered to a resting place: but not abiding in that pure light, by which they were at first visited, and to which they were at first turned, the understanding hath been veiled again; the eye, which was once in some measure opened, hath the God of this world insensibly blinded again, and darkness is come over them, to that degree, that they can now contentedly take up again, what in the day of their conviction, and in the time of their true tenderness, they cast off as a burden too heavy to be borne. O my friends! this hath been the enemy's work; therefore it greatly behoves all to watch against him: for it hath been for want of watchfulness, that he hath got entrance into any. For, when the mind hath been from off the true watch, in a secure and careless state, then hath he secretly wrought, and presented his fair baits, his allurements or enticements by pleasure or profit, to catch the unwary mind. And hence it hath come to pass, that some, who have come out fairly, and begun well, and have seemed in good earnest to set their hands to God's plough, have looked back, and been weary of the yoke of Christ, and have either lusted after the flesh-pots of Egypt again, or turned aside into some by-path or crooked way in the wilderness, and thereby fallen short of the promised good land.

"But you, my dear friends, in whom the word of life abides, and who abide in the virtue and savour thereof, ye know the wiles of the enemy, and the power which subdues him, and the Rock in which the preservation and safety is. So that I write not these things unto you, because ye know them not; but the end of my thus writing is, to stir up the pure mind in all upon whom the name of the Lord is called, that we all may be provoked to watchfulness against the workings of the wicked one. Therefore, dear friends, bear, I beseech you, the word of exhortation, though from one that is little and low, and through mercy sensible of it, and who hath not been accustomed to appear after this manner; but the wind, ye know, bloweth where it listeth.

"Friends, call to mind the former times, and remember the days that are past and gone, when the day of the Lord first dawned unto you, and his power seized upon you. Ye



know how weighty and retired the spirits of Friends then were; how grave and solid their deportment and carriage; how few and savoury their words, tending to edify the hearers; how great a fear and backwardness was in them; to enter into familiarity with the world's people. O friends! that was a good day, and that was a safe state; for fear begets watchfulness, and watchfulness is a means to prevent danger. Therefore, all friends, keep in the holy fear, and therein watch against the enemy, that he entangle you not, nor hurt your spirits by a too near familiarity, and intimate conversing with the people of the world; for therein, I assure you, lies a snare.

"For though it be both lawful and necessary, and in some cases also useful and serviceable to the Truth, to converse with them that are without; yet if any friend should adventure in a frank and free mind, beyond the limits of the pure fear, to entertain familiarity with the world's people, the spirit of the world in them will seek an entrance; and, if not diligently watched against, will also get an entrance, and bring a hurt and a loss upon him or them into whom it so gets. For being once entered, it will insensibly work, and dispose the mind to a condescension to and compliance with the people of the world it converses with, first in one thing, then in another; in words, in behaviour, &c., little things in appearance, but great in consequence, till at length an indifferency gets up in the mind, and the testimony of truth by degrees is let fall. But while the pure fear is kept to and dwelt in, the watch is always set, the spirit is retired and weighty, and an holy awfulness rests upon the mind, which renders such converse both safe to the friends, and more serviceable to them they converse withal.

"And, friends, not only in your conversing with the world's people, but in all your conversation and course of life, watch against the spirit of the world; for it lies near to tempt, and to draw out the mind, and to lead back into the world again. You know, friends, that at the first, when the visiting arm of the Lord reached to us, he led us out of the world's ways, manners, customs, and fashions; and a close testimony, both in word and practice, was borne against them. But how hath this testimony been kept up, and kept to, by all who have since made profession of the Truth! Ah! how hath the enemy, for want of watchfulness, stolen in upon too many, and led out their minds from that which did at first convince them, into a liberty beyond the cross of Christ Jesus! and in that liberty they have run into the world's fashions, which the worldly spirit continually invents to feed the

vain and airy minds withal, that they may not come to gravity and solidity.

"Thence it hath come to pass, that there is scarcely a new fashion come up, or a fantastic cut invented, but some one or other, that professes Truth, is ready with the foremost to run into it. Ah, friends! the world sees this, and smiles, and points the finger at it. And this is both a hurt to the particular, and a reproach to the general. Therefore, O! let the lot be cast; let search be made by every one, and let every one examine himself, that this Achan, with his Babylonish garment, may be found and cast out; for indeed he is a troubler of Israel.

"And all friends, who upon true search shall find yourselves concerned in this particular, I warn and exhort you all, return to that which at first convinced you; to that keep close, in that abide, that therein ye may know, as at the first, not only a bridle to the tongue, but a curb to the roving mind, a restraint to the wandering desire. For assuredly, friends, if truth be kept to, none will need to learn of the world what to wear, what to put on, or how to shape and fashion their garments; but Truth will teach all how best to answer the end of clothing, both for useful service and modest decency. And the cross of Christ will be a yoke to the unruly will, and a restraint upon the wanton mind; and will crucify that nature that delights in finery and in bravery of apparel, in which the true adorning doth not stand, but in the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even a meek and quiet spirit.

"And the grace of God, which hath appeared to all, and which hath brought salvation to many, will not only teach to deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world, but will also lead those that obey it, out of all excess, and out of all superfluities and worldly vanities, and will teach them to order their conversation aright. Therefore to this heavenly grace let every mind be turned, and therein stayed; that thereby all who profess the Truth may be kept in the holy limits of it; that in their whole conversation and course of life—in eating, in drinking, in putting on apparel, and in whatsoever else we do or take in hand, all may be done to the glory of God, that our moderation in all things may appear unto all men.

"And let not any deceive and hurt themselves with a false plea, saying, 'I will be left to my liberty; I have freedom to do, go, or wear so and so; and religion stands not in clothes,' &c., for that liberty which the worldly spirits leads into, is not indeed the true

liberty, but is a false and feigned liberty, which leads into true and real bondage. And though religion stands not simply in clothes; yet true religion stands in that which sets a bound and limit to the mind with respect to clothes, as well as to other things. So that where there is a running out into excess and vanity in apparel, that is a certain indication and token that the mind is got loose, and hath cast off the yoke, and is broken away from its due subjection to that divine power, in which the true religion stands.

“Great hath been the hurt which the enemy hath done in this day, by leading into a false freedom, and crying up a wrong liberty; for under this pretence have crept in great disorders, some running out one way, and some another; some mixing in marriages with the world’s people, and some going to the priest to be married. And many loose and unclean spirits have shrouded themselves under this plausible pretence of being left to their liberty, unto whom Truth’s order is irksome and uneasy; and they kick against it, and call it imposition, because it checks their licentious liberty.

“Therefore all, who join with their plea, examine and try what liberty it is ye claim and stand for; for the true liberty is not inconsistent with the cross of Christ, nor repugnant to his yoke, but agrees with it, and is obtained through it, and maintained by it. And none whom the Son hath made free indeed, will or can plead, or make use of that liberty, in opposition to any means which the God of order hath appointed, or set up in his church for keeping out confusion, disorder, and looseness. And hereby all may take a right measure, and may certainly know what kind of liberty that is, which some have so hotly contended for, in opposition to that necessary and commendable order which God hath led his people into, and which the enemy, in his agents, labours so hard to lead them out of. For the enemy well knows, that the tendency and service thereof, is to detect and discover his secret workings, and to bring his deeds to light and judgment; and therefore he strives with might and main to overturn it, crying out through his instruments; ‘Away with your order; let every one be left to his liberty.’ By which seemingly fair and specious plea, not only the loose, disorderly, factious spirits have been let up, and encouraged to greater boldness and licentiousness; but some simple and well-meaning friends also, not seeing the design of Satan therein, have been misled thereby, and made use of by the enemy, and the more subtle of his instruments, to oppose the good order of Truth.

“Thus hath the enemy wrought, and sought

to lay waste the work of the Lord. But the Lord, magnified be his holy name, hath not been wanting to his people, who in sincerity of heart have diligently waited on Him, and trusted in him; for he hath all along raised up some, whose eyes he hath opened, to see the design and working of the evil one, and whose spirits he hath engaged to stand up in a faithful testimony against him, contending for the way of Truth. Which when they, in whom the enemy wrought, perceived, and found they could not run over the heads of Friends, and carry things on as themselves pleased, they set themselves in a heady, wilful spirit, to raise disturbances in meetings for business, by encouraging and abetting such heady, loose, contentious, and disorderly persons as would join with them; thus hardening themselves, and provoking the Lord to give them up to blindness and hardness of heart, till at length the enemy prevailed so far upon them, as to work them, by degrees, from discontent to prejudice, then to enmity, and so at length, in divers places, to an open defection, apostasy, and separation.

“Now, although I know, my dear friends, that ye who have kept your habitation in the light of the Lord, and whose eye is single therein, have a clear sight and understanding, that the spirit which hath thus wrought and fought against the Truth, is not, nor can be of God, but is of the wicked one; and although the fruits it hath brought forth, through the agents and instruments in and by which it hath wrought, in making disturbances in meetings, to the breaking the church’s peace; causing divisions among Friends; publishing to the world most wicked, malicious, railing, and scandalous books against Friends; (an effect of the greatest enmity;) shutting and keeping Friends out of their common meeting-houses, in which they have a just right and property, and not suffering them to meet therein, which is a part of the persecution inflicted on Friends by the world, and at length also setting up separate meetings, in opposition to the meetings of God’s people;—although, I say, these fruits are sufficient of themselves to discover and manifest, to an unclouded mind, what spirit that is and must needs be, which hath brought them forth; yet inasmuch as some, partly through weakness of judgment, and partly through personal affection to some of those leading separatists, are yet in danger to be betrayed by their fair words and feigned speeches, wherewith they lie in wait to deceive; I feel a concern remain upon my spirit, in the love of God, to warn all such, that they join not with, nor give countenance unto that spirit, that hath thus wrought against the Lord, and against his people.



"For, friends, in the holy fear of the living God and in the openings of the spring of his pure life in my soul at this time, and from the certain knowledge and clear demonstration which I have received from him therein, I testify and declare unto you, that this spirit, which in this day hath run out, and hath drawn out some into opposition against the way and work of the Lord, into division and separation from the people of the Lord, and from the holy assemblies which the Lord hath gathered, and by his powerful presence hath owned, and daily doth own;—this spirit, I say, is the same with that which formerly wrought, in other appearances, against the Truth in our time; and is the same with that spirit, which wrought against the work of the Lord in the days of the holy apostles. This mystery of iniquity then wrought, and caused many to turn aside, and to leave the right way of the Lord, and to forsake the assemblies of God's people; yea, and to run into separation too; upon whom the Holy Ghost hath set his brand, that they were sensual, having not the Spirit. And many close and sharp testimonies did the Lord give forth through his servants in that day against this spirit, and against those that were joined to it, and acted by it, as may be seen in the Holy Scriptures."

"Yea, friends, this spirit that hath led some now to set up their separate meetings, is the same that led Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, to set up his separate altar at Bethel, of which you may read, 1 Kings, 12th- and 13th chapters. He was afraid that if the people should continue to go up to the house of the Lord, to do sacrifice there, as they had been accustomed to do, and as the Lord had required, they would then forsake him, and return to the Lord again.

"O friends! consider, how hath dryness and withering come upon many a great and stout one in this day, who have lifted up themselves against the Lord, and have sought, by the devices of their own hearts, to establish themselves in their own way, against the way of the Lord, so that the hand they have put forth in that work, they could not pull in again.

"O friends! stand in the fear and counsel of the Lord, and in the dominion of his power, over this wicked spirit in all its twistings and twinings. Let neither the frowns nor the fawnings, the threats nor the flatteries, the hard speeches, nor the oily words, the pharisaical friendship, the dissembling love, the seeming kindness, the familiar carriage, the free entertainment, the offer of advantage, &c., have any influence upon you, to draw you in the least measure to join or touch with God's

enemy; with him that sets up a separate altar, a separate meeting in opposition to, and to draw or keep from, the right way of the Lord. Mind well the answer which the man of God gave to Jeroboam's tempting invitation; 'If,' said he, 'thou wilt give me half thine house, I will not go in with thee; neither will I eat bread nor drink water in this place.' This was where the separate altar was set up.

"Therefore, all friends, watch against every temptation thereunto, as you love your lives, as you regard the good and eternal welfare of your souls; and let not the name or person of any man have power over you, to draw you aside, neither let numbers sway with you: in which, I know, these adversaries of truth do not a little boast, though blessed be God, with little reason; but remember that Jeroboam of old had ten tribes out of twelve to cry up his separate altar; notwithstanding which, he is branded to posterity in the holy record with this brand, 'Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin.' Therefore let not any follow a multitude to do evil. Exod. xxiii. 2. But all follow that which is good, both among yourselves, and to all men. 1 Thess. v. 15. For friends, you know whither the broad way leads, and what it is the wide gate opens into, which the many go in at; but keep ye to the strait gate, and walk ye on in the narrow way, for in it is safety, and at the end of it everlasting happiness.

"But, friends, because of the straitness of this gate, and the narrowness of this way, some that have attempted to walk in it, are grown weary of it, and have sought out another way, which, Jeroboam-like, they have devised of their own hearts, wherein they may have more room, more scope, more company, ease in the flesh, liberty to the flesh, and all without control. And this, I am satisfied, hath not been the least motive to the separation in this day, as it was the greatest in days past; though some that have been drawn into it, may not perhaps see the ground upon which it was undertaken. But the Lord hath opened an eye in many, which sees the rise and ground, entrance and end, of this libertine spirit and its work. And this eye will the Lord daily open more and more, in all that diligently and in sincerity wait upon him.

"Therefore all friends every where, who have not yet a clear sight, and a thorough understanding of the nature and work, design and drift of this dividing spirit, wait I beseech you, in simplicity of heart and lowliness of mind, upon the Lord, and keep to the measure of the grace you have received from him; and suffer not your minds to be swayed or biassed by any personal kindness, natural affection, relation, kindred, or acquaintance,

but stand single and open to the Lord, not joining to, nor any way countenancing that which the testimony of Truth, in the arisings of the heavenly life, and breakings forth of the divine power through any, goes forth against. So will your present standing be safe, and you be preserved out of the snares of this insinuating and treacherous spirit: and the Lord, in his appointed time, as ye abide with him, will open your understandings further, and give you a clearer sight of that which at present you do not fully see, and thereby bring you to that certainty and assurance, which blessed be his name, he hath brought many unto.

“And you, my dear friends, whose spirits the Lord hath stirred up, and whose hearts he hath engaged in a holy zeal, to stand up for his blessed Name and Truth, and to bear a faithful testimony against this wicked rending spirit, go on in the strength and power of the Lord, in the might of the God of Jacob; for you are assuredly on the Lord’s side, and the Lord Jehovah, the strength of Israel, is on your side. Therefore, friends, be encouraged in the Lord, to stand steadfast in your testimony, not giving way to the enemy, no, not for a moment. And take heed, I beseech you, in the love of God, how ye enter into any treaty of peace or terms of agreement with this ungodly, treacherous spirit, which is out of the truth, and draws out of the truth, and fights against the truth; for there is no peace unto it, saith my God.

“And they who have joined themselves unto it, and have wickedly given themselves up to be acted by it, and to act for it, must pass through the river of judgment, if ever they be redeemed from under its power. Friends, condemnation must first be felt and owned, before reconciliation can be known; and the fire of the Lord must pass upon the transgressor, to consume the works of darkness, the ungodly deeds, the envious, reviling speeches, the wicked, malicious, slanderous books and pamphlets, &c., and to burn up the ground from whence they sprang. For a flaming sword hath the Lord God set in his Eden, which turneth every way; and none that are gone out can ever come in again, but they must pass under the flaming edge thereof. Therefore, my dear friends, stand your ground in the authority of the heavenly life, and tamper not with God’s enemies. Remember the word of the Lord to the prophet: ‘Let them return unto thee, but return not thou unto them.’ And then what follows? ‘I will make thee unto this people a fenced brazen wall, and they shall fight against thee, but they shall not prevail against thee; for I am with thee,

to save thee, and to deliver thee, saith the Lord.’

“So the God of life fill your hearts daily more and more with a Phineas’ zeal for the honour of his name, and furnish you abundantly with wisdom and counsel, with boldness and courage, with strength and power, to encounter and overcome the enemy; and make every one more watchful against the spirit of the world, to withstand it in all its allurements to vanity, of whatsoever kind; that whatsoever would defile the camp of the Lord, may be purged out, and kept out, that the Lord may more and more delight in his people, and shower down his blessings upon them; which is the fervent desire of your faithful friend in the love and service of the unchangeable truth,  
THOMAS ELLWOOD.”

The 24th of the Second  
month, 1686.

We find no account of Thomas Ellwood’s employment during the four following years, except that some part of the retirement and leisure which that period appears to have afforded him, was occupied in the composition of the first three books of his “Davideis.” “But then,” says Joseph Wyeth, “the Prince of Orange landing, and the revolution following, the nation being in arms against king James, the noise of guns, and sound of drums, &c., so disturbed his meditation and gentle muse, that his poetical genius left him for a time, and he thereupon left his work for above twenty years.”

About the year 1689, two members of the Society at Wiccomb, John Raunce and Charles Harris, created some dissension and separation, and published a memorial stating the grounds of their dissatisfaction; to which Thomas Ellwood replied; and, in 1693, he wrote a paper in order to defend his reply, and to exonerate himself from the charge of misrepresentation, of which he had been accused by his opponents. In the year 1691 also, his pen was employed in counteracting a similar spirit of dissension in another quarter, which had produced an attack upon a work published by William Penn, in 1681, entitled, *A brief examination and state of Liberty Spiritual, &c.*

About the same time, Thomas Ellwood was occupied in transcribing and preparing for the press, the *Journal of George Fox*, who died in the 11th month, 1690. To this he also prefixed a brief, but comprehensive review of the character of his excellent and lamented friend; the insertion of which will probably not be unacceptable to the reader.



*“Thomas Ellwood’s account of that eminent and honourable servant of the Lord, George Fox.”*

“This holy man was raised up by God, in an extraordinary manner, for an extraordinary work, even to awaken the sleeping world, by proclaiming the mighty day of the Lord to the nations, and publishing again the everlasting Gospel to the inhabitants of the earth, after the long and dismal night of apostasy and darkness. For this work the Lord began to prepare him, by many and various trials and exercises from his very childhood: and having fitted and furnished him for it, he called him into it very young; and made him instrumental, by the effectual working of the Holy Ghost, through his ministry to call many others into the same work, and to turn many thousands from darkness to the light of Christ, and from the power of Satan unto God.

“I knew him not until the year 1660; from that time to the time of his death I knew him well, conversed with him often, observed him much, loved him dearly, and honoured him truly; and upon good experience can say, he was indeed a heavenly-minded man, zealous for the name of the Lord, and preferred the honour of God before all things.

“He was valiant for the Truth, bold in asserting it, patient in suffering for it, unwearied in labouring in it, steady in his testimony to it, immoveable as a rock. Deep he was in divine knowledge, clear in opening heavenly mysteries, plain and powerful in preaching, fervent in prayer. He was richly endued with heavenly wisdom, quick in discerning, sound in judgment, able and ready in giving, discreet in keeping, counsel; a lover of righteousness, an encourager of virtue, justice, temperance, meekness, purity, chastity, modesty, humility, charity, and self-denial in all, both by word and example. Graceful he was in countenance, manly in personage, grave in gesture, courteous in conversation, weighty in communication, instructive in discourse, free from affectation in speech or carriage. A severe reprover of hard and obstinate sinners, a mild and gentle admonisher of such as were tender, and sensible of their failings. Not apt to resent personal wrongs; easy to forgive injuries; but zealously earnest where the honour of God, the prosperity of truth and the peace of the church, were concerned. Very tender, compassionate, and pitiful he was to all that were under any sort of affliction; full of brotherly love, full of fatherly care: for indeed the care of the churches of Christ was daily upon him, the prosperity and peace whereof he studiously sought.

“Beloved he was of God; beloved of God’s

people; and, which was not the least part of his honour, the common butt of all apostates’ envy; whose good, notwithstanding, he earnestly sought.

“He lived to see the desire of his soul, the spreading of that blessed principle of divine light, through many of the European nations, and not a few of the American islands and provinces, and the gathering of many thousands into an establishment therein: of which the Lord vouchsafed him the honour to be the first effectual publisher, in this latter age of the world. And having fought a good fight, finished his course, and kept the faith, his righteous soul, freed from the earthly tabernacle, in which he had led an exemplary life of holiness, was translated into those heavenly mansions, where Christ our Lord went to prepare a place for his [own]; there to possess that glorious crown of righteousness which is laid up for, and shall be given by the Lord, the righteous Judge, to all them that love his appearance. Ages to come, and people yet unborn, shall call him blessed; and bless the Lord for raising him up: and blessed shall we also be, if we so walk as we had him for an example; for whom this testimony lives in my heart, he lived and died the servant of the Lord.”

T. E.

In the year 1694, Thomas Ellwood engaged in controversy with George Keith; whose separation from his friends, and renunciation of those principles, of which, during a period of about thirty years, he had been a public and zealous advocate, became a source of much and painful dissension in the Society, as well as of heartfelt sorrow to those with whom he had, at one time, appeared to be cordially united in Christian fellowship.

George Keith was educated in the Presbyterian church, was a man of talent and learning, and had obtained the degree of Master of Arts in the university of Aberdeen, the place of his nativity.

The first mention we find of him, after he became a member and minister of the Society of Friends, is in Sewel’s account of the dispute to which Thomas Ellwood alludes in his journal, held in London in the year 1674, between some Baptists and Friends, and in which the cause of the latter was supported by George Whitehead, Stephen Crisp, William Penn, and George Keith. In the succeeding year, he united with Robert Barclay in a similar engagement with some scholars of the university of Aberdeen; on which occasion four of the students were induced to embrace Friends’ principles.

In 1677, George Keith united with George Fox, William Penn, Robert Barclay, and other

Friends, in their religious labours in Holland and Germany; and, some years afterwards, he became one of the earliest settlers in Pennsylvania. After residing there about ten years, he was the means of aggravating, by a religious schism, the political differences which then agitated that infant settlement. Ambitions of rising to influence and importance in the Society, and obtaining a superiority over his brethren,—and having imbibed notions subversive of social order, they led him to conduct himself with great disrespect towards the civil authorities in the state, and rendered him dissatisfied with the restraint which the excellent discipline established in the Society, imposes upon its members.

He also opposed and ridiculed some of the doctrines and practices of the Society; and, having formed a separate congregation, distinguished himself and his adherents by the denomination of “Christian Quakers.” He asserted, however, that his dissatisfaction was not with the body of Friends generally, but only with some unsound members in Pennsylvania; and accordingly he returned, in 1694, for the purpose of pleading his cause before the yearly meeting in London. After the meeting had concluded its routine of business, adjournments were continued for several days, in which a full opportunity was afforded to Keith and his party, of stating their grievances, and the utmost endeavours were used to effect a reconciliation between him and his friends; but so little disposition did he evince toward such a step, that the means employed to close the breach, tended only to widen it, and were followed by his total separation from the Society.

Thomas Ellwood, anxious to counteract the calamitous effects of a disposition to break the bonds of union, and cast off the restraints of social order, wrote “An epistle to Friends, briefly commemorating the gracious dealings of the Lord with them, and warning them to beware of that spirit of contention and division which hath appeared of late in George Keith.” The following is an extract from his introductory observations.

“Dear friends,

“Whom the Lord hath called with an holy calling, and who, through faithfulness to the heavenly call, are become the chosen of the Lord. It is in my heart, in the openings of the love of God, to send these few lines among you, as a salutation of true and hearty love unto you; and in the tendering sense of the Lord’s unspeakable goodness unto us, which at this time rests with an affecting weight upon my spirit, briefly to commemorate the gracious dealings of the Lord with us since we have been a people.

“Great and manifold have been the mercies of our God unto his people, in this his day; and his loving-kindnesses are beyond expressing: when we were young and little, his fatherly care was over us; he preserved us and nourished us, and caused us to grow up before him. How did he carry his lambs in his bosom, when the beasts of prey roared on every side, seeking to devour! Who can rehearse the many deliverances He hath wrought for his people, in their passage from spiritual Egypt! How hath he girded their loins with strength, and covered their heads in the day of battle! How hath he subdued their enemies before them, and put to flight the armies of aliens! How hath he fed them with bread from heaven, and made them to suck honey out of the rock! Yea, he hath caused the rock to give forth water abundantly, and hath been to his people as a brook in the way, and the shadow of a mighty rock in a weary land. So that from a sensible experience we can say, to his praise, our bread hath been sure, and our water hath not failed, as we have singly relied on him.

“O! his goodness is unutterable, and his faithfulness hath never failed them that trust in him. When have we ever been in prison for his sake, and He hath not visited and comforted us there? What sufferings have any undergone on his account, and he hath not abundantly recompensed the loss? Nay, hath he not often stopped the mouths of lions, and reproved rulers for the sake of his people, saying, ‘Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm.’ In all our exercises he hath been with us, and he hath stood by us in our sorest trials; yea, he hath caused his angel to encamp round about us, so that no weapon formed against us hath prospered; but every tongue that hath risen up against us, the Lord hath given us power to condemn: blessed be his holy name; and exalted and magnified be his glorious power for ever!

“These things, and much more than I can write, I doubt not but ye, my dear friends, are witnesses of; ye especially, my elder brethren, who were called early in the morning of this day, and have stood faithful in your testimony until now, who from your own both early and late experiences can set your seals to the truth hereof; and unto you I do believe this brief commemoration of the goodness and loving-kindness of the Lord to his people, will be pleasing and delightful, as I hope it may prove useful and profitable unto us all, in the stirring up of the pure mind, and putting us in fresh remembrance of the Lord’s manifold favours towards us, and gracious dealings with us; which should be as a renewed engagement upon us to cleave fast unto the Lord,



and, in humility of heart, to walk closely with him, both that we may, as far as in us lies, answer his great loving-kindness to us-ward, and receive from him daily strength and ability to stand, and withstand the assaults and temptations of the enemy, and escape his snares, wherewith he is, at this time, as busy and industrious to betray, and draw aside from the simplicity of the truth, as ever he was.

"For, friends, ye know we have a restless adversary to watch against, and to war with; one that sometimes walks about as a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour; and sometimes creeps about as a subtle serpent, seeking whom he may betray; whom in each appearance, it is our duty and interest to resist, steadfast in the faith which overcomes. I need not recount unto you, my friends, the many winds and floods, storms and tempests, of open and cruel persecutions, which this roaring adversary hath often raised, and caused to beat upon us, to have driven us, if possible, from off our foundation; ye cannot have forgotten it, nor that noble arm of the Lord, which was made bare for our preservation; and, by preserving us against the most furious shocks, gave evidence even to the world, that we are that people whose house is founded and built upon that immovable rock, Christ Jesus.

"At this sort of fighting the enemy hath been foiled; which hath made him shift his hand, and, like a cunning hunter, spread his nets, set his snares, lay his baits, to catch the simple and unwary ones. Thus wrought this subtle enemy in the early times of Christianity, sometimes stirring up the rulers, both Jews and Gentiles, to fall with violent and bloody hands upon the little flock of Christ; and sometimes, in the intermissions of those storms, covering his hooks with the taking baits of pleasure, profit and preferment, he caught some, perhaps of those that had withstood the strongest storm of outward persecution, and made them instruments for himself to work by to betray others. Such was Diotrephes of old, whose aspiring mind, loving and seeking pre-eminence, laboured to make a schism in the church, prating against even the elders thereof with malicious words, &c. What mischief the wicked one hath wrought in our day by such ambitious spirits, I need not recount, nor is it pleasing to me to remember: ye know it, to your grief, as well as I. But this in all such cases is observable, that such as have made disturbances in the church, and have run into divisions and separations from friends, have framed to themselves some specious pretence or other, as the inducement to their undertaking, which they have industriously spread abroad, and varnished over

with the fairest colours they could, to allure and draw others to join with them."

This publication excited the resentment of George Keith, who, after having in vain demanded its suppression by the Society, opposed it with what he styled "A Loving Epistle;" in which he charged the author with fifty perversions; and in a short time after he brought forward what he called proofs of those perversions, and at the same time expressed his unalterable attachment to the Society. This was speedily followed by a rejoinder from Thomas Ellwood, entitled "A further discovery of that spirit of contention and division, which hath appeared of late in George Keith, &c., wherein his cavils are answered, his falsehood is laid open, and the guilt and blame of the breach and separation in America, &c., are fixed faster on him; written by way of epistle, and recommended as a further warning to Friends."

The subject of George Keith's differences was resumed by the yearly meeting in 1695, and issued in his final separation from the Society, that body confirming the proceedings against him, by which he had been disowned in America. Soon after he published some observations on that decision, &c., which again furnished employment for Thomas Ellwood's pen, and were met by his "Truth Defended, and the Friends thereof cleared from the false charges, foul reproaches, and envious cavils, cast upon it and them by George Keith, an apostate from them, in two books by him lately published; one called 'A true Copy of a Paper delivered into the yearly meeting,' &c.; the other the pretended 'Yearly meeting's nameless Bull of Excommunication.'"

George Keith retained for a short time some adherents, consisting of persons who had separated from the Society; and after being deserted by them, formed a congregation who met in Turner's hall, Philpot lane, London, and were for some time very numerous; but declined on his manifesting an inclination to join the established church. Turner's hall he also made the theatre of violent declamations against his late fellow professors and their principles; and gave public notice of a meeting to be held there in the fourth month, 1696, "to discover the Quakers' errors." Of this meeting he soon after published a narrative, which was followed by a reply from Thomas Ellwood's pen, entitled: "An Answer to George Keith's Narrative of his Proceedings at Turner's hall, &c., wherein his charges against divers of the people called Quakers, in that and another book of his, called *Gross Errors*, &c., are fairly considered, examined and refuted."

The following quotation will give some idea of the character of the meeting.

George Keith "having published many books against us, and in defence of those books wrangled with us for a while in print, till he found himself too closely pinched, to be able to give an answer fit to be seen in print, hath at length bethought himself of a wile to excuse himself from answering; which was, to set up a kind of judicial court of his own head, and by his own authority, in a place at his own command, on a day of his own appointing, there to charge and try divers of us who are called Quakers, whether present or absent, concerning matters of faith and doctrine; and that the rude multitude might not be wanting to his assistance there, he gave public notice of it some time before, by an advertisement in print, and therein a sort of summons to some of us by name, to others by designation to be present. This arbitrary proceeding, and usurped authority, as we judged it unreasonable in him to impose, so we did not think fit to submit to, or own, and therefore forbore to appear at that time and place by him appointed. Yet, lest any whom he should draw thither, might mistake the cause of our not appearing, the reasons thereof, drawn up in short heads, were sent thither to be read and given among the people, which they were. However, according to his before declared intention to proceed whether any of us were there or no, he being judge of his own court, over-ruled our reasons, and went on to arraign and convict us absent.

"The paganry of this day's work, as acted there by himself, he hath since published with his name to it, under the title of 'An exact Narrative of the proceedings at Turner's hall, &c., together with the disputes and speeches there, between G. Keith and other Quakers, differing from him in some religious principles.' How idle is this in him, to pretend in his title to give an account of disputes and speeches between him and other Quakers, whereas his narrative itself gives no account of any dispute there, nor any thing like it; and of that little that was said by any of those few Quakers that were present, most was to the people, tending to show them the unreasonableness of his undertaking, and desiring them to reserve one ear for the other side."

G. Keith, feeling probably some difficulty in openly opposing those principles of which he had so lately been a zealous defender, declined again meeting his opponent *in propria persona*, but found a ready champion in the author of "The Snake in the Grass," who produced a vindication of his cause, as far at

least as regarded the doctrines in dispute, styled, "Satan Disrobed from his disguise of light, in reply to T. Ellwood's Answer to G. Keith's Narrative, 1697." T. Ellwood made considerable progress in a reply, but relinquished the further prosecution of it.

Towards the close of the year 1698, several clergymen of Norfolk, in consequence of a meeting held by some Friends near the residence of one of them, which produced an increase of members in that neighbourhood, challenged the Friends to a public dispute at West Dereham in that county; the issue of which not being satisfactory to the clerical party, they endeavoured to avail themselves of more powerful weapons than their arguments, and accordingly promoted the presentation to parliament, of two petitions against the Society. Thomas Ellwood published, early in the following year, "A Sober Reply on behalf of the people called Quakers, to two Petitions against them, the one out of Norfolk, and the other from Bury in Suffolk, being some brief observations upon them." The publication of this, with the activity of Friends resident in the metropolis, in furnishing members with correct information on the subject, by personal attendance on the house, as well as through the medium of the press, was attended with the desired effect, and the efforts of their opponents proved fruitless.

George Keith continued to hold annually a meeting at Turner's hall, for discussing the principles and practices of Friends; and William Penn, who had recently returned to his province in the New World this year, became the principal object of his invectives, which were followed up shortly afterwards by a publication, of which Keith was the avowed author, entitled, "The Deism of William Penn and his brethren, destructive to the Christian religion, exposed."

To this work Thomas Ellwood commenced a reply, in which he had made considerable progress, when he was induced to relinquish his design, deeming the necessity of his labour superseded, by the publication of a Friend of Bristol, entitled, "Honesty the truest Policy: showing the sophistry, envy, and perversion of George Keith, in his three books: viz. his 'Bristol Quakerism,' 'Bristol Narrative,' and his 'Deism.'"

Though the writings of William Penn contain unanswerable refutations of this calumny, the following extracts from Thomas Ellwood's vindication of his principles may be acceptable to the reader, as collateral evidence of the soundness of that distinguished member of our Society, as well as of his contemporary fellow professors, in regard to the fundamental doctrines of the gospel.



"Now herein G. Keith's both injustice and malice are the greater, in charging W. Penn, and his brethren the Quakers, with deism; inasmuch as he assuredly knows, which some adversaries have not had the like opportunity to know, as he hath had, by certain experience, drawn by so many years intimate conversation with W. Penn and the Quakers, in free and familiar conferences, and in reading their books, that W. Penn and the Quakers, both in word and writing, publicly and privately, have always, and on all occasions, confessed, acknowledged, owned, as well as believed, the incarnation of Christ, according to the Holy Scriptures, viz.—That the Word was made flesh.—That when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law.—That Christ Jesus, being in the form of God, and thinking it no robbery to be equal with God, made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men; and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. That Christ died for our sins, according to the Scriptures, and that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day, according to the Scriptures.—That he was delivered for our offences, and raised again for our justification. That he is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world.—That he ascended up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things.—That he is the one Mediator between God and men. That he is at the right hand of God, and maketh intercession for us; and is our advocate with the Father.—And that it is He which was ordained of God, to be the Judge of quick and dead.

"These things, I say, G. Keith certainly knows have been constantly held, believed, professed, and owned by W. Penn and his brethren the Quakers in general, both privately and publicly, in word and writing. These things are so often testified of in our meetings, and have been so fully and plainly asserted and held forth in our books, that we might call in almost as many witnesses thereof, as have frequented our meetings, or attentively read our books.

"The book of W. Penn's, called, 'A Discourse of the general Rule of Faith and Life,' to which G. Keith's Deism is an answer, G. Keith tells us in his preface, was first printed in the year 1673, as an appendix to William Penn's part of the Christian Quaker—a folio book in two parts; the former written by W. Penn, the latter by G. Whitehead. In that former part of the Christian Quaker, written

by W. Penn, though the tendency of it is to assert and defend the divinity of Christ, and his spiritual appearance by his divine light in the hearts of men; yet there is enough said concerning his manhood, his outward appearance, and his sufferings in the flesh, to free W. Penn from the imputation and suspicion of Deism.

"No longer ago than in the year 1692, nineteen years after that book of W. Penn's, called, 'A Discourse of the general Rule of Faith and Life,' was in print, G. Keith, in his serious Appeal, page 7, says, 'According to the best knowledge I have of the people called Quakers, and those most generally owned by them, as preachers and publishers of their faith, of unquestioned esteem among them, and worthy of double honour, as many such there are, I know none that are guilty of any such heresies and blasphemies as thou accusest them: and I think I should know, and do know, those called Quakers better than C. Mather [against whom he then wrote] or any of his brethren; having been conversant with them, in public meetings, as well as in private discourse, with the most noted and esteemed among them, for above twenty-eight years past, and that in many places of the world, in Europe, and for these divers years in America.' I say, all this considered, how will G. Keith, upon the charges he now makes against W. Penn, acquit himself from having been a professed deist, all the while he was among the Quakers? Yet he himself well knows, that neither he, nor William Penn, nor any of the Quakers, ever were deists; ever did deny, disown, or disbelieve the coming, incarnation, sufferings, and death of Christ, as man outwardly in the flesh, his resurrection, ascension, and mediatorship; and he himself has undesignedly acquitted William Penn from his present charge of deism, by a story he told in his first Narrative, page 38, that upon some urging him to give an instance of one English Quaker that he ever heard pray to Christ, William Penn, being present, said, 'I am an Englishman, and a Quaker; and I own I have often prayed to Christ Jesus, even him that was crucified'."

Before taking leave of George Keith, we may remark, that his congregation at Turner's hall, and his reputation among other dissenters, gradually declined, on their perceiving a change in his religious tenets, which soon approximated to those of the establishment; and after having, as we have seen, relinquished the Presbyterian habiliments, and successively assumed the garb of Quakerism, and other modes of dissent, his last transformation exhibits him in the sacerdotal robes of Episcopal

Orthodoxy; in which character he performed, in 1702, an unsuccessful embassy to the western hemisphere, with the design of restoring other dissenters to the bosom of Mother Church. After his return, he obtained the living of Elburton parish, in Sussex, where he continued to maintain a violent opposition against Friends, till near the close of his mortal career, which terminated in 1715.

We find no mention of Thomas Ellwood for some years after his controversy with Keith, except that in the course of the years 1701 and 1702, he entered into a correspondence with John Shockling, a clergyman in Kent, on the subject of Baptism, which was not presented to the public.

This period of relaxation from other engagements, facilitated his completion of a connected view of Scripture history, digested, as far as he possessed the means of ascertaining it, in chronological order. The first part appeared in 1705, under the title of "Sacred History, or the historical parts of the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, gathered out from the other parts thereof, and digested, as near as well could be, into due method with respect to order of time and place: with some observations here and there, tending to illustrate some passages therein." The second part, comprising the history of the New Testament, followed in 1709. This is a work of considerable merit, and has been favourably received by the Society, as is evinced by the sale of four editions, and the publication of a fifth, which is still extant, in three duodecimo volumes.

The author does not adhere generally to the words of the sacred Text, and has availed himself of the observation of biblical critics, to whose works he had access, particularly the learned Grotius, in elucidating difficult passages, or those in which he deemed the authorized version to be erroneous. The gospel history embraces the discourses of our Lord, and is preceded by a biographical sketch of the historical writers of the New Testament.

The following quotations, illustrative of the views with which the pious author engaged in his undertaking, will, we presume, be acceptable to those who do not possess the work.

"What Cicero saith of history in general, namely, that it is, *Temporum testis, lux veritatis, vita memoria, magistra vitæ, et nuncia antiquitatis*; i. e. The witness of time, the light of truth, the life of memory, the mistress of life, and the messenger of antiquity, cannot be so well verified of any particular history, as of that which, being written by divinely inspired penmen, is contained in the books of

the Old and New Testament: the former of which is the subject of this volume.

"Of the matter nothing need be said, nothing perhaps can be said, to add to the excellency or credit thereof; but of the motive or inducement to this undertaking, somewhat, peradventure, may be necessary to be hinted.

"Two things more especially led me to it:

"One, that the divine Providence, the wisdom, power, goodness, and favour of God, in ordering, disposing, providing for, preserving, defending, and wonderfully delivering his servants and people out of the greatest straits, difficulties, hardships, dangers, and sufferings, being more directly, and in a continued series and course of actions, set before the reader's eye; he might be thereby the more stirred up and engaged to admire and magnify, to love, reverence and fear the Lord, and be the more careful not to offend him.

"The other motive was, that all, the youth especially, of either sex, under whatsoever religious denomination they go, might be furnished with such an entertainment, as might yield them at once both profit and delight.

"For having, not without uneasiness of mind, observed how much too many, not to say most, mis-spend their precious time; some in reading vain fictions, called romances, lewd novels, lascivious poems, and vice-promoting play-books; others, more soberly and religiously inclined, in reading other books, if not much hurtful, yet not much instructive and beneficial, I hoped I should do no unacceptable service, at least to some, in presenting them with the Sacred History, so digested, as might both invite their attention, and recompense their pains in reading, with the double advantages of godly instruction and virtuous pleasure.

"If any shall think the undertaking needless, because the history is already extant in the Bible; I entreat such to consider, that although the Bible be, or may be, in every hand, and ought to be read by all that can read, with diligence and attention of mind; yet, since the history lies diffused and scattered throughout the whole book, it is no small discouragement to the reader, that is desirous to peruse the history in a regular course, to find the thread thereof frequently cut off by the interposition of other matters."

The biographer of Thomas Ellwood, in the Supplement which has been usually published with his own memoir, gives his estimate of this work in the following terms: "A work indeed it is both pleasant and profitable; containing such judicious observations, and witty, though grave, turns on passages and things, as make



it, as well as his other writings, not only pleasant to read, but profitable to the reader. A work that will remain a monument of his worth and ingenuity to generations to come."

In 1707 Thomas Ellwood closed his controversial labours, by a work designed to evince the spirituality of the Christian dispensation, and its abrogation of types and ceremonies, in answer to a recent publication, entitled, "A Divine Treatise, written by way of essay, to demonstrate, according to the Mosaical philosophy, that water baptism, imposition of hands, and the commemoration of the death and passion of our ever blessed Lord and Saviour, under the species of bread and wine, are suitably and homogeneally adapted to the present and imperfect state of nature, as man consists of body, soul and spirit." His answer was entitled, "The glorious brightness of the gospel day, dispelling the shadows of the legal dispensation, and whatsoever else of human invention hath been super-added therunto."

About the same time Thomas Ellwood was involved, with three other friends, in a suit for tithes, which was attended with much trouble and expense, from the circumstance of the claimants, instead of distraining by warrant, having instituted a process in the Court of Exchequer. This was peculiarly cruel and unchristian with respect to Thomas Ellwood, the demand against him being only twelve shillings, for the obtaining of which there was a clear and summary process pointed out by law.

John Penington, one of the three Friends, living in Buckinghamshire, the attachment obtained would not reach him, the others residing in Hertfordshire. In consequence the prosecution, as to him, proved null and void. The claim on Thomas Ellwood and his two other friends, Abraham Butterfield and William Catch, amounted to £32 14s. 10d. and the costs to £71 17s. 8d. together £104 12s. 6d. to defray which, goods were distrained from Thomas Ellwood, amounting to £24 10s. and from his two fellow sufferers to the amount of £107 16s. 8d. making a total of £132 6s. 8d. which exceeded the original demand by £99 11s. 10d.

In the year 1710, Thomas Ellwood was engaged in preparing for the press, an account of Oliver Sansom, of Abingdon, Berkshire, committed to him during the life of the author, and to which he prefixed a pertinent testimony respecting him.

The year following, he ushered into the world the last, but not least, effort of his muse, entitled—"Davideis: the life of David, king of Israel—A sacred poem, in five books;" to the composition of which he had occasionally

devoted some leisure hours, for a considerable number of years, without any view to publication.

In a postscript to his "Supplement," Joseph Wyeth says: "I have understood that our friend T. Ellwood, after he had finished and published 'Davideis,' signified that he had but one thing more which lay upon his mind, and that was, to add something to his journal; which was chiefly to give an account of his books and writings." His accomplishment of this desire was probably prevented by the debilitated state of his bodily powers, in consequence of an asthmatic disorder, to which he was subject during the last few years of his life: previously to this affection he appears to have enjoyed, with but little interruption, that uniform state of good health, which is the usual attendant of a vigorous constitution, preserved by moderation and temperance. On the 23rd of second month, 1713, he was attacked by a paralytic seizure, which he survived only about a week. During this time he frequently expressed his love to his friends, and the pleasure he derived from their company—his desire for the welfare of the Society, and especially for that portion of it with which he had been more immediately connected—and the resignation, peace, and joy, which attended his mind in the prospect of a speedy transition to a never ending state of being. This took place on the 1st of third month, 1713, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. His remains were interred at Jordan's burying ground, where they were attended by a large company of his fellow professors, and many of other persuasions, by whom he appears to have been held in much esteem. He had suffered the loss of his wife, who occupied the station of a minister, about five years previous to his decease. They do not appear to have had any offspring. Their residence was at Hunger Hill, near Amersham, where he seems to have led a life of retirement, unencumbered with much, if any, commercial engagement.

Thomas Ellwood's station in the church was that of an elder; though he did sometimes "appear as a minister." "In those meetings set apart for the affairs of Truth," one of his contemporaries remarks, "he often appeared in great wisdom, having an extraordinary talent given of the Lord for that work, more than many other brethren; and faithful he was in watching for instruction from God, to improve the same to his glory and the church's advantage."\* The loss of his valuable services in the exercise of Christian discipline, was deeply felt by his friends, as is

\*Richard Vivers' Testimony concerning T. Ellwood.

evinced by the testimonies to his worth, prefixed to his journal. Joseph Wyeth, in describing his character, says: "He was a man of a comely aspect, of a free and generous dis-

position, of a courteous and affable temper, and pleasant conversation; a gentleman, a scholar, a true Christian, an eminent author, a good neighbour, and kind friend."

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## EXTRACTS FROM THE MEMORANDA OF

# MARY HAGGER,

ASHFORD, KENT.

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"The memory of the just is blessed."—Prov. x. 7.

"Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost."—John vi. 12.

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### INTRODUCTION.

WHEN the Christian example of those we love is withdrawn, and we are no longer cheered by their conversation, or instructed by their admonitions, we recur with satisfaction to those instances of faithfulness which memory furnishes; but when assisted by written records of their devout and exercised minds, they become enhanced in value, and we esteem them as precious memorials of departed worth.

Such we believe will be the feelings of many who have known and loved the subject of this short memoir, the reader will find for his instruction and encouragement, that in the simplicity and sincerity of her heart, she has unfolded some of her mental exercises; and as they breathe throughout the language of piety and resignation under deep and complicated trials, they will, it is hoped, afford consolation to those in similar circumstances, seeing it was by the grace of God she was what she was, and to the sustaining power of his grace, she bore testimony during a long protracted life.

In the relation of a mother few exceeded her in tenderness, and she endeavoured to attain to Christian resignation when bereaved of her children, six of whom died at different periods [before her.]

Instructed in the school of adversity, and possessing a sympathetic mind, she was peculiarly qualified to impart consolation to the weary traveller Zionward, and to extend the

hand of encouragement to those who had wandered from the true Shepherd—endeavouring to comfort those who were in any trouble, by the comfort wherewith she herself was comforted of God.

Deeply impressed with gratitude for the blessings with which the evening of her day was crowned, and with a mind reconciled to the dispensations of Providence in earlier life, she often dwelt in feeling remembrance upon the mercies she had experienced, and to almost the latest period, her conversation and manners partook of the cheerfulness and pleasantness of her meridian life. When the awful time arrived in which she was permitted to enter her eternal rest, she passed away in sweet serenity, full of days and full of peace, and we humbly believe her redeemed spirit is numbered with those who came out of great tribulations, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.

Ashford, Eighth month, 1841.

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### *A Testimony from Folkstone monthly meeting, concerning MARY HAGGER, deceased.*

IN preserving a memorial of this our dear friend, we are instructively reminded of her meek and lowly example. She was desirous to be found adorning the doctrine of God her Saviour in all things; that her rejoicing might be this, the testimony of her conscience, that with simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, she had her conversation in the world.



She was the daughter of our friends, William and Lettice Knight, and was born at Stone-hall, near Wanstead, Essex, the 4th of first month, 1758.

The following selections from her memoranda, show the early pious concern of her parents. "I was blessed with tender parents, that watched over themselves and their family with a religious care, taking us to meetings; and were very diligent attenders themselves, though residing at a distance of several miles, the weather or business seldom if ever preventing." She thus adverts to her religious feelings in early life; "I well remember being in a garden by myself, and knew not what it was that so sweetened and tendered my heart, that for a considerable time I felt as though I could not leave the spot, and several times afterwards I took opportunities to retire, and had similar feelings." "As I grew, I often felt the prevalence of my natural disposition, giving way to indifference in things relating to my best interest, so that I often desired something might befall me, to arouse me from such a spirit of ease and unconcernedness; and after awhile, kind Providence, whose peculiar care is extended over us while passing the slippery paths of youth, inclined my heart to love him, and permitted me to have an illness which continued some weeks, and in degree awakened me."

She had to pass through many painful conflicts, often lamenting the want of an entire surrender of heart to the refining hand of him who was preparing her as a vessel for his service. She was impressed with a belief that it would be required of her to bear public testimony to the goodness of the Lord; but from this sacrifice, she earnestly desired she might be spared; and the language of her heart was, "Send by whom thou wilt send, but not by me." She yielded however, to this religious conviction, by giving up to speak a few words in meetings for discipline when she apprehended it required of her.

On the subject of these meetings, she remarks, "I believe that if the discipline is rightly supported, it must be by the influence of the same power that moves to every duty."

Whilst struggling with severe outward trials, she sought to cherish a tender conscience, and by adhering to Christian principle, her conduct became remarkable for strict integrity; and after being brought through her temporal difficulties, by the power of divine grace, she was raised up an instrument of usefulness in the church. Abiding in deep watchfulness and humble dependence on the Lord, to know his putting forth to the solemn work, she became qualified to speak a word in season to the weary in Zion, and at times was strength-

ened to "lift up the banner on the high mountain." Her offerings in the ministry being expressed in few words, and in great diffidence and fear, were impressive, evincing that she sought not honour from man, but that which comes from the Lord alone.

In 1831, she visited by certificate the meetings in Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire, as also the families of Friends in Hertford. In the following year, she paid a similar visit to the monthly meetings in the county of Nottingham, and in 1835, to those composing the quarterly meeting of Essex: these services proved acceptable to her friends, and afforded peace to her own mind.

She felt much interested in objects of Christian philanthropy: the poor and afflicted, more especially, obtained her commiseration. She cherished a deep solicitude for the religious welfare of her near connexions in life; desiring that they, as well as herself, might experience a growth in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. She thus expresses her feelings on this all-important subject; "I pray for myself and my dear children, that we may be strengthened in an unshaken belief in the efficacy of the blood of the beloved Son of God, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; who came down from heaven, and took not upon him the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham; was born of the Virgin Mary; suffered under Pontius Pilate, the cruel and shameful death of the cross, to be a propitiation and atonement for the sins of the whole world, rose again the third day from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and is the Advocate and Mediator between God and man, the King, High Priest, and Prophet of his church, and the author of salvation to all that obey him;—true God and perfect man."

At the latter end of 1835, our dear friend was visited with severe illness, from which her recovery then appeared very doubtful; but she was favoured to be restored to usual health, until the close of the following year; when she was seized with another alarming attack which greatly reduced her strength; yet she so far recovered, as to be able to assemble with her friends at religious meetings, though often under great bodily infirmity.

During the illness above alluded to, her mind was much clothed with love, and her expressions were often weighty and instructive. After passing a low and deeply depressing season, she said, "Should I be taken now, all will be well; I have a full assurance there is a mansion prepared for me, and that crowns all." At another time, "It is an awful thing to appear before the Judge of the whole earth; and I am sure I have not a rag,

or anything, to cover myself with; but my whole and entire dependence is on my holy Saviour, who I humbly hope will plead my cause. I do believe love will cover the judgment seat. If there are any that slight the offers of a merciful Saviour, how deplorable must be their condition!" "I have felt the Comforter at the threshold of the door, waiting to do his own office."

At different times, she expressed as follows, "I feel very low: I want to feel more of my heavenly Father's presence. O! I do most fervently hope, if there are any sins yet remaining, they may be blotted out. O! how unworthy! I feel that I have not a good act of my own that I can plead; but my dear Saviour died for me; and I have a hope, that he will receive me, not of works, but of his free grace." To one of her family whom she had not seen for several days, she said, "I want to tell thee the bands are broken, and I feel great liberty in the Truth, and can sometimes sing high praises." At another time, "O! that it may please my heavenly Father to say, it is enough, and take his poor, I am almost afraid to say servant to so high a power, to himself."

Our beloved friend for many years suffered from a violent nervous affection of the head, accompanied with a distressing cough, which greatly exhausted her enfeebled frame, so that from the spring of 1839 to the ensuing autumn, she was almost wholly confined to the house. In the ninth month of that year, she received a visit from her only surviving brother, who, after a few days' illness, died at her house. After this sudden and unexpected event, her health rapidly declined, and she suffered much at times from mental depression, yet was favoured to know her heart stayed on the Lord. At one time she said, "O that I may die the death of the righteous, and that my last end may be like theirs! I

have a hope that casteth out fear. I have a hope both sure and steadfast."

A few days before the final close, when alluding to the death of our blessed Saviour, she observed, "I must die the death: mine is a natural death, but his was for the whole world. He gave up his life freely, and suffered on the cross: He gave his life a willing sacrifice, and we must give up our whole hearts. 'No Cross no Crown,' is a sure testimony, and will be answered in a future day; if we will not bear the cross, we cannot have the crown." Then addressing her children present, said, "O, my dear children, from my dying bed I beg of you, that it may be the constant breathing of your souls, to be redeemed from the perishing things of time, and that your affections may be fixed on eternity. What would it avail now, or at any other time, to have the world, or as much as might be equal to our extravagant desires, to possess? I would freely give it up for a happy possession [in heaven.] Oh press after it, do not be satisfied in any thing that is sensual or carnal, but oh, that we may press after an inheritance in that which will endure for ever!" Nearly her last expressions were, "Oh eternity!—Oh the length of eternity!—Oh that it may be impressed on every heart, the length of eternity! there is no end."

She peacefully expired on the 25th day of the 1st month, 1840, aged about 82 years, and is, we have no doubt, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, gathered to the just of all generations, to unite in ascribing salvation to him that sitteth on the throne, and to the Lamb for ever more.

Her remains were interred in Friends' burial ground at Ashford, on the 2nd day of second month, 1840.

Given forth by Folkstone monthly meeting, held at Canterbury, the 12th of the third month, 1840.

## EXTRACTS, &c.

I WAS blessed with tender parents, [William and Lettice Knight] who watched over themselves and their families with religious care, endeavouring to keep us out of unsuitable company and to protect us from harm, taking us frequently to meetings; and were themselves very constant attenders, though residing at a distance of several miles, the weather or business seldom, if ever, preventing. My

dear mother filled the station of elder: she was an upright-hearted woman, remarkable for her integrity. My father was a minister, a man of an humble and contrite spirit, who feared God and hated covetousness; he was a good example to those about him, and much beloved by his friends.

In my early age, I was sensible of the tender impressions of divine love. I well re-



member being in the garden by myself, and knew not what it was that so sweetened and affected my heart, that for a considerable time I felt as though I could not leave the spot; and several times afterwards I took opportunities to retire, and had similar feelings.

As I grew older, I often felt the prevalence of an easy natural disposition, giving way to indifference in things relating to my best interest, so that I often desired something might befall me to arouse me from such a spirit of ease and unconcernedness; and after a while kind Providence, whose peculiar care is extended over us whilst passing the slippery path of youth, inclined my heart to love him, and permitted me to have an illness which continued some weeks, and in degree awakened me.

About the fifteenth year of my age, I was sent to school, to Martha Winter, (afterwards Routh) of Nottingham, whom I much esteemed. She was concerned to example her family in humility, and carefully watched over herself, lest any thing like passion should arise when cross occurrences happened. This striving against natural disposition and temper was a striking example in her, truly worthy of imitation, and caused those under her care to serve her from love rather than fear.

While at school I was beset with temptations to evil. The envy of my comfort, often drew my mind into carelessness and forgetfulness of that precious influence [of the holy Spirit] I had been favoured with, which would have gathered and kept me within the fold, had it been attended to. Tenderness of heart was, in mercy, sometimes granted; and I often repented in the night of the commissions of the day. Many hours I have been awake, pressed with painful feelings, whilst my companion has been asleep. Dear Martha, who always manifested a Christian care over us, one evening, after reading, was particularly led to supplicate for the preservation of the children of believing parents, in which these words were uttered, "Oh! prepare them to appear before thee, clothed in white, that their parents may have to say, 'Here are we with those that thou hast given us'"—which words sunk deep into my heart, knowing that I had religious parents. I often got alone, and begged for preservation. One day, hearing a boy in the street uttering wicked expressions and making use of the Sacred Name, I trembled, and breathed to my gracious Protector to preserve me from such hardness of heart.

The prospect of leaving school, which occurred about two years after, was a trial to me, believing that I should be exposed in various ways. Some time after, I went to reside with my uncle, John Stanley, at a farm of my father's about three miles distant. He was a

solid conscientious man, much given to retirement, often walking alone in solitary places, and justly merited the testimony borne of him at his funeral, "An Israelite indeed in whom there is no guile." He died the 22nd of second month, 1782. During my residence with him, I was much tossed with tempest and not comforted, and tried with temptations which were permitted almost to overwhelm me; yet being much alone, my heart was often poured out in secret to a compassionate Saviour for preservation, and I was at times favoured to partake, in some degree, of those joys with which a stranger cannot intermeddle. My parents frequently came and spent a while with us. One day my father was sitting looking into the garden, and called me to him to show me the bough of an apple tree which was bent down by the weight of fruit that was upon it, very instructively remarking, that fruit bearing branches must bow to the root of life in themselves.

About this time, it pleased unerring wisdom to take to himself my dear uncle, who had had a tender care over me. We often walked about four miles to meeting together, and he would sometimes enter into serious conversation by the way; and I believe would have loved me sincerely if I, like himself, had submitted to a self-denying life; but my spirit wanted much bringing down and humbling. In the day I was much employed; in the night I often felt sad, and watered my pillow with my tears. A belief fixed on my mind that it would be required of me to tell to others that "the Lord is good," for indeed I felt him so. I had many comforts as well as hidden exercises, which none knew but the Lord alone. The cry of my heart was, "Send by whom thou wilt send; send not by me."

In the year 1782, I married Stephen Hagger of Hertford. I saw difficulty and trouble in my way, and so did my affectionate father for me, yet he with myself believed, if I kept near the Fountain of life I should be preserved. I can truly say, that my heart was much humbled by the consideration that I did what I believed was my duty; and as I was about to leave my father's house outwardly, strong cries were raised, that my heavenly Father might be near, which in adorable mercy I experienced in proportion to my attention to the "still small voice."

It pleased the Lord to take my dear father, on the 30th of eleventh month 1787, from a state of much bodily suffering to that of never-ending joy. I spent about six weeks with him during his last illness, which has afforded me many comfortable reflections. He had his servants called in as he found his strength would bear, and gave them advice suitable

to their stations, pressing upon them to persevere in a steady care to act honestly, &c. For us, his children, he also felt an earnest solicitude, that we might be careful to live in the fear of the Lord, and be a help and comfort one to another and to our aged mother. He was favoured with a calm and peaceful mind, and had full assurance of eternal happiness, which he expressed in much tenderness to several friends who came to see him. At one time, he said, he could adopt the language of the apostle, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day, and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing."

I felt the loss of my father much; few loved a parent better, and few were blessed with one more worthy. Soon after this, my dear mother began to decline, and died in about two years. She enjoyed a resigned mind, and there was every reason to believe made a happy close.

I was now bereaved of both my parents, my family increased, and my trials also: I felt that I had none to look to but the Lord alone, no helper like him in times of trouble. The weighty prospect before mentioned overwhelmed all other concerns; although I had given up to speak a few words in meetings of discipline when Truth required it of me. I believe if the discipline is rightly supported, it must be by the influence of the same Power that moves to every duty; and I have been sorry to observe in some, a disposition to be active therein, without waiting long enough at wisdom's gate: these have misled the weak, and hurt the pure cause. In this time of deep exercise, I cried to my gracious Redeemer that the weight might be taken from me, and laid on some one more worthy. I knew myself entirely unfit, and I longed to find an easier way to the kingdom than by the cross, and by appearing and feeling so much as a fool before men. Oh! it is indeed a strait gate and a narrow path, to that part in us that is unmortified, and will not bear the cross; but the resigned mind finds a precious liberty in the truth, and that there is no joy like the joy of God's salvation. One time when taking a solitary walk, a contriting impression covered me, with a sense of duty; after some time of resistance, hearing the intelligible voice, "Wilt thou neither be faithful in sight nor out of sight?" I knelt down in the path, and though I uttered no words, the weight I felt was such, that I believe I should not have risen had any one passed me. For many days after this, my mind enjoyed sweet peace.

Thus I went on a long time, passing through many hidden baptisms. My dear friend, Mary Prior, of Hertford, was a tender mother to me; she resided near, and was my constant attendant in many difficulties. One time when my father was present, she addressed him very encouragingly, and supplicated that a double portion of his spirit might rest upon his daughter. But oh! my remissness and falling off from duty many ways! I was one of a sad heart, and very apt to be cast down, and the envy of my peace did not fail to use all his limited power to keep me so, and presented many discouragements to my view, such as that I had many times been unfaithful, and they who were rightly called were made willing. This I knew to be a truth, but I did not consider that I was to be made willing by the power of the cross. Oh! he is a liar, and ever was! Mayest thou, my gracious Helper, never suffer my poor tossed soul to become a prey to his cruel malice! About seven years from the first time that the belief had been sealed on my mind, that it would be required of me to expose myself in public; one morning before I rose from my pillow, the impression fixed with me that next first-day morning would be the time to make a total surrender. The burden was so heavy upon me, I could hardly set one foot before another in my family, and I craved for strength to stand in my proper allotment. After the meeting had been gathered awhile, the words presented, Lord, take away my stony heart and give me a heart of flesh, a heart sincerely devoted to serve thee. The impression was accompanied by a belief, that if I did not give up, the temptations I had been so long at times tried with, would be permitted to come upon me with double force. I gave up, and after the meeting my mind was favoured with a covering of quietness and love that I cannot express. That day two weeks my soul was humbled in prayer. I felt as if something drew me on my knees: these acts of dedication, small compared to many, caused peace and love to flow in my heart to my family and friends. I thought within myself, if I could but continue in this state, and partake no more of the bitter cup, the wormwood and the gall, I should then have something like a heaven upon earth: but this is not the place of our rest.

[It appears that she was acknowledged a minister by Hertford monthly meeting, in the fourth month, 1794. In the year 1797, she removed with her husband and family to Enfield highway, within the compass of Tottenham monthly meeting. About this time she felt drawings in her mind to pay a religious visit to Friends in Essex, but lending an ear



to the suggestions of her soul's enemy, she did not resign herself to this apprehension of duty, and thus incurred the displeasure of her heavenly Father, causing herself afterwards, as she has been heard to say with tears, a long wilderness travel of many years, in which troubles and trials outwardly, as well as desertion and distress inwardly were her sorrowful portion. Her husband's outward circumstances were greatly reduced, and though she exerted herself to the utmost in assisting to support the family, all her attempts appeared unsuccessful, and there were times when they were greatly distressed. The enemy of her soul did not fail to make use of these trials, to plunge her discouraged mind still lower, and she resigned her seat in the meeting of ministers and elders in the year 1807.

In the year 1809, she lost a very promising child; and in 1810, she attended the death bed of her husband, who after much conflict of mind, was favoured to make a peaceful close. But he who waits long to be gracious, and will have mercy on his afflicted children, was pleased in due time to say, it is enough, and to favour her again, both with the lifting up of the light of his blessed countenance, and with a gradual increase of outward substance; whereby she was enabled to discharge all her debts, and many of her husband's also. Yet, although thus favoured, and again permitted to feel the influence of the divine Spirit, constraining her to testify to others of the Lord's goodness, many were her discouragements, and frequent work was made for fresh repentance, in the withholding of more than was meet; retracing her steps requiring more faith than a simple acting at first had done. She thus expresses herself in after life, in reverting to this time of trial—"I have abundant cause to admire and reverence the Great Name, that his preserving arm has been round about me, and his tender mercies are lengthened out still. When I have been mourning over my own infirmities, I have fully believed, that had I been more resigned, the grand enemy could not have caused so long a wilderness travel; but he knows I am one of a sad heart, and very apt to take discouragement, and never more so than of late. Were it not for the sweet feeling of peace mercifully granted, when ability is afforded to give up to requirings of duty, as I apprehend, my little faith, like poor Peter's, would fail, and I should sink under the weight of my frequent unwatchfulness and want of more firm resolution."

In reviving these circumstances, which she would often speak of to her intimate friends, with tears of gratitude to him who had deliv-

ered her out of all her afflictions, it is hoped that warning, instruction, and encouragement may be derived by the reader; at the same time we feel it like rearing a little altar of praise to him whose compassions fail not, but who enables the upright to hold on their way, fixing their hearts in humble trust on him alone.]

My brother, William Knight died the 17th of second month, 1814, in his 58th year. "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright; for the end of that man is peace." He was buried at Chelmsford; a very large and quiet meeting was held on the occasion, which was graciously owned by the presence of him who visited this my dear brother, and inclined his heart to seek and serve him during a life of affliction, and through whose mercy he has no doubt entered the kingdom of everlasting rest.

Eighth month 4th.—Dear A. S. was buried at Tottenham: S. G. was at the interment, it was a memorable time, he was much favoured in testimony, and the meeting also with a sweet calm.

Second month 26th, 1815.—Returned from the funeral of Mary Prior. She might justly be termed "a mother in Israel," evidently feeling true love to clothe her heart, and in it endeavouring to cherish the least appearance of good in all. Her life and conversation were edifying and reaching; her reverent awful waiting in silent meetings was often an incitement to diligence; her ministry, deep and powerful, has often roused a longing of soul, in some who were favoured to be intimately acquainted with her, for ability to follow her as she followed Christ, the captain of the saint's victory.

10th.—Poor and low, but not forsaken. When a little feasting has been permitted, O my soul, be thou willing to fill up thy part of suffering, for his sake who died to purchase everlasting life for thee.

After about a month's confinement by inflammation of my eyes, they are now restored. Oh! that this afflicting circumstance may awaken my mind to more diligence, that the awful sound may never be heard in mine ears, "The summer is ended, the harvest is past, and thou art not saved!"

28th.—My sister and myself left home to visit our relations in Essex, and were at Chelmsford meeting on fourth-day. I felt very poor and forsaken, lamenting my backwardness to duty, and longed for more strength and faith. May I endeavour more and more for ability to adopt the language, "Let others do as they may, as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord." We were out about three weeks, and I returned home better satisfied

than I had reason to expect, having renewed cause to admire the tender dealings of a faithful Creator.

Sixth month 25th. Attended the funeral of F. P. She had been at meeting in usual health, went to bed, and died in her sleep: an awful but [doubtless] a happy change for her. May so striking an event arouse us careless ones to more watchfulness, and prove an incitement to make our calling and election sure.

Seventh month 9th, monthly meeting.—I believed it right for me to bear testimony to the exemplary life of our late dear friend F. P., and was rewarded with peace.

Eighth month 26th.—My dear daughter Elizabeth was taken ill, and little did I think that it would prove fatal. After about eleven days of deep suffering, she was, without the shadow of a doubt, happily released on the 4th of ninth month. Oh! the anguish and distress I felt, is beyond words to express: her mind was preserved quiet and calm, and her end was blessed. The funeral took place at Tottenham, on the 9th, a meeting was held on the occasion. "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord." Shall we call in question the ways of the Almighty, or hesitate to believe that the Judge of all the earth doeth right? I had previous to this affliction, been advised to try sea air to recover my health, my son and daughter who resided at Ashford, persuaded me to return with them, from whence I went on to Folkstone, where I stayed about a month, and spent it in the bitterness of my soul. Oh! may the everlasting arm continue to be underneath in all our afflictions, give us strength to trust in him, to fear him, and to take courage.

[Extract from a letter written to a friend at this time.]

My dear friend,

I hope it will be excusable, if in the bitterness of my heart I unfold a little into thy bosom, whom I have long looked to as a father in experience, and have ere now had much consolation in thy communications; though in the present conflict, I feel afraid to look or to wish for it from any quarter but the true source of everlasting help; and that seems withheld,—it is a fountain sealed. Had I strength to believe his mercies are continued, his loving-kindness lengthened out still, then I should have hope. But now I seem overwhelmed; the depression of my mind is heavier than I know how to bear, and temptation follows me; the envier of my peace is indeed as a roaring lion seeking to devour the good, if any ever prevailed. Oh! that I could feel

my confidence again renewed in that everlasting Helper, whom I have of late believed it my duty to recommend to others, more frequently than has been the case some years past; but have felt greater discouragement of late than words can express, sometimes giving up pretty freely, sometimes holding back a part.

If I had it in my power I dare not call my dear Elizabeth back again: I know it is a duty to stand resigned to every dispensation of divine Providence, but I cannot attain to it. I wish I could hide myself in a cave of the earth, where I could mourn out my days in sorrow, and see man no more; or that the Almighty would be pleased to support with his life-giving presence, while the waves and the billows pass over. I often desire to have my punishment in this life, if I may but enjoy the enriching presence of Him whom my soul hath loved, when these few moments of affliction, of pain and sorrow are over. Oh! that we may have our rest secure where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary find rest. I have been afraid to desire help, except from him who alone knows I feel unable to offer a sigh or a tear, or scarcely to breathe for help; but may he who cares for the sparrows, in his own time, care for me and others, who are tried as to an hair's breadth. Thy affectionate friend,  
M. HAGGER.

Tenth month 29th.—Our quarterly meeting was large and satisfactory, many little seasonable offerings in the fore part; and towards the end, dear B. W. sweetly addressed a hidden, afflicted state, and several times expressed encouragement to such, to hold on their way. After which S. H. concluded the meeting in supplication, which I consider the most solemn worship attainable.

After a considerable time of hesitation about going to Ashford, I left home for that purpose 28th of first month 1818.—My mind on the way was so calm and peaceful as caused me to think I was not out of my place.

Sixth month 1820.—At the last yearly meeting, many sensibly felt the extendings of divine regard. S. G. who is lately returned from Russia, and J. A. visited the women's meeting, and had a very instructive testimony, recommending us to a state of passiveness, as clay in the hands of the potter, and to become passive even as the mire in the streets. S. G. left London soon after, and returned to the bosom of his friends.

Tenth month 21st.—How unspeakably awful is the prospect of a never-ending existence, which cannot change! and how are the branches of our family cut down as on the right hand and on the left!



I spent a few days pleasantly with my kind friend E. H. at Hertford: we went to see a friend in declining health, sat a little time together, and were refreshed. We dined with a relation, where a few words solemnly impressed me, and though to give up, felt as near as parting with a right hand or a right eye, it was sealed on my mind, that if I did not bear the cross, I should not obtain the crown. On my return, I seemed as though sitting under my own vine and under my own fig-tree, where none shall make afraid. After meeting, I returned home. In a little retirement this morning, I was owned with the precious feeling of good, which I covet above all things. O Lord, preserve me in the decline of life from a state of gloom and insensibility, and grant a lively hope in thy mercy.

First month 23rd, 1825. ———'s child was buried at Tottenham. After meeting, my poor unwatchful mind fell into deep distress, through neglect of attending to the still small voice, or an intimation to be with them at the grave side. Oh! the heart-felt pain that followed me. "If thy own heart condemn thee, God is greater." I begged for mercy and strength to rise above the fear of my fellow-creatures.

24th.—I was favoured with a little more calm, and opened the Bible on the 42nd Psalm, 11th verse, "Why art thou cast down, O my soul? and why art thou disquieted within me? hope thou in God, for I shall yet praise him, who is the health of my countenance and my God." Towards morning my stubborn will gave way a little, and I had a sweet sleep. It is a mercy to know our sins to go before hand to judgment, and to feel the poor tossed mind to be stayed on a faithful Creator.

Second month 5th.—Standing by the grave of J. M., I felt a necessity to expose myself. I returned home with the reward of peace, which humbled my mind under a sense of forgiveness for my former withholding.

Tenth month 11th.—Returned from Kent, where I spent about nine weeks pleasantly, and I hope not grown worse in best things.

11th month 2nd.—I have had for about a week past a violent attack of nervous headache; and my outward prospects on account of health are dull and gloomy. Oh! may my soul be more firmly established on that Rock that is both sure and steadfast.

13th.—After feeling a pressing necessity I kneeled down by poor afflicted J. M.'s bedside, and I hope rightly petitioned for him and myself, that we might not be forsaken in old age and affliction. The recollection of this opportunity afforded me much satisfaction.

1826, ninth month 18th.—Returned from Ashford where I had spent six weeks much to

my satisfaction, and three weeks at Folkstone, part of the time in illness, which though painful was not unprofitable. I had to admire the tender dealings of the Most High; and have no reason to regret my visit to this place. I was by myself, which is what I have long wished to be, and was favoured with some sweet refreshing seasons in my secret retirements.

First month 26th, 1827.—O thou who hast in abundant mercy condescended to be the guide of my early age, when under the care of tender parents, I have abundant cause to commemorate thy loving-kindness and fatherly care over me. If I had been in all things faithful to thy commands, how would my peace have flowed as a river. Although I have painfully to reflect on many omissions and commissions, I have many times experienced that there is mercy with thee that thou mayest be feared. And now I pray thee to be the support of my old age. Oh! cause my mind to be fixed on thee, thou everlasting rock of ages.

Fourth month 4th.—Thou who hast all power in thy hand, in heaven and on earth, oh! that it would please thee so to humble my heart, that I might have no will of my own, but feel perfect resignation to thy holy will in all things. Thou hast promised a blessing to the poor in spirit, forget not one who is as a worm and no man before thee. The distressing pain in my head is very trying to bear; grant patience, and cause it to prove as the refiner's fire and as the fuller's soap.

Seventh month 16th.—This morning the pain in my head was very distressing; I was low, thinking the awful summons was at hand, yet was favoured to feel calm and quiet, and endeavoured to pray for perfect resignation, and "that I might die the death of the righteous, and that my last end might be like his."

Perusing the writings of our worthy predecessors often proves instructive. My heart was affected this day in reading the life of John Crook, where I found this striking passage, copied from the margin of an old Bible, printed about the year 1599: "When the mind thinks nothing, when the soul covets nothing, and the body aceteth nothing, that is contrary to the will of God, this is perfect sanctification."

#### TO A FRIEND.

Ashford, 1827.

My dear friend,

Thy affectionate lines were truly acceptable; it is indeed a consolation to believe we are not alone in the tribulated path. Job Scott calls it "an old beaten path." I well remember your kindness to me long since, and when thou feelest an inclination to drop a mite, as thou callest it, do not withhold. Remember

the effect of a small instrument formerly, when the command was given to sound the rams' horns, and the people joined in the shout. I believe little offerings are as humiliating to give up to as longer testimonies, and if they are all that is required, the reward is sure.

[Speaking of her apprehension of duty to appear in meetings, she says,] The awful engagement has been an exercise to me from early life. None knew the pantings of my heart; I could not let him go, and my stubborn, disobedient will would not give up to serve him freely; if my life had been required, it would have been an easier sacrifice. I have for many months and years gone bowed under these humiliating feelings, begging that the impression might be taken from me, and laid on some one more fit. I have abundant cause to admire and reverence the great Name, that his preserving arm has been round about, and his tender mercies are lengthened out still. I much desire, my dear friend, to be preserved from a wish to live on the labour of others, but to be resigned to do the work assigned me, and to be strengthened, now in my declining age, when I am made sensible of forgiveness for many omissions that are passed; in future to make strait steps to the land of rest. I should like thee to mention the subject of my leaving Tottenham to —; I have a good opinion of her judgment, and love her much; she will I hope, as well as thyself, weigh the matter for me: it seems no light thing; and if she or thyself have a few words for me, it will be acceptable: if it is reproof, I can bear it, and if encouragement, I hope it will do me good. When thou art favoured with ability for prayer, or panting for preservation, remember thy poor unworthy friend,

MARY HAGGER.

[This year, 1827, she removed to Ashford, within the compass of Folkstone monthly meeting, and was re-acknowledged a member of the Select meeting in fifth month 1830.]

Third month 19th.—I arrived safely at Newington, and found my dear children well. Not having been at Tottenham for a considerable time, I felt a renewed regard for many friends whom I had known and loved, many years before I left. I called and took leave of several, and in two families a few words arose as a sacrifice called for, and obedience procured the reward.

Looking towards our little meeting at Ashford, my mind is affected with weighty reflections. How shall so poor a creature as I go in and out, so as to give no occasion of stumbling to the honest inquirer. Truly the fields appear white unto harvest in many places;

may the great Husbandman be pleased, in the riches of his love to raise up, qualify, and send many faithful labourers into his harvest. Oh! for a deeper sense of gratitude than I have yet known. Great and marvellous are thy works, O Lord! past finding out by thy poor creatures!

After my return home, I fell into much poverty of spirit. I seemed to have no strength to feel after what I had so often coveted; and striving to wait in the quiet, these words presented, "I am a stranger in the earth, hide not thy commandments from me." "Will the Lord cast off for ever? will he be favourable no more? Is his mercy clean gone for ever? Doth his promise fail for ever more? Hath God forgotten to be gracious? Hath he in anger shut up his tender mercies?" These expressions of the Psalmist raised in me similar pantings of heart. Mayest thou, O Lord! be my shield, and the lifter up of my head.

Eighth month 1st.—We were favoured with a visit from J. H——, of Lancashire, who is visiting the county. Our little company met on sixth-day evening, and we were favoured with a heart-tendering season. His appearance and exemplary conduct afforded a striking example of humility and self-denial. The company of dedicated servants thus sent, I consider, as a renewed visitation of Divine love.

After this visit, distress and woe again became my bitter cup. I looked back on many circumstances of my chequered life with doubting and fear. Thick darkness covered me. I sought him whom, in the days of my youth, I loved above all other enjoyments; but he hid his face from me. I sought him by night and by day, but found him not. The God and Father of the faithful is not dealing with me according to my deserts, but according to his own loving-kindness and tender mercy. "I will (saith the Lord) bring the blind by a way that they know not, and lead them in paths that they have not known: I will make darkness light before them, and crooked paths straight; these things will I do unto them, and will not forsake them." "I will go before thee and break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut the bars of iron asunder, and will give thee the treasures of darkness, and the hidden riches of secret places." How precious are the Scriptures when opened by their Divine Original! they are as honey from the rock, yea, sweeter than the honey comb.

18th.—I have been tried much, for the last two weeks, by indisposition, which brought me very low; my bodily strength failed, and my little stock of faith was tried to an hair's breadth. The volume of the book within and without seemed sealed as with seven seals, that none could open but the Lion of the tribe



of Judah, who can quicken the dead, and call the things which are not as though they were. Oh! that I could come into his presence, and plead with him, as a man pleadeth with his friend. But though I see him not, yet judgment is with him; therefore, O my soul, trust thou in him.

Oh! that myself and my beloved children may be permitted to go down again and again to the very bottom of Jordan, the river of God's judgment, that we may be cleansed from every defilement, and the precious part in us be prepared to unite with those, who are already centred in happiness, in a song of praise.

Ninth month 7th.—Attended a preparative meeting, the fore part of which was deeply exercising; but before we separated, light broke forth and dispersed the cloud, and enabled us in effect to adopt the language of the woman formerly, "Rejoice with me for I have found the piece that was lost."

23rd.—Our quarterly meeting was held about this time at Maidstone. A solemn quiet prevailed, and I believe the meeting was precious owned, particularly in the fore part. I came home in the evening poorly in health, and stripped and low in mind, though I felt no condemnation. Surely the tendering love of Him who dwelt in the bush, is present every where if sought after. It is so prevalent in our little meetings, where only six or seven assemble, that I sometimes long for a meeting day. Oh! may we, in deep humility, number our blessings, and prize our inestimable privilege of sitting together without interruption from any form of words.

29th.—My health in the course of this week has been improved; but where has been the return of gratitude to the Preserver of men, who bringeth down to the grave and lifteth up? Like the unstable element whose billows run very high, and wave succeeds to wave, so rest and quiet seem to take their leave of us; but man did not make himself, neither can he deliver or preserve himself; yet I believe in those seasons of deep distress, poor mortals are under the immediate and particular care of the Most High; and in the language of one of his favoured servants we may say, "There are none so near fainting but he putteth his arm under their head." "He marketh our wanderings and knoweth the path we take."

First month 4th, 1828.—Still poorly, hardly able to sit meeting, or do my share of labour therein. Oh! that a faithful Creator would see fit to release me from this poor diseased tabernacle, that through the merits of a dear Redeemer the precious part might ascend to him who gave it! How hast thou broken in and tendered my heart!

Tenth month 21st.—I can say, thy rod and thy staff they comfort me. Surely Jehovah is good to Israel, graciously regarding the low state of those that seek him, and that think upon his name. He knoweth our frame and remembereth that we are dust. Through every trying exercise, may the seed sown in much debility, grow, till mortality be swallowed up of life!

Fifth month 18th.—I left home for Maidstone, and next day reached Tottenham, intending to be at the yearly meeting; but was so unwell that most of the time was spent there. Thou, who doest all things well, canst bring near to the grave, and raise up at thy pleasure. Under every permission of thy providence, strengthen my heart with increasing faith to trust and not be afraid. I have nothing that I can return unto thee for thy abundant and adorable mercies, nor have I any hope of admission into thy kingdom of rest and peace, but through the intercession of thy dear and beloved Son; who taketh away the sins of the world, who was wounded for our transgressions, who was bruised for our iniquities, and by whose stripes we are healed.

I was favoured to attend three of the sittings of the yearly meeting, staid from home till the 10th of seventh month, and was then so far recovered as to be able to return to Ashford.

Seventh month 15th.—Lying on the bed, very low and poorly, I was favoured to look towards the God of patience and consolation; my heart was tenderly affected with love for the whole creation, for whom our dear Redeemer suffered, and for my own affectionate children, with their near connections, in particular. Oh! may they be blessed with the dew of heaven, may the blessing of the everlasting hills rest upon them! My mind returned to its own exercise, in which a sweet calm was felt, and I rejoiced, with many tears, in the God of my salvation.

Ninth month 2nd.—Sitting in our little meeting to-day, I thought I never felt my mind more replenished with love to our holy Helper, from whom are all our well-springs; and also to the few with whom I was gathered. Coming home and speaking to a friend, I got off my guard, which caused leanness and poverty, though not much distress. This will be the case till every obstruction be removed, and infinite goodness is pleased to take full possession of the heart, and to bind the strong man, spoiling all his goods.

Two very dull meetings; some desire was felt to wait on the holy Helper, in absolute dependence, in nothingness of self; but something seemed like a bar in the way: much

rubbish is collected, that prevents our getting into the closet and shutting to the door.

Tenth month 18th.—I felt pain of heart for want of more attention to the still small voice, in our afternoon meeting. O thou who art the Helper of the poor and the needy in their distress, be pleased to cause my heart to be more and more subject to thy blessed will, that so I may be permitted to partake of thy presence, which is better than life. "Who is a God like unto thee, who pardonest iniquity, and passest by the transgression of the remnant of thine heritage? Thou retainest not thine anger for ever, because thou delightest in mercy."

21st.—At our little meeting I felt more calm and serene than sometimes. He that allureth into the wilderness can open a door of hope, for ever blessed be his name! Oh! that I possessed more of the spirit of Caleb and Joshua, who followed the Lord fully, and through faith and patience inherited the promised land.

Twelfth month 14th.—I attended a quarterly meeting at Folkstone, and believe many were sensible of feelings resembling the mantle cast over Elisha formerly. What a privilege we enjoy! May none professing with us forsake [Christ] the fountain of living water, who said "If any man thirst let him come unto me and drink," and turn aside to the corrupt channels of carnal reason and creaturely power; for if so, the strong shall be as tow, and the maker of it as a spark, when the Lord shall shake terribly the earth, and exalt his only begotten Son as the refuge of the poor, and the strong-hold of the daughter of Sion.

23rd.—I met at our week-day meeting with three besides myself, and much desired that the drawing back of others might not operate to discourage any. The blessing is not confined to the multitude, and if we are favoured to meet with the beloved of souls, the chief of ten thousand, we may rejoice that we have found the pearl of great price.

First month 8th, 1827.—I heard of the death of J. B. When I consider how many way-marks are removed, and view with awfulness the shade of dissolution as at the threshold of my door, oh! that I could possess an unshaken hope, that a standard will be raised up against the king of terrors, so that death may be a welcome messenger, as was the case with our dear ancient Friend, who is gathered into the garner of everlasting rest, as a shock of corn in its season!

Second month 6th.—Commences the seventy-second year of my age. Through unutterable mercy I have numbered many days, compared with the generality of the human race, and yet, on looking back, I am ready to say,

few and evil have been the days of the years of my pilgrimage. I find I have neither storehouse nor barn, nor a rag to cover my many errors, but all are open and bare to the view of Him with whom we have to do, and who comforted his followers by reminding them, that they were of more value than many sparrows.

Third month 21st.—I went to Dover to the funeral of ——— who left a sweet babe about nine days old. A watchful providence owned some of our minds with a fresh feeling of his goodness, which is ancient and new. A consoling hope was entertained of the eternal well-being of the deceased, that her tears strewed in secret were accepted, and that she now has the blessed enjoyments of that city, where none can say I am sick. Such as still go mourning on their way, saying, "Spare thy people, O Lord, and give not thy heritage to reproach," he is giving at times to experience the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness. These are of that number "who did all eat of the same spiritual meat, and did all drink of the same spiritual drink, for they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them, and that Rock was Christ."

Fifth month 12th, 1830.—Our monthly meeting was held at Ashford, a memorable day to me.\* May the God of all grace, in his unmerited condescension, so watch over and stay my mind, that I may give no offence, either to Jew or Gentile, or bring dishonour on his church or people!

17th, second day.—On the first sitting down of the yearly meeting, we were favoured with a precious covering, my mind was humbled under a sense of its many deficiencies, of how much I owe, and that I possess nothing that I can offer in return for such unspeakable blessings.

The meeting ended on the seventh-day week by a meeting of ministers and elders in the morning. "Watch and pray," has sweetly occurred to my mind, and for this good end, "that ye enter not into temptation;" by which the vessel may be preserved in sanctification and honour, and the immortal birth have its habitation in a purified temple. Then may the new heavens and the new earth break forth into singing, because the Lord comforteth his people, and hath mercy on his afflicted. We returned home and attended the quarterly meeting at Dover, it was a time of feeding, in a good degree, so that many could say, in the disciples' language, that they lacked nothing.

Thou hast, O gracious Father! condescend-

\* The day in which she was reinstated a minister by Folkstone monthly meeting.



ed, in the days of my youth to visit my soul, and incline it to seek thy tendering presence, [whereby] I have often felt as a worm, and no man before thee—thou hast been, according to my attention to thy inspeaking word, a sure guide, a director, and deliverer in various trials and difficulties; and now in my declining age, when health and strength fail, I crave thy merciful assistance and protection, that so thy light, that was a light to David's feet and lantern to his path, may be mine, and prove the joyful theme of my evening song.

Seventh month 14th.—My son and daughter being gone to the Monthly meeting, I went to our meeting and sat by myself, and had no cause to repent. Desires were felt to be under the influence of that power, which can enable to do or to suffer whatever is best for me; but this is hard to flesh and blood; what need we have to seek Him who alone remains to be the helper of the needy!

In the beginning of the seventh month I received the affecting information of the death of my only surviving son, which occurred in a foreign country, after an absence of twelve years. Though consoled with the hope that his long affliction had been sanctified to him, and that he was mercifully removed from the evil to come, I felt this bereavement an addition to the tribulations which have befallen me.

What a comfort to be favoured with an evidence that our election is made sure! Yet even to those who arrive at this state of being in Him who is the elect, the evidence of it may be withheld, and doubts at times may continue to assail them: nevertheless "the foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, the Lord knoweth them that are his."

Twelfth month 14th.—Our Monthly meeting: the Select meeting, the evening before, was a time of refreshment. The words of the Psalmist were brought to my mind, "The Lord preserveth the simple; I was brought low and he helped me." We were favoured with the company of two devoted travellers in the good cause, whose solid example was strengthening to some of us whose hands often hang down and knees smite together. Oh! for a mind more redeemed from these lower enjoyments, and an entire subjection to the will of my heavenly Father in all things! I hope I shall not complain, nor think my sufferings hard. I am mortal, and must decay as to the outward, but I am at times comforted in a hope that the inward man gains a little strength; more however is necessary to come to a certainty of being prepared for admittance into heaven when the spirit leaves this mortal tabernacle.

19th.—O my soul! what an awful situation thou art placed in! Mayest thou be so atten-

tive to the voice of Him that speaketh from heaven, that nothing may hinder thy duty to thy God.

29th.—We had the company of ——— and ———, who were engaged in visiting part of the families of this Monthly meeting. They seemed low and deeply exercised. How acceptable, in the Lord's time, are the returns of a renewal of strength; and when in mercy this is vouchsafed, what consolation doth it afford, that as a father pitieth his children, so doth the Lord pity those who love and serve him. My mind was depressed: I longed to sit, as Mary did, at the feet of the blessed Redeemer.

[Extract of a Letter.]

TO A FRIEND.

Ashford, Second month 15th, 1831.

My dear friend,

I have been looking at the date of thy affectionate letter: I remember it raised a feeling in my heart then that did me good, and the same is revived again. But how soon do these tender impressions, like a shadow, pass away! Every state seems to require steady watchfulness, and how difficult is it to keep to. This morning at meeting, I thought we were favoured to feel real refreshment, a little heavenly dew which replenished my feeble mind. I returned better than I went, and it afforded some hope of being fed again in the afternoon. But O, how was my mind wandering before I was aware, forgetting the solemn occasion for which we were met. But the good remembrancer is ever watching over us for good; the arm of His tender mercy is stretched out still, to bring such wanderers back through painful steps, and to direct safely to His fold of everlasting rest, all those who are devoted faithfully to follow Him; and whose hearts are entirely given up and willing to be counted by all men as fools for His sake. It is this renunciation of every selfish will, a becoming like passive clay, which I long to experience; then I do believe hard things will be made easy, and resignation given to follow the Lamb whithersoever he is pleased to lead, though it may be through many tribulations and deep provings. I often feel as though my end was near. I never felt greater need of watchfulness and fear, lest I fall a prey to a cruel enemy and be at last taken captive at his will—never more need of the prayers of my friends, than now in my feeble old age, not able to help myself to one good thought. I hope, dear friend, when thou art favoured sensibly to draw near the Source of all good, thou wilt not forget thy exercised friend. Be encouraged to do what thy hands find to do with all thy might; remembering that whilst health and

strength are afforded is the most acceptable time for service. Thy affectionate friend,  
MARY HAGGER.

Third month 4th, 1831.—Through unwatchfulness and inattention to that which alone leads safely, I was as one left to myself—one that had no anchor, nothing to stay myself upon, tossed as with a tempest, and not comforted: but striving to wait quietly, I felt an impulse to fall on my knees, and mentally pray to Him who seeth in secret, and heareth prayer, that I might know the strong man cast out, and all his goods spoiled. My dear children too were brought near my heart, with strong breathings, that He who maketh the clouds his chariot and walketh upon the wings of the wind, might be pleased to protect and guide them safely to his holy mountain, and make them joyful in his house of prayer.

6th.—We had the Yearly meeting's Committee at Ashford Preparative meeting; though they were not large in testimony, yet they had a word in season. May it prove as a dew from the Lord, as the showers upon the grass, that tarry not for man, nor wait for the sons of men.

5th.—Every dispensation of Divine Providence calls loudly on us to pray always, and in every thing to give thanks; but how hard is this to attain.

Sixth month 19th.—I attended the funeral of our valued cousin, M. I., at Colne: her illness was long and very suffering; but she was enabled to bear it with patience and resignation. She dropped some weighty expressions, to the comfort and consolation of her afflicted husband. She said her spirit was sweetly at rest in Jesus, the sting of death was taken away, and the grave would have no victory over her. It was a day to be remembered with humble gratitude; a very precious covering came over us in the meeting, and particularly at the grave side, where dear William kneeled by his most valued earthly treasure, and reverently acknowledged the support of the everlasting Arm; he craved that the blessing of resignation might still be granted. After tea several testimonies were borne. The goodness and tender mercies of Israel's Shepherd were enforced, and that the Lord is a strong hold in the day of trouble. I felt very unworthy to partake, with my friends and many relations, of a few crumbs of heavenly bread, at such a time of solemnity. O my soul, bless thou the Lord, and forget not all his benefits; for though he is pleased often to try thee with deep poverty, he seeth the way that thou takest, and as thou trustest in him, he will prove himself a present helper when vain is the help of man.

After this I went to Coggeshall, Kelvedon, and Chelmsford, and returned to Ashford the 20th of seventh month, where I found my son and daughter and their child well. All thanks belong to the bountiful Giver of every good. Oh! that heavenly things may ever be the primary object of my pursuit.

Eighth month 9th.—When I first sat down in our evening meeting, the inability and weakness of my poor feeble tabernacle seemed to weigh me down, nor did I strive enough to get to the place of true waiting, for which I felt pain of heart. It is a mercy that the rod is permitted, and we kept on the watch, especially in meetings. We read that when "the sons of God presented themselves before the Lord, Satan presented himself also;" and this is still no doubt known to be the case, by those who are endeavouring to approach the sacred footstool with acceptance; for there is nothing that the enemy of our souls more strikes at and endeavours to destroy, than the precious life. How needful then to maintain the watch, and resist him, steadfast in the faith, remembering the encouraging promise, "Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation." Happy experience; cleave close, O my soul! to thy Saviour, and wait daily upon him for strength to step along safely, through the wilderness of this world, to a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.

18th.—We had a very acceptable visit from S. G., and ——— engaged in a visit to the county. The public meeting here was small, on account of the very short notice, but satisfactory. When thus reached by the renewed visitation of our heavenly Father's love, we feel fervent in desire to be strengthened to follow the Captain of our salvation. But how weak are our resolutions, unless divinely assisted by that faith which Truth inspires!

Ninth month 12th.—Dover Monthly meeting was small but comfortable; it was owned by Him who is the beloved of souls. Whom have we in heaven but Thee? and there is none upon earth that we desire in comparison of Thee?

19th.—I went to the Quarterly meeting at Maidstone, where we had the company of C. H., and ———, and ———, with certificates—pillars in the house of our God, faithful watchmen on the walls of our Sion.

Tenth month 13th.—At Folkstone meeting I was favoured to feel a degree of that love that enlargeth the heart, earnestly desiring ability to give up without reserve to Him who is pleased, at seasons, to give power to the faint, and to those who have no might, he increaseth strength.

Eleventh month 3rd.—Monthly meeting at



Canterbury. At this meeting I believed it my place to inform Friends, that I had felt for many years a concern to pay a religious visit to Friends in Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire, and the families in the compass of Hertford Monthly Meeting. What a prospect for such a poor worm! The meeting entered into feeling with me, and expressed much sympathy. A certificate was directed to be prepared, which was produced and signed at an adjournment of the meeting held at Dover.

Twelfth month 2nd.—I left Ashford, and was at Hertford Monthly meeting on the 7th. Oh! that the only safe Director may be with me, keep me little, low, and in his fear, and preserve me from going before the light of his countenance, or so far loitering behind as to lose a sense of it.

On fourth-day afternoon, I sat with one family, and went to Hodsdon meeting on fifth-day, which was small; but I was sensible of a precious feeling of our heavenly Father's love. Sixth-day, returned to Hertford. On first-day some pantings for life, I believe, were felt by many. Oh! the want of deeply experienced labourers, such as Special West, Mary Pryor, and Samuel Scott, amongst them. The fourth-day meeting was a comfortable time. We went that afternoon to Ware, and attended meeting there on fifth-day, which was small and heavy; how few are willing to leave behind the hindering things of time, and with firm resolution to enlist under the banner of truth, and fight the Lord's battles in his own strength and under his own direction. May he be pleased to raise up amongst us judges as at the first, and counsellors as at the beginning! Sixth-day I was at Royston meeting in the evening: it was small, yet He who ever regardeth the poor and simple was near, blessed be his name! The first-day following was at Ashwell, where there are only three women members of our Society. A Committee from Hitchin is appointed to attend, three of whom were present; and I thought we were enabled to labour in some degree, in the vineyard, and received the penny. Second-day at Hitchin Select meeting in the evening, and the Quarterly meeting next day, the 20th; I hope I felt thankful in the enjoyment of a quiet silence in both these meetings. I was also at their fifth-day meeting, and on sixth-day was at Luton meeting. Here I met with an accident, so that I could not proceed, but went to my daughter's at Tottenham. After resting there about three weeks, I was so far recovered as to be able to go to Albans, about the 18th of 1st month 1832, where there is no meeting, but a few Friends who seemed pleased to sit down with me, and wait on Him whose tender mercies are over

all his works. The next first-day, we were at Amptill morning and afternoon meetings, where the Great Caretaker owned us. I desire never to forget His adorable condescension and tender love, which is renewed every morning. We were very kindly entertained at —'s, an agreeable well ordered family, and spent the evening in a degree of sweet solemnity. Next day were at Crinfield meeting, and sat with the few friends there. May they be preserved in a humble teachable state, and then they will be fed with a few crumbs, while the rich and the full are sent empty away.

Went that evening to Newport Pagnell, and returned home with a peaceful mind. To those who are strong, it would seem small, but of great magnitude to me, and very comforting. My spirit exclaims "What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits?" He who made us, knoweth our frame, and remembereth that we are dust, and have nothing of our own; and though it was my lot to travel deep before the spring arose, the great I AM still manifested his power, and in some degree magnified his own Name. This Name is precious to a few, and those who truly gather thereto find it a place of safety.

It is however sorrowful to feel lukewarmness and indifferency prevail amongst a people that have been favoured as this people. In my late engagement, after sitting in families, I often felt my peace to flow as a river, as I strove to keep inward and quiet. I was instructed by a caution in a dear friend's letter, wherein he said, "Keep thy mind to the exercise of the day, and be not anxious for the morrow;" and that he thought there was much in that part of our Lord's prayer, as to spirituals, as well as to temporals, "Give us this day our daily bread." I trust this advice was a help to me, and I have often wished our dear exercised brethren would not withhold such cautions: how often might they help poor travellers on their way.

Second month, 1832.—Gave up my certificate at a Monthly meeting at Dover, and enjoyed a peaceful mind.

Second month 15th.—At our little week-day meeting, I thought we experienced the precious effects of a joint, heartfelt labour, in seeking the quickening influence of the true Shepherd: to him the porter openeth, and the sheep hear his voice; he calleth his own sheep by name and leadeth them out; and when he putteth forth, attention to his inspeaking voice would lead us into a watchful state of mind, similar to that of the Prophet, when he said, "I will stand upon my watch, and set me on the tower, and will watch to see what He shall say unto me, and what I shall answer when I am reproved."

In the days of my youth, I many times thought, let the poor body suffer whatever it may please Providence to permit, I could bear it, to obtain an unshaken hope of a resting place at last; but now that age and many infirmities are come upon me, I find my resolution very weak, and that I greatly need best assistance.

Fourth month 28th.—This day I heard of the decease of E. Rickman, wife of our beloved and ancient friend, W. Rickman. She filled the office of elder many years. The loss of such is affecting at so low a time, when many, as well as the priests—the ministers of the Lord—weep as between the porch and the altar, and say, “Spare thy people, O Lord! and give not thine heritage to reproach, that the heathen should rule over them. Wherefore should they say among the people, where is their God?”

Fifth month 3rd.—Reading the journals of our Friends, and considering their close exercises, often tenders my heart, and leads me to pray for my own preservation and faithfulness, with that of my dear children, who justly claim the first place in my solicitude. My desire is, O Lord! that thou mayest keep them faithful, and in thy fear. Thy wisdom and thy judgments are unsearchable, and thy ways past finding out, and happy are they who move at thy command, and stand stedfast in thy counsel.

10th.—Our Monthly meeting was held at Ashford, and proved a favoured opportunity. A few of its solid members experienced a little life to circulate from vessel to vessel. It was “never said to Jacob’s wrestling seed, seek ye my face in vain.”

20th, First-day.—I was at Tottenham meeting. C. O. was there, and instructively opened to us the parable of the virgins; those that had been entrusted with the five talents, and had been careful to improve them, had nothing to spare. I believe many were sensible of a precious covering. I was poorly, and did not go to London till sixth-day, when I went to Devonshire House, where was a large gathering; and I trust that He who was known to His disciples by the breaking of bread, was near. C. H. and C. O. were there, and both appeared in solemn testimony; but it is affecting to observe the want of tenderness in us. How needful to know the fallow ground of the heart frequently broken up! The following first-day, at Newington meeting, that faithful servant of the Most High, S. G. laboured fervently. The hoary head is a crown of glory, if it be found in the way of righteousness.

Sixth month 12th.—I left my dear children, and reached Margate to attend our Monthly meeting, where I hope I endeavoured to do

the little faithfully; it is no time for slothfulness in the vineyard. I went to Dover to the Select meeting on second-day, and Quarterly meeting next day, at which our friend — attended, who was remarkably led to speak of the unfaithfulness of those who drew back, and desired to be excused, several times repeating the words, “I pray thee have me excused.” He advised that such should not continue to resist the call, nor the light they were favoured with: he believed they had not a day or an hour to spare, and that if such a disposition were persisted in, spiritual death would be the end. The language sunk into my heart! I longed that we might be humbly waiting to have our strength renewed, obey the gracious call, and unite with those who have come out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb, therefore, are they before the throne of God, and serve Him day and night in his temple.

Seventh month 1st.—A digging time this afternoon at meeting. Towards the close, I was repaid with a little water of that river which maketh glad the whole heritage of God. Surely he is good to Israel, to all those who seek him with an upright heart. If we are not carefully on the watch, but suffer our minds to be agitated, our dependence becomes diverted by little and little, from the true centre and place of safety, where perfect peace is experienced, though the world, and all around us, speak trouble. Such as have this dependence, will know it to be a truth fulfilled in their experience, that “They that trust in the Lord shall be as mount Sion, which cannot be removed but abideth for ever.”

11th.—Was our Monthly meeting at Dover. I felt it my duty to inform my Friends of an impression of love I had long felt, to visit the meetings of Friends in Nottinghamshire, and a few meetings in going and returning; and requested them to leave the certificate open to visit families at Nottingham, if way should open. Friends expressed their feeling, and made an appointment in order for my liberation to pursue my prospect, and through adorable condescension, I felt greatly relieved. I had had a view to this engagement for some years, till it became a burden too heavy to bear. Oh! how humbling is the prospect: I long for more perfect reliance on Him who is still saying, “not by might, or by power, but by my Spirit” is the work to be accomplished; that no flesh should glory in His presence. The great Apostle says, He has chosen the foolish things, to confound the wisdom of this world, and things which are not, to bring to naught things which are. How has the accuser of the brethren been permitted to come



in as a flood, and cause a close conflict; but thy mercy, O God! faileth not. Be pleased still to lift up a standard against him, drive him from my dwelling, and spoil all his goods.

Eighth month 16th.—The prospect of leaving home and being so far separated from my near and dear connexions, at so perilous a time, (the cholera spreading in London and its neighbourhood) is affecting, but our blessed Redeemer said, “He that loveth father or mother, more than me, is not worthy of me; he that loveth sons or daughters more than me, is not worthy of me.” “Lord, thou knowest that I love thee;” be pleased to increase my love, that so, loving Thee with all my heart, I may love, with a more perfect love, thy whole creation for thy sake. Thou hast bowed my heart this day in a renewed feeling of thy unmerited goodness. Be pleased to bless my dear and tender children, by preserving them in thy holy fear; cause them to remember thy tender dealings, thy mercy and thy blessings bestowed from day to day, and from year to year: sanctify them all, and give us thankful hearts.

21st.—I left London, and arrived at Dunstable, the next day at Northampton, and attended their meeting on fifth-day. Mourning and sackcloth were my lot. I had lost my beloved, my stay and my staff. I endeavoured to seek him, but I found him not. I hung my harp upon the willow, and wept when I remembered Sion. I longed to feel the sweetness of mind I felt after I had requested the certificate. On first-day, in the afternoon, two tender Friends called and sat with me; I began to rise a little by their sympathy, and by an affectionate letter one of them put into my hand. I often wish our feeling elders would not withhold little offerings of duty when committed to their charge; it sometimes proves a balm, like oil and wine that heals the wound. I believe this proving dispensation was of service, by showing the necessity of carefully endeavouring to keep to the root, the precious Seed, the only safe Director. He in tender mercy remembered me, when I had no strength to crave His help, in a strange land. He spared and showed mercy, and put it into the hearts of two pillars in the church to accompany me in turns to most of the families, and all that attend meetings. I thought to leave a poor elderly Friend who resided several miles out of town, as no way offered to go, but on looking at it, I believed condemnation would be my painful feeling, if I passed without seeing her. We went, and the dear woman was pleased to see her friends in her humble cottage, and we were precious refreshed by the tender influences of our heavenly Father's love. Oh! how is His gathering

arm stretched out still. After this, we spent two nights with our kind attendant, an elder worthy of double honour, and his valuable family. Then left them with a peaceful mind, reached Loughborough, and spent the evening agreeably with the only Friend's family in that place. Next day went to Leicester meeting; which was a poor low time. The first-day following, was at Olney meeting, which was small, but owned by the enriching presence of Him whose name is holy.

16th.—Went to Leighton Buzzard, and spent a short time with dear —, whom I had known many years, and was comforted in her company, she being a mother in Israel, an elder worthy of double honour, fresh and green in old age, a beautiful situation. After calling on several other Friends to satisfaction, I returned to Woburn: next day attended Hogstyend meeting, an old house, where many of our zealous ancestors had met, and at which place they were buried. A solemn covering clothed us on our first sitting down, and by abiding under it, we were favoured with a good meeting, and enabled to acknowledge the goodness of Him who dwelt in the bush formerly, and it was not consumed. I reached Stoke Newington in the afternoon. My mind was comforted and was clothed with sweet peace. On the 17th of tenth month, I returned my certificate to Folkstone Monthly Meeting, having cause to hope the small dedication of my feeble old age will prove an acceptable evening sacrifice. I feel true satisfaction in reflecting on those I have visited, I trust in gospel love. May the Father of the faithful, in his unmerited goodness, be pleased to instruct and lead them by the drawing cords of His love, in the high and holy way cast up for his ransomed and redeemed children to walk in.

Eleventh month 28th.—At our little meeting I had to lament my own unwatchfulness, suffering my mind to wander from its true centre, and greatly feared hearing the alarming voice, “Other vineyards hast thou kept, but thine own hast thou not kept.” I was sensible of my error, and oh! I beg, I pray Thee, who alone art the healer of breaches and restorer of paths to dwell in, to correct my many backslidings.

Let not thy hand spare nor thine eye pity, until thou hast cleansed me from my many propensities to evil; humbled my soul by thy righteous judgments, and made me what thou wouldst have me to be.

29th.—Poor and languid both in mind and body. In the evening, I was comforted in reading a few lines in the Annual Monitor; “He hath covered my sins with his mantle.” I longed that I might know this greatly fa-

voured state to be mine, and also know, in passing through the wilderness of this world and vale of tears, that there is a rest for the people of God. A blessed privilege! How lamentable that any should slight it.

Twelfth month 19th.—I was informed of the decease of ———, a healthy-looking young man, taken from time, after an illness of about two weeks. He appeared to be mercifully preserved, calm and composed, though much humbled by a sense of his awful condition, and said he felt willing to be placed amongst the meanest of the Lord's people, if he might but live in his presence for ever. This makes the fifth funeral from his family within about one year and ten months. How alarmingly solemn is the reflection, that every age is liable to the awful stroke, nothing so uncertain as life, or so certain as death. Oh! that we may be wise, that we may consider our latter end!

31st.—What progress have I made in the heavenly race? Have I not renewed cause to acknowledge that to me belongs blushing and confusion of face? Yet, through abundant condescension, I have been strengthened to make some sacrifices that have felt as near as that of parting with a right hand or a right eye, and in giving up to these I feel thankful, that through the help of him who hath his way in the whirlwind and in the storm, and the clouds are the dust of his feet, I can set up my Ebenezer and say, "Hitherto hath the Lord helped me." Blessed be his holy name!

First month 8th, 1833.—A precious meeting this morning. My soul was measurably prostrated before the great I AM, under a deep sense of my own unworthiness; and in boundless love, he was pleased to lift up the light of his glorious countenance upon me, a poor worm, and I trust that the two or three also, who were labouring together in his name, were favoured with the same experience. I said in my heart, O! that all the few members in this place would come to a firm resolution, to leave behind the hindering things of time, and dedicate two hours to a week-day meeting; surely they would be strengthened, and enabled from experience to acknowledge, that one hour in the Lord's presence is better than a thousand elsewhere.

13th.—A sweetly refreshing time at meeting this morning. The parable of the sower represented by our dear Saviour, affected my mind. The seed was sown in four sorts of ground, and but one of these brought forth fruit to perfection. I longed that we might know the operation of the separating hand, to break down and destroy all that offends and obstructs the work going forward. Some of us, at times, rejoice in the evidence that we

are not following cunningly devised fables, but the pure, living, eternal substance.

20th.—Although I sat down in meeting this morning in a degree of freshness, and strove to wait in the quiet, I seemed to wait in vain. Entering too freely into needless conversation with a person who came in last evening, was brought to my mind as a charge against me. Oh! my soul, when wilt thou learn to watch the door of thy lips, that thou sin not with thy tongue, and keep thy mouth as with a bridle! He who is infinite in holiness, will not accept an unsanctified offering. It is the righteous that shall hold on their way, and those of clean hands grow stronger and stronger.

Second month 8th.—Whilst sitting alone this day, my mind was led to press after heavenly treasure, which alone can truly enrich and is not subject to decay. Oh! the excellency of divine love. It transcends even the most refined delights of this world; ancient, yet ever new. May I dwell under its holy, sweetening, preserving influence!

19th.—I have desired this day to be preserved little, low and humble, and to be strengthened to go in and out before this little company, so as to give no cause of offence or stumbling. "Search me, O God! and know my heart, prove me and know my thoughts, and see if there be any wicked way in me, and lead me in the way everlasting. Thou compassed my path and my lying down, and art acquainted with all my ways: for there is not a word in my tongue, but thou, Lord knowest it altogether."

24th.—The fore part of the meeting this morning was exercising; but striving quietly to wait, we were enabled to draw nigh; the cloud dispersed and a little true light gladdened our hearts: all praise to him who feedeth the hungry and thirsty souls with food convenient for them.

25th.—On awaking this morning, I was favoured to feel no condemnation, but a sense of gratitude for unmerited mercies. Those who know anything of the operation of true religion on the mind, know that the inward life, which is hid with Christ in God, can only be supported and kept alive by that daily bread which cometh down from heaven; it is this alone that can nourish the soul to eternal life. I long to experience this happy state, but it is often my lot to water my pillow with tears, while I feel similar to the poor publican, who smote upon his breast and said, "God be merciful to me a sinner."

Third month 17th.—A very trying meeting this morning, great weakness both of mind and body. Oh that the hand of the dear Redeemer might not spare, nor his eye pity,



until the whip of small cords hath done its office, and driven all the buyers and sellers out of the temple of my heart, and made it a fit habitation for Him who is holy, to dwell in.

20th.—As I returned from the Quarterly meeting at Rochester, I was contemplating, with renewed gratitude to a bountiful Creator, how tenderly his Spirit had visited my soul in early life. His appearance at first was small, as a grain of mustard seed: he inclined my heart to prize it, and, as I grew older, I valued his tendering impressions as my chief joy. I have not words to express the thankfulness I have often felt that I was made so far sensible of the sweet influences of Divine love, that in middle life, when permitted from various causes to pass through many tribulations and besetments, I often walked by myself and strewed my tears, looking round to see if any one was near to hear my sighs. Oh! what cause have I to reflect on his boundless goodness to the most unworthy that ever desired to serve him. He has indeed proved himself to be, in his holy habitation, a Husband to the widow, and a Father to the fatherless. He has also increased my store inwardly and outwardly, and in my infirm old age, given me to see the greatest privilege I was ever favoured with, that of his inclining my heart to love him and his appearance, before the days came when I might have to say, I had no pleasure in them; giving me to know that I had a strong hold, a never-failing support, whereto I could flee in times of trouble. Oh! that I could continually rest here till death is swallowed up of victory.

24th.—A humbling season to those to whom the holy Name is precious. Those who gather to this Name find it a place of safety.

Fifth month 1st.—On our sitting down in meeting, a sweet solemnity covered my mind. In the afternoon, I called to see a neighbour who was ill, and in conversation said more than became me; and when I lay on the pillow at night, reflecting how the day had been spent, confusion and distress became my just portion. I had not watched the door of my lips, but had sinned with my tongue. This scripture seemed fulfilled in my experience, "Man's heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked, who can know it? I the Lord search the heart; I try the reins." There is mercy with the Lord that he may be feared. I went to my neighbour, and acknowledged my fault. It seemed to her a light matter, but I had peace in yielding, though it was humbling to me. I feel utterly unworthy of the least notice of my Father who is in heaven, and crave for strength to bow at his

sacred footstool, that he would renewedly manifest his power, and sit as a refiner and purifier of silver, that so an offering might be made to him in righteousness.

27th.—I was at Tottenham, in which place, in years that are over and gone, I had to wade through many discouragements. Such reflections too much prevailed this morning; in the afternoon, through unutterable condescension, divine help overcame depression, and I left the meeting with a peaceful mind.

29th.—I went to see a relation in declining health, who appeared to be sinking fast as to the body, but I trust she was under the pruning hand of him who doeth all things well, and that he is preparing her by the workings of his own good Spirit, for a place in his kingdom, where no unclean thing can ever enter.

Sixth month 1st.—I attended a sitting of the Select meeting, and I hope I was favoured to feel, in some degree, the very great privilege of collecting with my friends, and endeavouring to gather a few crumbs that fell from the table.

4th.—I went to Hertford to visit my nephew, and was at their meeting to satisfaction. The remembrance of the many pleasant hours I spent on these premises, with my husband and little family, when I felt the gathering arm of everlasting love tendering my heart, and enabling me to make solemn covenant with the God of my youth, and the renewed feeling of his goodness; humbled my mind this day, even to tears; and fervent breathings of soul were raised within me, that the outstretched arm of tender compassion might be still extended, to draw the wanderers to a true sense of their responsible situation, deeply to ponder their ways, and remember that "it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps," but "a good man's ways are ordered of the Lord."

14th.—I returned to Ashford, and felt thankful to sit down in our comfortable little meeting on the 16th.

17th.—I went to Dover, and attended the Select meeting. I felt poor and stripped; but after sitting some time, divine love was pleased to humble my heart, whereby I was made willing to take my part of the exercise of the day, as conveyed by the answers to the queries. The consideration of these raised a desire that my own heart might be stirred up, so to labour, so to be rooted and grounded in the love of Truth, and the knowledge of the Gospel of Christ, that no temptation on one hand or on the other, might shake me in these dreadful shaking and trying times, when the Lord may search Jerusalem as with candles,

which search is for the punishment of those who are settled on their lees.

18th.—I attended the Quarterly meeting, towards the close of which, the stone seemed rolled from the well's mouth, whereby the spring was permitted to arise and refresh the seed. It was said by the Angel to Mary, "The Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David, and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end."

Seventh month 10th.—That beautiful Psalm, the 23rd, was sweetly brought to my mind on first waking, "The Lord is my Shepherd I shall not want, he maketh me to lie down in green pastures, he leadeth me beside the still waters, he restoreth my soul, he leadeth me in paths of righteousness for his name's sake; yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me. Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies; thou anointest my head with oil, my cup runneth over. Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life, and I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever." This proved to me a memorable and humbling day. I was in ill health, and had thought of giving up going to sit with the few at our little meeting. How many are bowed down in this day of trial, under a fear of falling as by the hand of their enemy, yet at times do we not feel strength to acknowledge, "Hitherto has the Lord helped us:" his reward is precious indeed for every little act of obedience.

15th.—My heart was affected on my pillow with these words, "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him." What can poor finite man do? his natural comprehension cannot enter into the mysteries that belong to Christ's kingdom, for they are spiritually discerned. Oh! that every traveller Sion-ward, with my own soul, may daily witness the everlasting covenant of life and peace, even the sure mercies of David.

16th.—Low and tried with bodily weakness, in the afternoon more lively. How instructive are such changes? Do they not evince that the manna gathered yesterday will not sustain to-day? it must be laboured for every day: I desire to remember this.

Eighth month 3rd.—On sitting down to my comfortable, yet frugal meal, my heart was tenderly affected with the manner in which that bountiful hand that provides for the sparrows has provided for me all my life long. O my soul, mayest thou live in his fear and love his law!

[Extract of a Letter.]

Ashford, 27th of Eighth month, 1833.

My dear friend,

I think I should be very ungrateful if I did not feel obliged for thy kind sympathy. I believe true faith that worketh by love gradually cleanseth the heart, and causeth a near affection to flow towards those who are often bowed with earnest desire to be brought into a humbling sense of their own inability even to think a good thought. Who so poor as the Lord's servants, and stript as his messengers; for this reason, because in a religious sense they have nothing of their own, and what is given as apprehended duty is so small and simple, and they feel so foolish in the exercise, that they are ready to start aside like broken bows! Thou knowest, dear friend, that for all these small acts of dedication the reward is sure with him that cannot err; who is often choosing the weak and simple things of this world to confound the wise, and things that are not, to bring to naught things that are, that our dependence may be entirely fixed on our heavenly Father, and centred in his love. This is a very favoured state, and in it no flesh can glory in his presence. Remember the blessing that is attached to the poor in spirit, and watch against getting too low. This is a day in which we are loudly called upon to watch and pray, that the eye may be opened in us that can discover the assaults of a cruel enemy. He will, if possible, bring those whom he cannot raise up, into a heavy, depressed, dejected situation of mind, which is very trying to bear, and will not forward our religious growth. In the prophet's days, "Jerusalem was to be searched with candles, which searching was for the punishment of those that were settled on their lees." Is not the present an awakening day? I have desired it might prove so to my poor mind, that has been too much inclined to ease and indifference. But now surely there is cause to feel and mourn for our desolation. This Quarterly meeting has its trials, and feels its weakness; that we had need to put on strength, and wait on him who is alone able to renew it, and by our example and precept exalt his ever adorable Name. He can speak peace when trouble-surrounds us, and the promise is to the mourners, that they shall be comforted. Thy affectionate friend, M. H.

Tenth month 16th.—Our valued friend, W. Rickman attended our meeting, and revived the inquiry, "Is there no balm in Gilead, is there no Physician there? Why then is not the health of the daughter of my people recovered?" and very instructively mentioned



the visitations of his youth, which from an experienced friend, who had attained the eighty-eighth year of his age, seemed like a cup of cold water to one who was ready to faint.

27th.—How busy was the tempter this morning, besetting my mind with many wandering thoughts, to draw from the true Source of adoration and worship. Surely if the Lord were the chiefest of ten thousand and altogether lovely, my distress would not be so great; but a death-like insensibility too much prevails over me. Oh! that in my old age, I might know more than ever the cleansing operation of the Spirit, to purify, not only from the dross and the tin, but also from the reprobate silver; and that thus I might know his rod and his staff to comfort me.

30th.—I long to be more deeply humbled under a sense of my own unworthiness. The valley is sweet to dwell in, but my poor mind is often comparable to the mountains of Gilboa, where there is neither rain, nor dew, nor fields of offering.

Eleventh month 10th.—We had the excellent advices of the Yearly meeting read; I was ready to say in my heart, what can be done that is not done? Our little Society has been from the beginning as a garden enclosed by our wholesome discipline; but how have we slept whilst the enemy has made great encroachments, and broken down our wall in many instances, and caused the living to go heavily on their way. The Spirit of a suffering Lord in the hearts of his people leads to an inward exercise for the salvation of mankind. Thus, when we behold a visited people, entangled by the things of this world, and thereby rendered incapable of being faithful examples to others, sorrow and heaviness are often experienced; and so, in measure, is filled up that which remains of the sufferings of Christ. Can our hearts endure or our hands be strong, if we desert a cause so precious, if we turn away from a work in which so many have patiently laboured.

20th.—Our week-day meeting was better attended than usual. My bodily infirmities had a powerful effect on my mind, and I had to lament the insensible state I sat in, having little strength to labour. I remembered in the afternoon the dear Redeemer's deep suffering, when he prayed thus, "Oh! my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me;" but in this he centred, "Not my will, but thine be done." When he returned from prayer, he found his disciples sleeping, and said, "What, could ye not watch with me one hour?" The consideration affected and humbled my mind. I do not expect it will be long before the narrow confines of the silent grave will enclose

me. Oh! happy moment, if I may, in unutterable mercy, when freed from the many struggles and conflicts of time, soar above, where nothing can annoy. Remember then, Oh! my soul, the necessity of living in the fear and dread of thy Creator, and that thou must be washed, cleansed, and sanctified.

Twelfth month 3rd.—I believed duty required of me to pay a visit to a young man sinking to the grave in a decline. However simple these requirings appear to those not of our Society, I went much in the cross, but had the evidence of peace in the engagement, and I believe the presence of Zion's King was felt.

18th.—Heard of the death of Mary Alexander of Kelvedon. She had been many years a devoted labourer in the Lord's vineyard. He hath made the depths of the sea, a way for his ransomed to pass over. Her Master whom she served was with her, whereby she was enabled to draw water from the well of salvation, and to partake of those refreshing streams of divine consolation that make glad the whole city of God, and no doubt has triumphantly entered into his courts with praise.

22nd.—Indisposition this day prevented my meeting in social worship with my friends. I hope I was not altogether unmindful of my duty, and the various testimonies we are called upon to bear. My mind was tenderly affected by remembering, that our holy and merciful High Priest is touched with a feeling of our infirmities. May he incline my heart more firmly to lean upon and to trust in him.

First month 1st, 1834.—Every year and every day brings me nearer the awful time, when a separation must be made from every near and dear connexion, and the silent grave will enclose this earthly tabernacle. Oh! for an increase in humility, faithfulness, and obedience to the revealed will. This is what I pray for, for myself and for my dear children; that we may be strengthened in an unshaken belief in the efficacy of the blood of the beloved Son of God, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who came down from heaven; and took not on him the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham,—was born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate the cruel and shameful death of the cross, to be a propitiation for the sins of the whole world; rose again the third day from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and is the advocate and mediator between God and man, the King, High Priest, and Prophet of his Church,—the only author of salvation unto all them that obey him,—true God and perfect man.

9th.—I attended Monthly meeting at Folkstone, towards the close, a few words impressed my mind: but I was desirous, Gideon-

like, to try the fleece both wet and dry, and begged to be preserved from [yielding to] a false opening, lest I might bring reproach on the best cause, and distress on my own mind. The second sitting was more relieving. The next day, I called on a few friends, and came home with a thankful heart. I long to become as passive clay in my heavenly Father's hand, moulded and operated upon as he pleaseth; he only knoweth what is convenient for me. Keep me, O Lord, near to thyself, be with me in that awful moment that is approaching, that death may never be a king of terrors, but a welcome messenger, that thus he may be swallowed up of victory. Thou art, O my God, in truth worthy, worthy of adoration and worship!

12th.—We were favoured at meeting this morning with a humbling, quiet waiting, and felt the shadow of the divine wing sweetly hovering over us. I felt my own weakness, and that I had nothing to return but a fervent breathing in secret to him who alone can prepare my heart for any impression he may be pleased to stamp upon it; and may it be that of humility and his fear, during my stay in mutability, and afterwards may I be permitted to join the triumphant church, in praising the Lord God and the Lamb for ever and ever!

15th.—Ill health prevented my joining my friends in social worship. The work of the enemy is to prevent our frequently resorting to prayer, as being presumptuous in us; but have we not the greatest encouragement to approach the footstool of divine mercy? yet let us ever remember, that if we regard iniquity in our hearts the Lord will not hear us.

20th.—On sitting down in meeting this morning, Martha's salutation to her sister Mary came comfortably to my mind, "The Master is come, and calleth for thee." It raised an earnest desire that we might be more attentive to this awakening call of the dear Redeemer, to his inspeaking voice, which, if submitted to and followed, would make "the wilderness like Eden, and the desert like the garden of the Lord; joy and gladness would be found therein, thanksgiving and the voice of melody."

26th.—By the calm feelings of my mind on returning from Canterbury, I had reason to conclude I had not done wrong by leaving my own little meeting to sit with Friends in that place; we were drawn by the cords of love into sweet silent waiting, in which we were favoured to feel our covenant renewed. "Whereunto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing."

Second month 2nd.—This morning was a precious favoured meeting. Blessed be the only Head of his own church, whether gather-

ed in a large number, or only the two or three. We had cause to acknowledge that his tender regard doth not fail to the workmanship of his holy hand.

9th.—I have had to pass through some proving seasons, from a want of more entire resignation to apprehended duty; nevertheless, I hope I have been favoured to know something of the love of God, and in it to be bound in love with the members of the true church, and to know with them something of the unity of the one Spirit, which makes them as epistles written in one another's hearts, which neither time nor distance can ever erase.

23rd.—When first I sat down in meeting this morning, the devourer, whom my soul hates, came upon me like a flood. I felt no strength for war, but endeavouring to divest myself of every thought, and breathing to my ever blessed Helper for patience to suffer, after a time of close labour, the Intercessor with the Father was pleased to arise for my help, and we were comforted together. O my soul, mayest thou dwell low with his seed that is in bondage, that thou mayest be favoured to arise with him who has done much for thee.

Third month 12th.—Attended the Select meeting at Canterbury; it was a uniting time, and several instructive remarks were made by the Quarterly meeting's committee. I desired to treasure up my part; I believe it is with us now, as dear J. Churchman observes, there are some nursing mothers, many forward instructors, but too few fathers in the church. Such are wanting amongst us as are willing to take our beloved young people by the hand, leading them in the way of the blessed cross, endeavouring to protect through dangers and difficulties, that they may be favoured in their tender age to see and feel the beauty, the comfort, and the safety of the leadings of Christ the good Shepherd, who said, "I know my sheep and am known of mine."

23rd.—I believe our meeting was comfortably owned by the good Preserver this morning. I earnestly desired to gather up the fragments that remained of our late favoured visit; and that our little company with whom I so often meet, might labour still more after lowliness of heart, serving the Lord in our generation, and one another in his pure fear; that so we may know him to be our rest, and his peace our quiet habitation: then will he feed his faithful labourers with heavenly bread, and honour them with his life-giving presence.

30th.—Our morning meeting was to me very depressing, and almost lifeless. When the Lord of life is pleased to withdraw himself from us for a season, how weak we are, and subject to be assailed by our unwearied



enemy. But at such seasons, let us endeavour to wait in the quiet, for help to buckle on the armour, and maintain the watch; and oh! that our covering may be the helmet of salvation, the breast-plate of righteousness, and the girdle of truth; and our weapons the shield of faith and the sword of the Spirit, against which the enemy will never be suffered to prevail. In the afternoon, we had cause to thank God and take courage.

Fourth month 6th.—I believe some of our minds were favoured this morning to partake in degree of heavenly dew, that tendered and refreshed our hearts. In the afternoon, a little of the same precious life. In passing through the streets on first-days, I have often observed my neighbours spending their time in a careless manner, and have felt a secret salutation of love to them, as a seed ungathered. When it shall please the Lord to open their eyes to behold Zion a quiet habitation, I earnestly wish no stumbling-block in us who are making so high a profession, may be suffered to offend beholders, or dim Zion's heavenly beauty.

20th.—Some hunger and thirst experienced after the bread of life. May our heavenly Father, whose tender care for his children, far exceeds that of a natural parent, be pleased to administer bread to the hungry, and water to the thirsty souls, that they faint not by the way.

Fifth month 11th.—I enjoyed this evening the privilege of meeting with my friends in social worship, after having been confined three weeks by illness. I have endeavoured to consider my past life, and to remember the sins of my youth; and my iniquities have been brought feelingly to my remembrance. The language of my heart has been, "Pardon my transgressions, and remember not my sins, for thy mercy's sake, O Lord! and for my dear Redeemer's sake. I beg that every wrong thing in me may be brought to judgment. Let every high thought and imagination be brought down, and laid in the dust, and thy great and excellent name be more and more exalted.

16th.—In looking over my chequered life from my early years, I have to admire with feelings of reverent gratitude the many preservations, gracious dealings, long-suffering, and tender mercies of a bountiful Creator to myself, who am the most unworthy that ever desired to serve him. The greatest of all his blessings (as I have ever esteemed it, and now in humble thankfulness I acknowledge it to be so) is, that he not only visited, but inclined my heart to cherish his appearances, and made me sensible of the sweet impressions of his tendering love in seasons of

retirement, like a canopy to cover my mind. Oh! my dear children, I entreat you, keep close to his precious light that has often tenderly visited your minds; it will assuredly be a light to your feet and a lantern to your path, as it was to David's formerly. Seek him by night and by day; give not up wrestling till you have obtained the blessing of a quiet and peaceful mind. I have often had cause to believe his holy ear was open to my cry, and in his fatherly compassion he has not only calmed my distressed mind, but often raised up friends to my humbling admiration and comfort; that I can say by some degree of experience, the Lord is a strong hold in the day of trouble. Had I not known, unworthy as indeed I am, this place of safety and rock of defence, I had long ere now been swallowed up by the waves of temptation. The devourer was permitted to rage with violence against me; I know him to be a cruel enemy, my soul hates him, and often craves earnestly for strength to set a double watch on the weak side, that in my feeble old age I may escape his envious baits. Oh! for my endeared sons and daughters, and tender grand-children! may that Great Power, who remains to be a God hearing and answering prayer to all those who keep their covenant with him—may he preserve you as in the hollow of his hand; may he condescend in the riches of his boundless goodness, to protect and preserve you near to himself, while passing through this thorny wilderness. Wait upon him, dear children, feel after his strengthening influence, so will he be to you, as to your tried mother, in many conflicts, a rock sure and steadfast, a never-failing help, if your hearts are stayed on him. I have abundant cause, in the fresh feeling of his tender mercies, to prostrate my soul before him, and according to my small ability praise his ever worthy and great name, and to crave that living cries might ascend to him to bring my tender connexions on their way rejoicing, in the footsteps of the flock of the faithful companions of Jesus.

29th.—I went to see a relation in ill health, much reduced. It is according to the gracious purposes of our faithful Creator to bring down to the brink of the grave, and in mercy to plead with us, causing us to pass through many baptisms and searchings of heart, setting our sins in order before us. I much desire this may be his case, and my own; and that the divine hand may not spare, nor his eye pity, until we are weaned more, far more, from a delight in the things of this world, and inclined to seek more earnestly the kingdom of heaven, with a firm belief that all things needful will be added.

I hope I feel thankful in having been per-

mitted to attend the greater part of the sittings of this Yearly meeting, through the tender regard of an ever watchful Providence, in restoring my health, which had been impaired before I left home. Oh! how every attack shakes my aged frame, and every day, whether improved or not, brings me nearer and nearer the place appointed for all living—the awful separation must take place, the soul must appear at the bar of divine justice. I pray that a humbling sense of this solemn truth may continually rest on my mind, and contrite my spirit before him who gave me a being, and hath been with me all my life. When I am sensible of his heart-tendering love, I rejoice in his presence, and am willing to leave all, that I might possess the lowest place in his glorious kingdom. But in times of withdrawing, I greatly fear, and long to feel a more firm reliance on him who is just and holy; righteousness was the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reins—no guile was found in him, he is himself the truth—his soul was filled with tenderness and flowed with love—he wept over Jerusalem, and over the grave of Lazarus—his miracles were works of mercy, of compassion, and of power—he was lowly in heart—he came not to be ministered unto but to minister.

Eighth month 3rd.—Close labour at meeting: may the root be kept alive whether any greenness appear or not on the branches. The evening meeting, a tendering and contriting season; how consoling is the evidence, that we are through all and every conflict the subjects of protecting care; and for all who sincerely love him, he will care, though he sometimes suffers them, for hidden purposes, to go bowed down with their hands on their loins.

9th.—I am this day informed of the death of my dear friend, M. G., of Tottenham; a character much hid to the world, but in her, observers may behold the example of a true Christian.

22nd.—I awoke this morning in a quiet serene frame of mind, sensible in some degree of the sweet presence of him who dwelt in the burning bush formerly, and it was not consumed: a favour indeed to one so totally unworthy!

30th.—Reading J. B.'s Select Anecdotes, my heart was humbled into prayer for myself, my dear children, and my affectionate nieces, who are now my companions, that we might individually unite in exercise, to feel after and cherish the workings of the Spirit in each of our breasts; it would bring down every high thought and exalted imagination, soften and contrite our spirits, and often melt us into tears. How desirable is the state of

those who, by close attention to the still small voice, are permitted sweetly to commune with their Creator: they can acknowledge "when I am weak then am I strong."

31st.—First-day morning, a trying meeting to me, though more largely attended than usual. It is not the number, but living, faithful labourers, striving reverently to wait at the footstool of Jesus, that they may know those times of refreshment that come from his presence, being in some degree acquainted with the efficacy of that secret influence which is not of us, though in us. In the afternoon, he who sleepeth not by day nor slumbereth by night, according to his loving kindness remembered us, and comforted those that mourned.

Ninth month 10th.—[At meeting.] A dear friend in a solemn manner said, "the Lord is in his holy temple, let all the earth keep silence before him." Though I am deprived in great measure from hearing, I thought I enjoyed a full recompense by the solemnizing effect; and I desired to be brought into true submission to the divine will, that so I might be able to abide the day of his coming, and stand when he appeareth, who is a refiner's fire; for so it must be with those that love and fear him, that they may offer unto the Lord an offering in righteousness. How great is the harvest, and how few are the faithful labourers! Yet blessed be his name, he has not left himself without a witness, neither is his glory departed. There are those who can at times say, "how goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy tabernacles, O Israel; the Lord our God is with us, and the shout of a king is amongst us."

25th.—My niece went with me to Maidstone, and to London next day: the idea of spending a while with my precious children and sweet grand-children, I view with pleasure, yet with trembling, knowing my own many weaknesses and liability to turn aside from constant watchfulness and preserving fear; lest, instead of becoming a waymark to serious inquirers, I should give cause for stumbling and reproach. Lord, preserve me and mine from falling on the right hand or on the left, and be with us in the way that we go! How closely did our dear Lord and Saviour press the inquiry upon Peter, "Lovest thou me?" and I think at this season of renewing my covenant, I can reply as Peter did, "Lord thou knowest all things, thou knowest that I love thee." But how many deaths we have to die, before that life reigns in us that gives the victory over the world, the flesh, and the devil!

Eleventh month 2nd.—Before I arose this morning my heart was visited and tendered by



my heavenly Father's love, and a degree of confidence raised, that if I faithfully followed on to know the Lord, his preserving care would be with me the few remaining moments of my probationary life. What a mercy to one so totally unworthy, and so near the confines of the silent grave; may a sense of reverent thankfulness ever rest on my heart, and may a renewed feeling of Christian love increase and enlarge, with near sympathy, not only for my own family and those of the same community, but for my fellow-creatures the world over. I believe every true Christian, by the power of the gospel working on his mind, must be liberal minded; and I regret sometimes to observe those who are called such, very uncharitable to their brethren who differ from them. Real Christians, or children of God, and sincere followers of the Redeemer, are of one heart and of one soul, wherever scattered, and whatever may be their outward form of religion: these of every nation, kindred, tongue, and people, love one another, and have one common Parent.

29th.—I have found it an advantage, as soon as awake in the morning, to endeavour to turn my mind inward, to wait upon God, to feel his good presence, and lift up my heart to him for protection during the day; and in the evening, to look to him, and consider if my conduct has pleased him; and if we are sensible our ways have met with his approbation, how sweetly, under these consoling reflections, do we take our rest in sleep! I was favoured to feel tenderness of heart, tears of contrition flowed freely while reading the first chapter of the first Corinthians, "God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things that are mighty, that no flesh should glory in his presence."

Tenth month 17th.—I was affected by hearing of the death of J. D. and M. C., both valuable elders of the same Monthly meeting; I had the privilege of their acquaintance from early age, and was instructed by their example. They saw the safety of an humble life, took up the cross, and followed a crucified Saviour. For wise purposes, that we have no right to question, our holy High Priest has seen meet of late, to call many of his labourers from the church militant on earth, to unite with his church triumphant in heaven. Many mourn the stripped state of our Society—few indeed are coming up in their footsteps; nor can we say of many of our sons as formerly, that they are as plants growing up in their youth, or of our daughters, that they are as corner-stones polished after the similitude of a palace!

1835, first month 2nd.—On my pillow the good Remembrancer, in infinite love, tendered my heart by the consideration of how swiftly my precious time passes! How has the last year been spent? Have I resigned my heart more freely than in former ones, to that Power who justly claims a full surrender? Oh! Lord, keep me low, keep me humble, keep me more—far more attentive to thy divine will, and faithful to all thy requirings, where-soever thou art pleased to lead—search every corner of my heart, that every secret sin may be purged away by the redeeming power of thy Son; and that I may witness that essentially needful baptism, whereby I can feel a willingness to be accounted a fool for my dear Saviour's sake, who has done so much for me. Good Jacob was humbled, when he acknowledged, "I am not worthy of the least of all thy mercies which thou hast showed to thy servant, for with my staff I passed over this Jordan, and now I am become two bands."

14th.—Through unmerited mercy, I was favoured with a comforting degree of the heavenly presence. Though this suffering frame must moulder and return to its mother earth, a secret hope is vouchsafed, that the everlasting arm will be underneath; and I earnestly crave it may strengthen my poor drooping mind to press forward, until I arrive at that city that hath no need of the light of the sun or of the moon to enlighten it, for the Lord God and the Lamb are the light thereof.

22nd.—I very much desire to know, more than ever, the operation of the Father's pruning hand, not only lopping off the superfluous branches, but striking at, and destroying the very root of sin, and to experience his woundings to heal, and killings to make alive. By his fatherly chastisement he bringeth us into the near attachment of sons and daughters; and by his righteous judgments, he brings his children into a stedfast reliance on himself. He watereth and feedeth his flock, he sheltereth his lambs, and prepareth a banquet for his chosen, and maketh them sweetly to rest as at noon. O Lord God, thou whose mercies are both ancient and new, I pray thee leave me not nor forsake me; take not thy Holy Spirit from me; give me a heart more fully resigned to follow thee, and to do thy revealed will. Be with me in every conflict, let thy presence go with me and guide me through the wilderness of this world, to a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. Amen.

24th.—I had an impression to call on a friend recovering from ill health, and came home rejoicing that our spirits had been humbled together at the footstool of Grace.

Third month 1st.—Dryness and poverty at

both meetings, and utter inability to keep myself; yet had some faint desires after good; may the gracious Protector, by his everlasting arm, be felt near at the close of my day, when the shadows of the evening approach.

26th.—Sitting down in our little week-day meeting, yesterday, I was enabled to feel the inexpressible privilege, that we as a highly professing people, enjoy beyond any others, when we turn our backs on the things of time, and sit down together silently to wait for divine help to worship and adore that pure holy Being who seeketh to be worshipped in Spirit and in Truth. Oh! that such opportunities were more prized by our beloved young people in particular; and that we might all watch carefully against wandering thoughts, and labour to draw near the Source of all good, that we may be preserved from the snares of the wicked one, who in this day of great excitement, is suiting his baits to our dispositions.

Fifth month 3rd.—“Blessed is the man that trusteth in the Lord, and whose hope the Lord is; he shall be as a tree planted by the water, that spreadeth out her roots by the river, and shall not see when heat cometh, but her leaf shall be green; and shall not be careful in the year of drought, neither shall cease from yielding fruit.”

8th.—In our neighbourhood we have witnessed many loud calls to prepare for our latter end; as Solomon said, “the doors shall be shut in the street, when the sound of the grinding is low, and he shall rise up at the voice of the bird, and all the daughters of music shall be brought low; also when they shall be afraid of that which is high, and fears shall be in the way, and the almond tree shall flourish, and the grasshopper shall be a burden, and desire shall fail: because man goeth to his long home, and the mourners go about the streets.”

13th.—At our Monthly meeting held at Ashford, my mind could scarcely sustain its weight of exercise, having for a long time a humiliating view of duty required of me, which has often brought me very low, and in my feeble old age, it has been a close concern to feel true resignation. But endeavouring to sink into willingness, I was enabled to cast my burden on my Friends, who feelingly expressed unity, and directed a certificate to be prepared for me to visit the meetings in Essex. I was much relieved, and attended the Yearly meeting, considering it a renewed mark of my heavenly Father's love, that I could attend many of the sittings; but I often mused on the important engagement before me. I remembered the stripped tried situation to which David was reduced, and his fearful exclamation, “I shall now perish one day by

the hand of Saul.” Oh! I long that I may more unreservedly obey the voice of the Lord, which is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams. I was much strengthened in this journey by the company of Susannah Brown, of Coggeshall, whose heart an ever watchful Providence inclined to accompany me through the county. The 20th of sixth month I went to Chelmsford, where my dear friend S. B. met me; the 24th, to Witham Monthly meeting, held at Maldon. I felt much stripped and low, nothing for myself or others, till in a sitting at ——'s, our spirits were replenished by that influence that is better than the increase of corn, wine or oil. Indeed we were helped to our own admiration, nor have I words to express the tender regard of Him who putteth forth his own, and goeth before them, and at times is pleased to refresh their spirits by leading them beside the still waters; yea, He is causing them to partake of his inexpressible love. We were very kindly conducted from one meeting to another by exercised Friends, whose company was pleasant and edifying; and we were often drawn into silence in their families, which proved a strength to our feeble minds. At S. Grover's, widow of our late valuable friend, W. Grover, we met with Edward Alexander, from Ireland, with whom we went to Walden. After a meeting in the evening, appointed on his account, which proved a silent one; we had a favoured opportunity in ——'s family, dear E. A. was present; my heart was bound in near sympathy for this deeply baptised traveller, which I could not keep to myself: after which his spirit was sweetly humbled in supplication to the God and Father of all our sure mercies, for his exercised aged friend, and which I hope to treasure up as a renewed evidence of my heavenly Father's tender love. Having now finished our visits, I parted with my dear companion, and came to Chelmsford. I stayed their meeting on first-day, where I again met dear E. A., who seemed to me like passive clay in the hands of the Great Potter. I was at Tottenham meeting on the 16th of seventh month; and after very pleasantly spending a time with my dear children, reached home the 24th, and enjoyed a peaceful mind. “Return unto thy rest, oh! my soul, for the Lord has dealt bountifully with thee.”

In days that are past this Scripture declaration was often quoted as applicable to our Society, “the people shall dwell alone”—it was when Israel was abiding in his tent; separate from the surrounding nations, that the emphatic exclamation was uttered, “How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy tabernacles, O Israel! as the valleys are they spread forth, as gardens by the river side, and as cedar



trees beside the waters." And of this favoured people it was declared on the same occasion, "the people shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations."

Eighth month 14th.—At the Monthly meeting at Folkstone, I returned my certificate, and enjoyed a peaceful mind. Oh! my soul, mayest thou ever bow low at the footstool of thy Saviour, and for ever adore and praise his worthy name!

About this time, I received a letter from my late dear companion, S. Brown, informing me of the decease of her beloved sister, Mary Jesup. It might be justly said, she feared the Lord from her youth: I doubt not that the immortal part has taken its flight, to dwell for ever with him who is love. Many weighty expressions dropped from her during her illness. "Oh!" said she, "it is so sweet to be quiet, to lie close in the bosom of my Saviour;" many times expressing the peace and comfort she felt. We cannot but mourn the loss of such, whose life and conversation hold forth the language, "follow me, as I have borne the cross, despised the shame, and followed Christ!"

30th.—Our morning meeting was to my mind a humbling season, and in the evening similar, for which I desire to be thankful. It is utterly impossible that any thing should bring to the [saving] knowledge of the will of God, but the light and spirit of Christ, by an inward manifestation.

Ninth month 28th.—I went to the London Select Quarterly meeting, which felt to me a poor, low time. How precious would the quickening influence of the Holy Spirit be, as was formerly experienced, when Truth reigned over all. At Quarterly meeting on third-day, a sweet solemnity came over us, by the renewed streams of that river whose source is everlasting love.

Tenth month 3rd.—Went to Epping; it felt to me like paying a debt I have owed since I returned from a visit into Essex. I was enabled to return with my penny, after calling on all the Friends' families—Oh! who would not serve so rich a Rewarder for so small an act of obedience!

15th.—Folkstone Monthly meeting—I endeavoured to draw near the fountain, and returned in possession of a quiet and easy mind; where little is given, little is required, neither do we serve a hard Master.

25th.—First-day, morning and afternoon meetings were suffering seasons. I long to be made sensible that I am filling up that part of the sufferings of the dear Redeemer that is my allotted portion. I had a pleasant, and I hope, a profitable time of retirement in the evening, with a young friend that called in.

Such opportunities often afford sweet reflection; and we are ready to admire, that we do not manifest greater interest in the everlasting welfare of our friends at all times, and endeavour more, in the social circle, to edify one another.

Eleventh month 8th.—A day of heavy conflict in both meetings. What small occurrences disturb and perplex our minds, when Satan, our unwearied enemy, is watching every avenue. O my Father, who art in heaven, and dwellest in the light, be pleased to remember my low estate, and renew my confidence in thy never-failing power. Though I walk through darkness and see no light, O stay my drooping mind on thee, and strengthen me to maintain the warfare to the end; for thou remainest to be the strength of the poor and of the needy in their distress, a refuge from the storm, a shadow from the heat, when the blast of the terrible one is as a storm against the wall!

12th.—I attended our Monthly meeting at Canterbury, where we were remarkably addressed under the influence of best Wisdom. Without this anointing no one can preach the gospel—and if such favoured opportunities are not improved, we shall be accountable at that day when every talent will be called for at our hands, though it may be but one, and that the smallest of all talents.

In this month, I was visited with illness, which soon brought me very low; I believed it to be a mark of my heavenly Father's love, and a renewed visitation to my soul. I sensibly felt the dear Redeemer's solemn voice, "Steward, give an account of thy stewardship." The impression was weighty and very humiliating for a considerable time: and though I was favoured to feel my mind, in adorable mercy, quiet and easy, and I hope in degree resigned, I could not get to that sweet assurance I earnestly longed for—and oh! how was a cruel enemy suffered to buffet me. I strove to wrestle, as Jacob did, through almost a sleepless night, but strength failed me, my many holdings back, disobediences, and omissions of duty, by too much giving way to the fear of man in days that are long past, were brought to my afflicted mind with deep and painful anxiety. After a time of close exercise, and fervent breathing for help, condescending Goodness was pleased to notice such a poor worm, and in his tender mercy, to help, when vain was the help of man. These words almost constantly rested on my mind for several days; "pray without ceasing, and in every thing give thanks." This hard, though necessary reduction of self ought to be a profitable lesson. I looked on my dear children, who were all with me, and thought

I could freely part with them, if it were the will of Him who created us; for I felt his boundless love as a canopy over us, and that, as they kept close to him, he would not fail to protect them in every trial. After a time I began to amend, and the prospect of returning as to a thorny wilderness, in which I had experienced many afflicting seasons, at first, was trying to me; but we cannot rejoice but through suffering, nor abound but through previous abasement. It is indeed a great blessing, and well worth every conflict, to be permitted in the centre of our souls to hold communion with our dear Saviour. "How excellent is thy loving-kindness, O God, therefore the children of men put their trust under the shadow of thy wing." May this gracious manifestation of thy love be a lasting benefit to my mind, and according to thy great mercy, take me and the tender children thou hast given me; O take us under thy holy protecting care. Search and prove us, and do away from our hearts every thought that is opposed to thy righteous government; quicken our resolutions to stand upon our watch, and sit upon the tower, and watch to see what thou wilt say unto us, and what we shall answer when we are reprov'd. Preserve us, O dearest Father, from all the fiery darts of the wicked one, and give us that faith that is invincible. Be thou our refuge and defence while sojourning in the wilderness of time, and passing through Jordan's flood, to Canaan's land. Keep us, I beseech thee, in a feeling sense of thy preserving fear, and from a desire to form for ourselves an easier way to thy pure and holy kingdom than that already made by our perfect Pattern, thy beloved Son, who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life. O Lord my God, enable us, by the workings of thy power, to take up our cross, and serve thee faithfully all the days of our appointed time; and give us an inheritance in thy holy city, that hath no need of the sun nor of the moon to enlighten it, for thy glory doth lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof. Amen, and amen, saith my soul!

[Twelfth month 11th.—During the above illness, in which her recovery appeared doubtful, the following expressions were taken down:—

"I felt very low and poorly in the night, but I had a comfortable hope, though it did not continue long with me, that all would be well, that I am ready to think the time is nearly come."

13th.—Two Friends calling to see her, she remarked, "I have been dwelling as in a dry and thirsty land, and though I have en-

deavoured to labour through a long life, I have nothing of my own to boast of." In the evening, on hearing the 10th verse of the 37th Psalm, "Oh! I can testify to the truth of that, for when all my friends have seemed to forsake me then hath the Lord taken me up."

15th.—After passing through a low and deeply depressed season, she said, "If I should be taken now, all will be well, I have such a full assurance that there is a mansion prepared for me, and that crowns all." To one of her daughters, "Thou must try and give me up, pray for patience and resignation, and look to the Lord for strength, to say, 'He gave and he can take away, blessed be the name of the Lord.' If thou lookest to him, thou wilt be preserved, he will never leave thee nor forsake thee." "How tenderly I am dealt with, I am sinking so gradually away." To her grandson, "We have always been tenderly united, and have loved each other; thou wilt feel the loss of me, but be a good boy, be kind to thy parents, and regard those tender impressions thou hast so often felt; encourage them, then thou wilt make a good man."

Being asked the next morning how she felt, she replied, "I want to feel quite resigned;" shortly after, on recovering from a violent fit of coughing, by which she was much exhausted, "Now I think I can give you all up freely." She gave much suitable advice to a friend who called to see her, urging the necessity of obedience to manifested duty, that thus he might become qualified to step into the places of those further advanced in age, when they should be laid in the silent grave. Referring to herself, "My only confidence is in my Saviour."

On the 17th, she began to revive, and so far recovered as to be able to pay several visits to her friends.]

31st.—The reflecting time is come to part with the past, and enter on the new year: how sweetly consoling, if we have a firm belief that we have followed the Lamb faithfully in the discharge of all our religious duties, in the year that is over and cannot be recalled; then our peace will flow as a river, and encourage us to lift up our prayers to our Almighty Helper, that he will be pleased in future to be our shield and to cover us with the mantle of his love.

1836, first month 5th.—I have been several weeks prevented attending our little meeting from indisposition, yet I have enjoyed a precious stillness in sitting alone; and hope I can say in truth, the Lord has been near, and in tender mercy quieted my mind, and raised the



language in my heart, "What shall I render unto thee for all thy benefits, for they are new every morning."

Third month 5th.—I have of late experienced many seasons of poverty and want: infirmities of body, and strippedness of mind have been much my companions, and proved my faith and patience, especially at my advanced age, standing as at the brink of the grave. The cry of my heart is, "Let not thy hand spare, nor thine eye pity," until my strong will is slain, and brought into subjection, and all within me is made to bow at thy sacred footstool, and to offer unto thee a living sacrifice, that I might see how good it is to suffer; had it been otherwise, I might never have enjoyed a feast of fat things.

Fifth month 22nd.—I went to London, and attended five sittings of the Yearly meeting. I desired that the day might dawn as formerly, when Truth reigned over all. The concluding meeting of ministers and elders was the last that dear Thomas Shillitoe was able to attend. I had the comfort of his company to Tottenham, and observed he was sinking fast. It may be truly said, his sun went down in brightness. He finished a valuable life on the 5th of sixth month. "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord, yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours, and their works do follow them."

Sixth month 14th.—I had a pleasant ride home. After a long dry season, a bountiful Providence was pleased to water the thirsty ground, and cause a fresh and lively verdure to renew its beauty. The little birds were warbling their sweet notes as of joy and praise, which brought to my mind the words, "The winter is over and gone, the flowers appear on the earth, the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land."

Seventh month 1st. — and myself went to a Union house in our neighbourhood, that was to receive the destitute poor from twenty parishes. The women's side was nearly uninhabited, but a considerable number of aged men were there; one of them was reading the Holy Scriptures, the others sitting by in a becoming manner. We saw their beds and pillows of straw; their food coarse, but wholesome and clean. Several of them expressed thankfulness for being provided for in the decline of life; many of them more than eighty years of age. I sat a while with them, for my heart was affected with a sense of our dear Saviour's sufferings, in giving up his precious life for this part of the creation, who are equally with us, the objects of his tender care. He came to seek and to save those that are lost. I believe there are none, either among

the young or the aged, who are not capable of religious impression: but O! that the manifestation of the [Divine] light given to every one may not become clouded by their teachers, many of whom seemed to me to be better acquainted with forms and ceremonies, than concerned to lead a self-denying life, and to walk with the meek and lowly Jesus. I came home reflecting on my many blessings, and enjoyed my penny.

In the first month last, an apprehension of duty settled on my mind, that it would be required of me to pay a visit to the families of Friends of this Monthly meeting, and many times it came with considerable clearness and weight. My age and infirmities stood much in my way, not enough considering that the Great Master, whom I desire to serve, and who, I believed required the sacrifice, knows my poor weak frame, and is able to afford strength to perform it.

12th.—Monthly meeting at Dover. As it approached, I believed the time was come that I should throw my burden on my friends. But O! for ever adored be the Great Helper, ever mindful of the little fearful ones who feel that they have none to cry to for help, but him alone, the weight much decreased. Whilst at my friend's, and in the night, the prospect closed. In returning home I felt much relieved, and bowed in humility and thankfulness. Is there any God like unto our God, who is glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, working wonders!

31st.—I went to meeting this morning in much weakness and fear, lest I should fall a prey to the devourer. Instead of feeling ability to encourage others, I longed for the help of their spirits, and said in my heart, Give me patience, O Lord, to bear the turnings of thy holy hand upon me. Lead me to the Rock that is higher than I. This, in unutterable condescension, was my joyful experience. O! what shall I render unto the God of my salvation for all his mercies to one so totally unworthy of the least portion of his tender regard! This renewed abounding of his love rested with sweetness on my mind many days—praised be his adorable and great name, both now and for ever, saith my soul.

Eighth month 28th.—Going to meeting this morning in a degree of passiveness, my vessel was replenished with a little wine of the kingdom. In the evening, I was enabled to say from precious experience, "my Redeemer liveth;" blessed be his name who is dealing thus bountifully [with me.] That he may be pleased to carry on, and perfect his own work, is what my soul craves.

Ninth month 4th.—Relieved my mind of a burden that has long been heavy, on account

of a few children being deprived of the privilege of attending week-day meetings; their parents not enough considering the importance of presenting their tender charge before the Lord on a week-day. We know not when it may please their heavenly Father most powerfully to visit and tender their susceptible minds. But how many coverings there are, that sorrowfully dim the bright shining of that precious light within us, that is lighted by the Divine Light and Life himself, and was never intended to be covered by a bushel, but set on a candlestick, and it giveth light to all that are in the house, not only to our little Society, but to those that observe our general conduct through life. If our dear children's teachers were made acquainted with the cause of their absence from school, it might be a means of brightening the light in them, and of inviting them to come, taste, and see for themselves how good the Lord is, and worthy of adoration, worship, and obedience, now and for ever.

7th.—When we first sat down in meeting, the precious children being with us, a very sweet feeling covered my mind, wherein I silently mused my heavenly Father's praise: he is a rich rewarder for every act of obedience! I said in my heart, Return to the place of thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord thy God hath dealt bountifully with thee.

[In the twelfth month.]—This dear invalid was again visited with severe illness, which she was enabled to bear with great patience and resignation, frequently addressing those who attended her, with much humility—when the following expressions were collected.

Twelfth month 19th, 1836.—It is an awful thing to appear before the Judge of the whole earth: I am sure I have not a rag to cover myself with, but my whole and entire dependence is on my holy Saviour, who, I humbly hope will plead my cause: I do believe love will cover the judgment seat. If there are any who slight the offers of a merciful Saviour, how deplorable must be their condition!" "I have such sweet sentences of scripture brought to my remembrance, that I think they are too good to belong to me." "We have been mercifully dealt with, and blessed in basket and in store; and I firmly believe, that he who has been with me all my life long, will be near and protect my children."

22nd.—Addressing her children, "I can leave you to the protection of the Shepherd of Israel, who never will forsake you, unless you first draw back and forsake him—a father to the fatherless, and a husband to the widow, is God in his holy habitation." I am of the mind that man cannot, of his own natural abilities, pray as he ought.

"I felt so stripped and emptied this afternoon, that I wanted you, my dear children, to come and sit quietly with me, and try to unite our exercise. I have often remembered the positive injunction and promise of our blessed Lord, 'Seek and ye shall find, (no hesitation,) ask, and ye shall receive.' I have felt the Comforter as at the threshold of the door, waiting to do his own office. May we neither of us suffer our eyes to close until we have lifted up our hearts to thee, O thou most adorable Lord God! look down upon us at this most awful time, be near and strengthen us, even the very weakest amongst us, with the influences of thy Spirit; send us help from thy sanctuary, and strengthen us out of Zion!"

24th.—"Oh! what a poor creature I am, but my heavenly Father can do all for me. I feel quite willing to go, not at all afraid; and when more depressed and low than I know how to bear, the word is, 'I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee.'"

At another time, "I have a hope, a confirming hope, that a mansion is prepared for me; it is all through the intercession of my dear Redeemer! He sometimes comes in so sweetly. When he does, it is all in mercy, not from merit; I am sure it is always in love unutterable."

25th.—"When the divine power and influence is withdrawn, which is often the case, I feel very low, but when it returns, it is so sweet and reviving!" "How awful is eternity! I am often ready to say, O, eternity, eternity! how inexpressibly awful art thou!" "O, how animating is the prospect, to think of joining that innumerable company whom no man can number!"

28th.—When feeling very low, she said, "Oh! to be clothed with the saints' robe of righteousness!"

First month 5th, 1837.—After reading the Scriptures, and sitting in silence, "We have had a comfortable little meeting together. We who have leisure, ought to think it our duty to meet more than once a day for this purpose: it seems like an evening sacrifice. Gather up the fragments that nothing be lost."

To one of her children, she said, "I want to tell thee how comfortable I felt in the night, that all was peace; I had an evidence, if I dare call it so, to such a poor creature, that all would be well; and O, those beautiful gates, if we ever enter, it must be in this humble view of ourselves, it must be so to me, a poor creature, a worm and no man. And you, my dear children in a particular manner, live in love one with another, and live near that humbling Power that will preserve you. I feel so calm, it seems as if I had nothing to do."



The weakness of her almost exhausted frame, was at times very trying, and she often said, "O, that I may be preserved in patience. O, that it may please my heavenly Father to take me to himself. I hope that speaking of my bodily infirmities will not be considered murmuring; for although I feel more low and languid than I ever have done, my mind is comfortable, I seem to have nothing to do—all appears done for me by a merciful Saviour, by an adorable Redeemer."

From this illness she so far recovered as to be able to attend meetings generally, till the severity of the season prevented,\* yet she still enjoyed the company of her friends.

Fourth month 23rd.—Musing on my pillow this morning, I could but commemorate the boundless love of a faithful Creator to my poor soul, from early life to the present day; he made me sensible of his goodness, and inclined me to love and fear Him. I was tendered and broken in meetings, and took opportunities to get alone and strew my tears before the Lord, many times thinking, Oh! that I had lived in the day our blessed Saviour was upon the earth, I would have added one to the number of the multitude that followed him closely—I should have seen his miracles, and loved him more. It often came into my mind, in days of distress and besetment, "Seek first the kingdom of heaven, and the righteousness thereof, and all things needful shall be added." This animating promise has often been a consolation to my drooping spirit. In proving seasons when I have been tried as to an hair's breadth, it was sealed upon my mind, that if I strove with all my might, if I kept hold of the anchor, I should be helped through my deepest conflicts, which has been brought to pass in a wonderful manner. A compassionate Protector afforded strength to cry unto Him for help, that he would never leave me, nor forsake me, but reduce, and humble my soul to this state; not my will, but thine be done, O Lord.

Fifth month 3rd.—I have been favoured with a comfortable refreshing meeting. Bow very low, O my soul, and from time to time fully submit under the refinings of God's power. Oh! with what earnestness do I desire to have my prayers ascend before him, that he would continue to be with, and watch over, me now in my feeble old age—protect and preserve me in a state of subjection to his holy law, where pride, anxiety, and woe cannot enter—appoint my dwelling in the low

valley, where the grass is green, and the fragrant flowers give a sweet smell. Assured I am, that none who seek him earnestly in the secret of their minds, but will find him a God nigh at hand, and graciously disposed to replenish and satisfy the hungry soul.

7th.—I was favoured with the privilege of sitting with my friends at meeting, and thankful to partake of a few crumbs, of which I felt very unworthy. Lord suffer me never to forget thy favours, and clothe my mind with humility; centre me deeper, much deeper in it.

9th.—We are looking for our Friends to attend a Monthly meeting here. My earnest desire this morning is to be preserved in a state of watchfulness, that I sin not with my tongue, or prove a stumbling to any, especially to the tenderly beloved young Friends, whose faces are happily turned Zionward. I feel earnest to be preserved from hurting the work of the Lord in myself, or hindering its growth in others. But Oh! thou God of everlasting love, author of every comfort and consolation, reprove and instruct me by the operation of thy pure Spirit in my soul, enable me to say, "I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me!"

I was rejoiced to see my valued friend, William Rickman, in the 93rd year of his age; it may be truly said, he is fresh and green in old age; and out of the good treasure of his heart, he was strengthened to bring forth to our comfort: bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all His mercies; for He shall be called the repairer of breaches, the restorer of paths to dwell in.

Since the eleventh month last year, I have had but little opportunity or inclination to make memorandums, and have been often prevented attending meetings through indisposition; but sitting by myself, endeavouring to unite with my friends who are enjoying the inexpressible privilege of social worship, I have often felt poor and stripped of every sensible feeling of good. "By whom shall Jacob arise, for he is small?" After long striving to wait quietly, the good Remembrancer has been pleased to prove Himself to be near, and I have found such seasons to be the means of deep humiliation to my poor forgetful mind. In these baptizing seasons, the words of a faithful servant of the Lord have often strengthened me, "Patience in low times is an excellent anchor, and hope bears up the soul."

Tenth month 1st.—I arose this morning very weak and poorly; my poor tabernacle is fast declining by age and infirmities. I can reverently acknowledge that goodness and mercy have followed me all the days of my life. Thou, O gracious Helper, hast been with me through many tribulations, many perils

\*On returning, she often remarked the weighty solid deportment of a dear friend, during meetings, who is now removed from time to eternity; also his great care in not entering into light conversation on leaving them.

within and without; I pray thee be with me the remaining part of my life, and forsake me not, now health and strength fail: but enable me to live looser from the world, and closer unto thee, O thou Father and Fountain of every comfort and consolation. Permit me, O Lord, reverently to covet thy holy protection for myself, my children, and tender grandchildren, that they may be preserved strangers to the vanities of the world, pride, and superfluity of every kind. Keep them, I pray thee, from taking their flight as into the air, where the snares of the prince of the power thereof are laid to catch them—keep them from aspiring unto things too high for them—Oh! most merciful Father, keep us all, I humbly pray thee, little in our own estimation; for thou art God, with the dear Son of thy love blessed for ever!

11th. — paid us a very agreeable visit. How instructive is a growth in grace; the path of the just shineth brighter and brighter as they diligently walk in the light; and by every act of obedience they grow stronger and stronger, but negligence in performing our duty leaves us more in Satan's power. How needful then is it, to be steadily pressing after the Father's love, which is the spiritual light and life of men, and to be watchful unto prayer, to feel the mind secretly breathing after it. If this is our engagement, and the true hunger and thirst are experienced, we shall be fed.

26th.—Sitting up in bed, my mind was very unexpectedly comforted by these words, "The Lord knoweth them that are his," which affected me. I said in my heart, what have I to return for such favours; surely nothing but shame and confusion of face!

Eleventh month 21st.—What a favour would it be, if in our daily retirements we were owned by that enriching peace, which the world can neither give nor take away. "Trust in the Lord with all thy heart, and lean not to thy own understanding"—"Wait on the Lord; be of good courage and he shall strengthen thine heart; wait I say on the Lord." Oh! may it please Him to raise up judges as at the first, and counsellors as at the beginning—to hasten that day when truth and righteousness shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea! A participation of the love of God by the members of the true church, teaches them to know the communion of saints, and the deep union of the one Spirit, which makes them as epistles written in one another's hearts, which neither time nor distance can ever erase.

In the third month, 1838, I heard of the decease of dear Ann Ransome, of Hitchin. I have not heard the particulars of her close, but

I have known her to be a diligent labourer in the Lord's vineyard, and very serviceable in the church discipline. The intelligence brought to my mind a fresh call to arise and trim my lamp, that I might not be like the foolish virgins who were excluded from entering in to behold the Bridegroom of souls.

Oh! the necessity of not only receiving the seed of the kingdom, but with all readiness to allow its growth. The work of truth in the heart of man is described to be progressive; first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear.

There are many publications in this day that have a tendency to corrupt the mind; if we read the Scriptures they will draw us nearer to God than any other volume. In the records of our dear Saviour's life and death, we shall perceive where the Master's feet have trod; and, in reading his sufferings with attention, the youthful mind is often moved and tendered, and in great humility brought nearer to his pure spirit in the heart.

O thou that hast been pleased to lengthen out my days to old age, thou knowest Satan's desire to have me, that he may sift me as wheat. Oh! suffer me to know an increase of strength by thy power, which only is able to support the mind, when the waves of affliction run high, and threaten to overwhelm: it is the voice of thy omnipotence only that can at such seasons effectually proclaim, Peace be still!

Sixth month.—Sitting up in bed: I feel my strength declining. Oh! for patience and firm confidence in my dear Redeemer, is what I have been striving for, and hope more fully to attain. But Oh! how poor and forsaken I am, comparable to the state of Mary of old, in her mournful search; "They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him." Oh! grant a continued exercise of soul, until I have found him whom my soul loveth, because he first, in his adorable goodness and tender mercy, followed me by his heart-reaching calls in the days of my youth, saying, "This is the way, walk in it." I desire more than ever to search closely the most secret parts of my own heart. I have to mourn for suffering the fear of man to stay and hinder me, that I have held back when I should have come boldly forward in the Lord's blessed cause. Oh! my short comings, my many omissions and commissions have caused me many hours of sorrow, and bitter cries to the Creator of the ends of the earth for forgiveness. And I trust in the days of humiliation, I was strengthened again to renew my covenant similar to Jacob, "If thou wilt be with me in the way I go, give me bread to eat, and raiment to put on; thou shalt be my God, and I will serve



thee;" and in his adorable goodness, peace, yea, solid peace, has been restored, and my soul enabled to magnify and adore his great and glorious name, who is God over all blessed for ever. Amen.

Eighth month 18th.—First-day, my mind was sweetly refreshed by these words; "Give unto the Lord glory and strength; give unto the Lord the glory due unto his name." Oh! be graciously pleased to preserve me, in my weak state, from becoming a prey to the unwearied enemy of my soul. Oh! grant that the same light that was a light to David's feet, and a lantern to his path, may be permitted to guide my poor soul into a mansion prepared for it in thy kingdom; Oh! thou whose tender love and boundless compassion, I cannot express as I feel it this morning. Mayest thou keep me little, low, and in thy fear!

Tenth month 30th.—I came down stairs weary, and resting on the sofa, the sun shone very pleasantly, a precious sense of my heavenly Father's love refreshed my heart far more than I deserve, but not more than I covet. "Return unto thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee."

I long, and that with tears, to unite with those who are rightly gathered there (at meeting); the promise still remains unbroken to those that gather into the sacred name, the power of Truth, that can alone give strength to overcome and keep down all wandering thoughts, and so stay and quiet the mind, as to give ability to worship the Father in spirit and in truth, and preserve from presenting their bodies in a lifeless form.

Just put into a nice warm bed, and partaking of many other comforts. Oh! most merciful God, permit me to meditate in thy law; in it there is life, and in it there is joy for evermore!

Fourth month 13th, 1839.—My poor head is in much pain—Oh! the most earnest desire of my heart is, that my merciful Creator and Preserver may be pleased, in his great love, to keep alive my spiritual senses, though it may please him to lay low and abase every other faculty.

20th.—Oh! the harmony there is in the Lord's family! "Ephraim shall not envy Judah, nor Judah vex Ephraim"—"they shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain!"

From this time she was almost wholly confined to her house, and continued gradually to decline till the ninth month, when she was visited by an only brother, who, after a few days' illness, was removed by death. This unexpected event so forcibly operated upon her,

as not only to deprive her of her usual vivacity of mind, but subjected her to much increase of suffering, and the loss of her mental powers, though at times she was favoured with lucid intervals, during which she expressed to the following effect:—

"Oh! that I might die the death of the righteous, and that my latter end might be like theirs."

"Oh! that it may please my heavenly Father to say, 'It is enough!' I have a hope that casteth out fear—I have a hope both sure and steadfast."

"Oh! it is an awful thing to appear before the Judge of the whole earth, but I do not feel afraid, I have a merciful Saviour. My pain is very great; pray for me, that patience may hold out to the end."

A few days before her death, she said, "I must die the death,—our blessed Saviour died the death,—mine is a natural death, but his was for the whole world. He gave up his life freely, and suffered on the cross. He gave his life a willing sacrifice, and we must give up our whole hearts—no cross, no crown, is a sure testimony; if we will not bear the cross, we cannot have the crown." Then addressing her children, "Oh! my dear children, may you never rest but in the wrestling of the soul, until he has fully redeemed you, until he has finished the work he has begun in you. Oh! from my dying bed, I beg of you, that it may be the earnest breathing of your souls, that you may be redeemed from the perishing things of time, and that your affections may be fixed upon eternity: upon things that will endure for ever. What would it avail me now (or any at such a time as this) to have the world, or as much as might be equal to our most extravagant desires to possess? we would freely give it up in exchange for a happy possession! Oh! press after it; do not be satisfied in any thing that is sensual or carnal, but Oh! that we may press after an inheritance in that which will endure for ever!"

"Oh, eternity! Oh! the length of eternity! Oh! that it may be impressed on every heart the length of eternity! *There is no end!*"

She peacefully expired the 25th of first month, at her house at Ashford in Kent, and was interred in Friends' burial ground there, the 2nd of second month, 1840.

"The salvation of the righteous is of the Lord: he is their strength in the time of trouble. And the Lord shall help them, and deliver them: he shall deliver them from the wicked, and save them, because they trust in him."—Psalm xxxvii. 39, 40.

SOME ACCOUNT  
OF  
THE RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE  
OF  
ANN CROWLEY.

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I HAVE no expectation of leaving any thing that will bear the appellation of a journal, but apprehending I should fail of manifesting that gratitude which is due the Author of all good, did I not transmit some account of the Lord's gracious dealings with me, I am induced to make a few memorandums. The remembrance of the multiplied mercies and abundant loving-kindness vouchsafed, has often deeply prostrated my soul, and raised the language, What shall I render unto thee, O God, for the benefits and favours bestowed on thy unworthy servant? When very young in years my mind was visited with the gentle reproofs of instruction, and I felt, what I now believe was divine approbation, when I acted agreeably to the religious precepts with which I was favoured, before I knew it was the precious gift of grace thus operating on my heart. I well remember some seasons of humiliation, when, in the depth of contrition, I have knelt down in my chamber, feeling the spirit of sweet supplication, though, like Samuel of old, ignorant of the voice of the Lord which influenced to this act of duty: and, on rising from my knees, I felt so happy that it led me to consider what should occasion such sweet, peaceful feelings. Through the teachings of the holy Spirit, I soon became sensible, it was the influence of heavenly love on my heart; and had I wisely kept near the all-sufficient gift of grace, I might, in early years, have magnified the Lord's power, by becoming a preacher of righteousness in life and conversation. But, for want of dwelling with this blessed gift, and maintaining a constant watch, the enemy of all good gained ascendancy over my convinced judgment, and I was miserably beguiled into an apprehension, that I might indulge myself for a few years in the gratification of some worldly pleasures, and afterwards submit to the cross and become a re-

ligious character. This carnal reasoning brought death and darkness over my awakened understanding, and I much lost the sense of those tendering impressions, which had been mercifully experienced in the day of early visitation. But thanks be to a gracious God, who kept me, in this season of revolt, from all gross evil, and often followed with close conviction, when indulging the vain mind, in adorning the frail body with apparel inconsistent with the simplicity of the truth. A fondness for dress and music were some of my greatest foibles; and I am bound in gratitude to acknowledge, that had it not been for parental care, advice, and prudent restraint, I might have gone great lengths in these gratifications. Then, in the love of the gospel, I would most earnestly, and most affectionately recommend all religious parents, to be faithful in the discharge of their important duties, remembering they are delegated as care-takers over a very important trust: and happy will it be for those parents, who, in the day of righteous inquisition, may stand acquitted in the divine sight, having done all they could to preserve their offspring in true simplicity, and in the fear of the Lord.

About the 16th year of my age, I was renewedly favoured with a powerful visitation of heavenly love, by which, through the tender mercy of a compassionate Father, I saw there was no other way to obtain present peace and everlasting happiness, but, believing in, and yielding obedience to, the dictates of the Spirit of Truth revealed in the heart. And as I gave up to follow the gradual unfoldings of the Lord's will, I felt my strength increase to bear the cross and despise the shame, and thus I began to understand, in my measure, the truth of that saying, they that are faithful in the little, shall be made rulers over more. I saw with indubitable clearness,



that Christ is the *only* "*way, the truth, and the life*;" and that our words and our actions must be governed by his Spirit. In this awakened state, my prayers were frequently put up in secret, to the God and Father of all our sure mercies, that his almighty presence might be as walls and bulwarks around my fearful and trembling spirit, to keep me steadfast in the faith, and watchful unto prayer: that the enemy of my soul's salvation might not again draw me aside from the simplicity of the truth, as it is in Jesus, our only Redeemer and hope of glory. As I was mercifully favoured to experience a change of heart, and knew something of the new birth unto righteousness, I found him, who was a liar from the beginning, very busy, with insinuations suited to beguile into a disbelief of what I had now experienced, of the blessed effects of religion on the heart. Many were my conflicts, known only to an all-seeing God, who compassionated my tried state, and often caused the calming influence of his living presence, to bring into a holy quiet, and humble trust, in which I felt sweet, solacing peace to clothe my panting mind.

About the 17th year of my age, I met with a very close trial, which involved my mind in deep affliction. My tenderly beloved and honoured father, who had been in a declining state of health for some years, was suddenly removed from works to rewards, by an apoplectic fit. At this time I was from home, and had been so for several months, which increased my sorrow, from the reflection, that I had thereby been deprived of the satisfaction of fulfilling the last offices of filial duty, and prevented the consolation of witnessing the peaceful close of an affectionate, indulgent parent. How unspeakably great is the loss which children sustain from the departure of those who have tenderly cared for them, as it relates to the preservation of the youthful mind and the comfortable accommodation of the body. How wise would it be, and acceptable to the great and good Parent of all living, were those thus privileged, daily engaged to seek after a right disposition to appreciate such blessings, letting their deportment in all things, and at all times, evince their sense of obligation for such unmerited favours.

After the death of my beloved father, I was much at home with my bereaved mother, and such of my dear sisters as were then unmarried; endeavouring to comfort them, as far as my small experience in the precious gift of true sympathy would admit: we frequently mingled our tears together, and I have reason to believe, it was a season of lasting profit to divers of us, for which I now feel reverently thankful. In the course of a few years, three of my sisters married, which made a great

chasm in our *nearly united* family,\* so I may safely express myself, having been favoured to live together in great harmony and tender affection, the remembrance of which now yields solid satisfaction. Many and various were the exercises of my mind about this time. I often found the necessity of seeking, with earnestness of soul, for wisdom and strength to conduct myself in all respects agreeably to the profession I was making; and many were the fears which assailed me, lest I should, through any degree of unwatchfulness, mar the work which, in unutterable mercy, was begun in my heart. But in a sense of gratitude, I may acknowledge the everlasting Counsellor did not fail to warn, instruct, and grant the blessing of preservation, so that faithfulness measurably kept pace with knowledge, and my love to God was manifested by an endeavour to walk humbly in his fear, which I found to be as a fountain of life, preserving from the snares of death.

In the second month, 1791, my much-loved sister Mary was, in the prime of life, taken from the many comforts enjoyed by the humble, even in this probationary state, I trust, to a far more happy and glorious inheritance, where joys unalloyed are the blessed portion of the righteous for ever. She had been married only about a year and nine months, and had many promising prospects to make her new sphere of life desirable. But it pleased Infinite Wisdom to cast a shade over these pleasant pictures: her health became delicate, and very soon little hope could be entertained of her recovery, which was a solemn consideration to me. Truly "The judgments of the Lord are unsearchable, and his ways past finding out;" but all his ways are perfect: and thence we are instructed, that we have nothing to depend upon, but his boundless mercy in Christ Jesus, our consolation and only hope of glory. I can acknowledge, in a deep sense of manifold weaknesses, that though this cup of sorrow was as the wormwood and the gall, difficult to be drunk with becoming resignation, yet, through the strengthening influence of all-sufficient Grace, I could feelingly utter the submissive language of Job, "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord." Though this was a season of severe trial, yet upon a serious retrospect, I can enrol it among those afflictions which have proved to me blessings in disguise, and which have given occasion for the tribute of gratitude to be offered unto him, who only knows what will tend to our sanctification, and bring into the paths of enduring peace. My soul can now, in tracing the wonderful dealings of an all-

\* Of seven sisters.

wise Providence, lean upon the staff of faith, and worship him whose compassions fail not, but are new every morning. May it please him to continue his righteous judgments mixed with mercy, all the days of my pilgrimage, that a preparation may be known, to offer, in time and in eternity, adoration and praise, to his worthy name.

On the 6th of the fifth month, we were visited by our truly valued friends Samuel Smith from America, Hannah Wigham from Essex, Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young from Colebrook Dale, Louis Majolier from France, Adey Bellamy from Wycomb, and John Hull from Uxbridge. On the 9th they had a meeting at Warborough, which, according to my infant state for judging, was a season of renewed favour, in which I was divinely instructed. In the afternoon they all left us, except D. Darby and R. Young, who staid another night under my dear mother's roof. They drank tea at my brother Saunders', our family accompanying them, after which a solemn silence prevailed, in which some of our minds were deeply centred on God, the fountain of all good; and after a season of reverent waiting, these dedicated messengers of the Gospel were enabled to divide the word aright. To my humbling admiration, much counsel and encouragement were handed in life and power, reaching the witness in divers hearts, and raising the secret acknowledgment, This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. Oh! may I ever profitably remember his gracious dealings with me, a poor worm, in the days of deep humiliation. A proposal was made by one of these valuable friends, that I should go with them to Farringdon. The thought of having more of their profitable company seemed pleasant, yet the prospect brought great awfulness over my mind, insomuch that I was afraid to refuse, though there were feelings raised, which were contrary to a quiet acquiescence, because I apprehended the time was drawing near, when my Divine Master would require a fresh proof of my love and obedience to him. Yet I concluded it safest to go in simplicity; and being favoured to feel a grain of that faith which removes mountains, I ventured to accompany them to Abington, where they had a meeting among the few friends of that place. It proved a memorable season to me: my mind was deeply prostrated during the whole time of our sitting together, and I felt the love of God abundantly shed abroad in my heart, insomuch that I could experimentally adopt the language of the Psalmist, "Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power." Yet so great was the fear that attended my mind, lest I had not passed through the needful preparation to qualify rightly to

minister, and that by speaking, I should darken counsel by words without knowledge, that I suffered the meeting to break up. Though this brought my poor mind under renewed conflict, yet I could appeal to my merciful Master, who knew it was not wilful disobedience, but a fear of running before my spiritual guide; so that I did not feel much condemnation in trying the fleece both wet and dry. I spent an instructive evening with my companions, who I believe were dipped into a sense of my condition. The next morning we attended a meeting appointed by them at 11 o'clock, in which much exercise was renewed. I was still fearful of believing myself called to so great and important a work, as to become a minister of the everlasting gospel of peace and reconciliation; and so struggled with doubt and fear till the meeting broke up. This withholding more than was meet, appeared to shut up the way of my dear companions, for public labour. Indeed, I have believed, since gaining a little more experience in the mysterious ways and work of an Omnipotent Being, that, in order to know the life and power to arise in our religious assemblies, it is highly needful, for all the living members of the body, to keep their ranks in righteousness, whether it be in doing or suffering for the sake of the precious cause. We all went to the house of our friend Robert Reynolds to dinner, but my mind was too deeply exercised to take much nourishment for the body; for truly I desired, above all other considerations, that it might be my meat and my drink, to do the will of my Heavenly Father. After dinner many Friends came in, nearly all we had sat with at meeting: a solemn silence soon prevailed, the mighty power of Truth seemed eminently to overshadow our little gathering, and many minds were much humbled; in which precious feeling I was made sensible, *that* was the accepted time for the offering to be made. I ventured to stammer forth a few expressions; which arose in that degree of life and power, that no doubt remained, it was the operation of Divine love which influenced me to yield to the fresh manifestation of revealed duty: and Oh! the blessed reward of peace that flowed into my humbled heart! Language is inadequate to describe this heavenly enjoyment! but it will be fully comprehended by those, who have tasted the sweet fruits of obeying the commands of our Heavenly Father, in small as well as greater requisitions. I now believed it best for me to return home, which I did under solemn impressions and serious considerations: for although my mind was favoured with a rich reward, yet I began to consider, that I had now put my hand to the plough. I remembered what was declared



in the Scriptures, that those who had done so, and looked back, were not fit for the kingdom. I very forcibly felt the weakness attached to humanity, and knew the aptitude in frail mortals to shrink from the cross of Christ, and it was suggested to my mind, that I should never more be clothed with so much strength to fulfil my heavenly Father's will, if another offering of the like nature should be required: and I was closely tried with another suggestion;—what would my relations and friends think, of my thus becoming a public spectacle, by speaking in the assemblies of the people? Thus the enemy to my present and future happiness used many means to discourage me; but Christ, our great High Priest, who is touched with a feeling of our infirmities, did not fail to succour in the needful time; and by the fresh incomes of his love and life, caused these unprofitable cogitations to be silenced in my troubled heart, and gave fresh ability secretly to acknowledge his Almighty power, so that my mind overflowed with a portion of that joy which is unspeakable. I kept my exercises much within my own breast, as I had been divinely instructed to do so, from the very early time of knowing any thing of the work of grace on the heart. On the fifth-day after my return home, I attended, as usual, our week-day meeting. When I took my seat, I felt the gathering arm of Divine love, and my mind was soon centred in solemn, awful silence; in which precious state, I intelligibly heard, as I apprehended, the still small voice of my great Lord and Master, requiring public expression: and in great brokenness and fear, I uttered a few words, which then livingly opened in my mind, and sat down in the enjoyment of much peace. But, before the meeting broke up, I began to think what would become of me when we separated; for my nature dreaded to become a fool, even for Christ's sake: such is the weakness of the human mind, when even but a little from under the influence of that Almighty power, which makes the Lord's people willing to do or suffer for his blessed name's sake. My way was easier than I expected, for my friends spoke kindly after meeting, evincing their having felt sympathy with me, and unity with my offering; but these tokens of love and approbation, had no tendency to exalt the creature, for my mind was then deeply humbled under many considerations and varied dispensations, wisely permitted to keep the heart in subjection to the will of its great Creator and preserver. In this season of deep and complicated exercise, I kept much at home, loving retirement, and often sought opportunities to wait on my Heavenly Counsellor, and holy leader; who condescended to prove him-

self strength in weakness, riches in poverty, and a present help in the time of need. I truly found him to be unto poor me, the source of all-sufficiency, while my mind was preserved in a humble dependence on his eternal arm of power. But in unsearchable wisdom he at times saw meet to try my faith and confidence, by withdrawing the sensible perception of his love and life,—the precious enjoyment of him, in whose presence my soul delighted; when I was ready to adopt the language, "Tell me, oh thou whom my soul loveth, where thou feedest, where thou makest thy flock to rest at noon: for why should I be as one that turneth aside, by the flocks of thy companions;" but endeavouring to keep in the stillness and nothingness of self, seeking above all things to attain, in my measure, to that state of humble acquiescence which enabled the experienced apostle to say, "I have learned in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content." I found this to be an attainment worthy a Christian's aspiring after; as it ever proves balm to the troubled soul, and fortifies it in the day of affliction, so that under the dispensations attendant on a state of Christian warfare, a capacity is renewed, to breathe the emphatic language uttered by our blessed Exemplar, "Not my will, but thine be done."

On the 26th of eleventh month, our friends Martha Haworth and P. H. Gurney came to my mother's, and had a meeting that evening at our meeting house, which was, I thought, evidently owned by the Minister of the sanctuary: they had also a religious opportunity in my mother's family, to our edification and comfort: thus I was often reminded of the great privilege of having parents who delighted to open their houses and hearts to the Lord's messengers. I have frequently been led to believe, that if parents and heads of families were sufficiently sensible of the advantage it is to a young and rising generation, to have the instructive company of solid, experienced friends, they would not let little family incumbrances, or domestic cares, prevent their readiness to entertain travellers, who are sent with a gospel message of glad tidings to the meek and lowly of heart, and to the stirring up the pure mind by way of remembrance of our religious and social duties. And if the beloved youth were desirous of gaining instruction and profitable impressions from such visitors, they would endeavour to make the way easy to their parents thus to evince their love to the cause of truth, by cheerfully entertaining its advocates. With gratitude I may acknowledge my belief, that many amongst us are manifesting this laudable disposition: and I cannot doubt but in due time

they will receive an ample reward. When these friends left my mother's house, with her approbation I accompanied them to a few meetings. In some of them my way was mercifully opened, to relieve my mind of much exercise which had attended it for some time. In a few days I returned home, with the sheaves of peace in my bosom, for this act of dedication. How richly does the Almighty reward, for endeavouring to walk in his counsel, and live in his fear!

1793. I went to Witney to pay a social visit to my relations, during which time our quarterly meeting for Oxfordshire was held at that place. We were favoured with the instructive company of a deeply experienced minister. Oh, the sweet and precious unity which is felt by kindred spirits! They may be much strangers to each other as to outward knowledge or communication, but the cementing power of truth is to be known in solemn silence; and whether thus known, or by outward communication, it will ever be the privilege of true Christians, while they are concerned to keep their ranks in righteousness: for this is that fellowship which is with the Father, and with the Son, and with the household of faith the world over.

On the 12th of fourth month, I returned to Witney, where I staid some months, during which time my mind was often gathered from all visibles, into an awful, silent waiting upon the everlasting Counsellor, and Preserver of those, who depend upon divine aid; and, blessed be his name, he graciously condescended to instruct my panting mind more fully in the nature and excellency of pure, undefiled religion: and had obedience at all times kept pace with knowledge, I might have been a more able advocate for that cause which is dignified with immortality, and crowned with eternal life. In this season of the Lord's power, in which self was measurably abased, my mind was brought into exercise, under which I could tenderly sympathise with those who rightly embrace the principles and practice of our religious Society, faithfully bearing the cross, in using the plain language, &c. Oh! how frail is the poor finite creature, when from under the blessed influence of that Holy Spirit, which reduces the will of unregenerate man, and brings into subjection to the cross of Christ. Then, if strict watchfulness is not maintained, there is an opportunity for the enemy to cast in discouragement, and tempt us to call in question the requisition of duty, even to withholding the sacrifice: and if, from an unwarrantable desire to make our way more easy, we ask counsel of our fellow travellers, instead of patiently waiting for help, from that Almighty Being who can break all our bonds,

and enable us to fulfil his will, we shall find this will weaken instead of strengthening the grain of remaining faith. May, then, the sincere in heart, who hear or read this remark, be careful to keep the eye single to the Captain of their salvation, who is able to bring through every exercise and trial of faith, to the honour of his great name.

After my return from Witney I staid several months under my dear mother's roof, attending meetings for worship and discipline as they came in course, esteeming it a great favour, when health would permit, to enjoy the privilege of quietly assembling with my friends, to wait upon Almighty God, who, through his Son Jesus Christ, revealed, as far as I had a spiritual capacity to understand, the mysteries of redeeming love, unfolding them in the renewed light of his own Eternal Spirit, by which we are made wise in things that are truly excellent, and by obedience, become the happy partakers of "joy unspeakable and full of glory."

Fourth month 13th, 1794, I left my peaceful home in order to attend the Half-year's meeting held at Newtown, for the principality of Wales. In this journey I was very satisfactorily in company with Mary Stevens of Staines, and our much valued friends George Dillwyn and wife. I felt it a great trial to part with my truly affectionate, aged mother, who was in delicate health: her solicitude for my preservation was cordially felt; and though, in her weakly state, it seemed a trial to have the prospect of a wide separation from one of the objects of her maternal care and tender solicitude, yet she was very cautious not to raise any discouragement in my often tried mind, but endeavoured kindly and affectionately to strengthen my feeble heart to fulfil apprehended duty. And it is in a sense of unmerited favours, received from the eternal Source of all effectual help, that I can feelingly acknowledge, divine love was graciously extended in every hour of need, and faith was given to believe, and confide in the efficacy of Almighty power. In this journey I travelled more than 300 miles, attended 30 meetings, and was absent from home three weeks and four days.

After my return from this little service, I was much at home, until the 22nd of second month, 1795, when I went to London to attend the funeral of my dear cousin Mary Crowley, which was to me a solemn and profitable season. From London I went to Staines, where I had proposed to spend a little time; but soon after my arrival there, I received the sorrowful account of my beloved and honoured mother being seized with a paralytic stroke, which much affected her limbs, speech, and



memory. This mournful intelligence hastened my return home, and I was thankful to find her living and sensible, and esteemed it a great favour to have the privilege of aiding my dear sisters, in fulfilling the offices of filial duty, in waiting upon and caring for our beloved parent, who continued under much bodily suffering until the 10th of sixth month; when the spirit took its flight from the afflicted tabernacle, to be centred, I humbly trust, in the realms of undisturbed rest and peace, employed in singing the angelic song of "Salvation, and glory, and honour, and power, to the Lord our God!" This very affecting dispensation much increased the trial of my faith and obedience, for I was at this time under religious exercise, produced by an apprehension, that it was required of me to give up to a weighty and important prospect which had long attended my mind, to pay a visit to Friends of the counties of Worcestershire, Warwickshire, and Hertfordshire. The thought of leaving my much loved sisters so soon after experiencing the loss of our dear mother, was a close trial, as I was the eldest who resided at home, and consequently would be expected to take the largest portion of management in settling domestic affairs. But this consideration did not relieve my mind from the weight of exercise that had long attended it, nor could I see any other way to attain that peace which was more desirable to me than any worldly enjoyment, than by passively giving up to what I believed to be a divine requisition. Therefore, in a few weeks after the interment of my beloved affectionate mother, I laid the prospect before my friends, at our Monthly meeting, at which we unexpectedly had the company of our valued friends Sarah Harrison and Sarah Birkbeck, which was a great strength and comfort to my poor feeble mind. They were dipped into near sympathy with me, and expressed full unity with my religious concern; also proposed our uniting in it, as they were then proceeding to visit Friends, in two of the above-mentioned counties. This was a great comfort to me, as I had no companion in view: accordingly, after obtaining my certificate, I joined them in Warwickshire, and we proceeded together in near unity, through that county, and also Worcestershire, when our minds were unexpectedly drawn towards the inhabitants of the Isle of Man, which was a renewed trial of my faith, and caused many cogitations to attend my doubting mind. I suffered reasoning so far to prevail, that darkness and distress became the covering of my spirit; but through the never-failing mercy of my compassionate Leader, I was reduced into a willingness to join in the apprehended requisition, and wrote to my

friends at home for their concurrence; but this I did not venture to do, being very jealous over my own feelings and judgment, until I had requested some friends of religious experience, to sit down with me to weigh this important concern; and a confirming satisfactory opportunity we were favoured with, which greatly relieved my mind. I soon received a certificate from my own monthly meeting, expressing their tender sympathy and unity with my prospect. Thus, being set at liberty according to good order, we embarked at Liverpool the 9th of ninth month, and had a tedious voyage of two nights and nearly three days. We had about 80 passengers on board, many of whom were dissipated characters, whose unchristian conduct caused us sorrow; but we were comforted by having the sympathizing company of some weighty friends; Richard Reynolds, Robert Benson, and Isaac Hadwin were of the number, who were all kindly attentive to us. We arrived safe on the island in Castleton, where, on the following day, we had a large satisfactory meeting; after it, went to Ballassy, Peel Town, Kirkmichal, Ramsey, and Douglas, having meetings at each place. Feeling our minds set at liberty, we took shipping for Whitehaven, the 25th, and had a pleasant and quick voyage, for which we felt truly thankful to the Preserver of men, who had graciously evinced his power in our weakness. We found considerable openness in the minds of many in that small island, to receive gospel truths: divers manifested much tenderness of spirit, the behaviour of the lower class was civil and kind, great hospitality and readiness to accommodate us was shown by many among the first rank in worldly possessions, some of whom appeared to receive the visit of love with thankfulness; so that we had cause gratefully to believe the Holy Head and High Priest, had prepared the way for the poor servants to occupy with their gifts, in proclaiming the glad tidings of the everlasting gospel of life and salvation: in the heart-tendering sense whereof, we were enabled to return the tribute of praise to him in whom is all-sufficient help.

The day after our arrival at Whitehaven I felt at liberty to leave my endeared companions S. Harrison, Sarah Birkbeck, and P. H. Gurney, and, accompanied by our friends Robert Benson and Isaac Hadwin, proceeded to Liverpool, taking a few meetings in the way. Here I took my own horse and chaise, and went forward to accomplish the remainder of the visit to Friends in Herefordshire. Mary Beesley kindly accompanied me till we got to Worcester, where we parted, after having a memorable meeting, for which service I had been previously introduced into much conflict

of mind. From that meeting I pretty directly journeyed homeward, taking but few meetings in my way, and was favoured to reach my own habitation, then at Shillingford in Oxfordshire, in safety, the 15th of tenth month, after an absence of three months and three weeks, having travelled in this journey upwards of 900 miles, and attended 63 meetings, and have now thankfully to acknowledge, to the praise of my great and good Master, that preservation was not withheld. On my return home, I had fresh trials to encounter. It now became needful for my sisters and myself to consider the propriety of our continuing in the same place, or dwelling, our much loved mother left us in, or to seek a new situation. This became a very serious subject to me, as I felt it to be of great importance to our preservation and growth in things most essential, where we should fix our place of residence. This source of anxiety, with some others of equal weight, which then pressed down my mind, as I believe, occasioned a severe fit of illness, which reduced the bodily powers so much, as to leave little or no hope to my relatives and friends of my recovery, or continuing long in mutability. But in the midst of very great bodily weakness, when my strength was so far reduced as not to be able to articulate, I believed that my Divine Master had more service for me before the day's work would be accomplished. This apprehension was soon realized; for it proved the crisis of the disease, which was inflammation on the lungs. From this time, in a few weeks I recovered my strength, so as to be able to attend our Monthly meeting, where I opened the concern that had so weightily impressed my mind. From severe indisposition and long confinement, I was reduced to such a low, weak state, as induced some of my friends to query the probability of my being able to accomplish the prospect before me, of visiting Friends of Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, and Northamptonshire: yet the evidence mercifully granted, strengthened their sympathizing minds to set me at liberty. This tended to my relief, and enabled me to turn my attention to the serious consideration of my beloved sisters and myself moving to Uxbridge, the place in my apprehension pointed out, in the wisdom of truth, for us to remove to, as a present residence: and though there were many circumstances which rendered such a step difficult, yet the evidence graciously afforded, was so indubitably clear, that I dared not, in the most proving season, call in question the rectitude of such a movement, though many of the Friends of our own meeting were ready to think us wrong in leaving the place of our nativity. This was a close trial to me, as I

much valued the judgment of my friends, and consider it one among the many privileges attached to membership in a religious society, to be cared for and counselled as occasion may require, both in religious and civil concerns; and I can truly say, it greatly increased my love and esteem for my friends, whenever they manifested such care for my welfare, though, in this instance, I have cause to believe our moving was in the counsel of unerring wisdom.

As I wished to leave my dear sisters as free from incumbrance as I could, we judged it best to remove before I left them: accordingly, we made speedy preparation, and soon effected our plans. About two weeks after our removal to Uxbridge, I took leave of my beloved sisters the 29th of ninth month, 1796, and entered on a visit to the counties before mentioned, accompanied by my endeared friend Elizabeth Raper, who had a similar concern. We travelled harmoniously together in this important engagement: and though we felt greatly humbled under the consideration of inexperience, and want of capacity always to "divide the word aright," yet in the winding up of this little service, we had gratefully to acknowledge the Lord's gracious dealings with us, that our compassionate High Priest had, beyond our expectation, proved to his feeble servants, mouth and wisdom, tongue and utterance and the source of all-sufficiency. In this journey we travelled 550 miles, attended 56 meetings, and visited families in several places. In some of these engagements, we had the strengthening, instructive company of Rudd Wheeler, of Hitchin; and I may acknowledge with thankfulness, the reward of soul-enriching peace was granted.

In about three weeks after my return I met with a very close trial, in the death of my beloved sister, Catharine Ashby, wife of T. Ashby, of Staines. Her removal was deeply felt by her relatives and friends, to whom she had much endeared herself by a meek and quiet spirit. Her disposition was tender and affectionate, ever ready to administer help and comfort to those who stood in need: humility and godly sincerity were conspicuous traits in her character; and although the prospect of leaving an affectionate husband and six small children (one à babe) was trying to her feelings, she was enabled, in true resignation, to commit them to the care of her heavenly Father, with humble acquiescence in his will, taking leave of them all with great composure and sweetness, advising the two eldest, who were the only ones capable of receiving counsel from her dying lips, to endeavour to be good, obedient children, and attend to the advice of those who had the care of them. This af-



fictive dispensation brought fresh care upon my sisters and myself, as it became our duty to take the place of a departed mother, as far as we were enabled to do so; which brought us to the trial of separation, one of us mostly residing with our bereaved brother-in-law and the dear little children, endeavouring to comfort them under the loss of maternal tenderness and care. It was not my lot to take a large share in the active part of this service; for in the 17th of seventh month, 1797, I left home to accompany Phebe Speakman, a Friend from Concord in Pennsylvania, who was on a religious visit to Friends of this nation. We travelled harmoniously together, through most of the counties in England, Scotland and Wales, in which laborious engagement, I experienced many close exercises and deep baptisms, knowing at times, what it was to want the sensible evidence of divine love and life, in which my faith was proved; but through unutterable mercy, could also say, that seasons were granted, in which the aboundings of heavenly light and consolation were my blessed experience, and strength was graciously afforded to testify to the goodness and mercy of an Almighty God, who is not a hard master, but grants a rich reward to the humble, dedicated mind, for every act of faithfulness.

In this journey we travelled more than 4000 miles, attended 397 meetings, and visited Friends in many families, much to the relief and satisfaction of our own minds, although, in the winding up, we could truly say, we were but unprofitable servants, and had need of patience, that we might inherit the promises. While in this arduous service, I took a violent cold, which produced inflammation on the lungs, and, with the effect of fatigue and much exercise, reduced my strength so much, as to leave little prospect that the enfeebled frame would be again restored to health; and I was willing to hope that my heavenly Father might see meet to loose the tribulated spirit from a very afflicted tabernacle; but it pleased Him, after proving my faith and patience, to raise me up, and fresh ability was granted to resume the line of apprehended duty. I again united with my endeared companion Phebe Speakman, in religious labour, after having been confined three months at the house of our much-loved friends Lindley and Hannah Murray, at Holdgate near York. The unremitting kindness and great hospitality of these worthy friends, to one of the least of the Lord's messengers, was cause of humble admiration; how did their Christian conduct sweeten the bitter cups handed in unfathomable wisdom, doubtless for purifying the vessel, that it might be more fit to receive, and retain, the pure oil of heavenly consolation. In remem-

brance of these favours, humble thankfulness is raised, and the grateful language has arisen, "What shall I render unto thee, Oh Lord! for all thy benefits?"

After this journey, which closed in fourth month 1799, I continued much at home, except occasionally attending some neighbouring Monthly and Quarterly meetings. On the 14th of Eighth month 1801, I entered upon a religious visit to Friends of the counties of Hants, Dorset, Devon, Somersetshire, and Cornwall, accompanied by my former beloved companion Elizabeth Raper. In this journey we travelled 1266 miles, attended 115 meetings, and visited many families; and though, in retrospect, "I remember the wormwood and the gall," yet in commemorating the Lord's dealings with us, who were as babes in his school, the humble acknowledgment is raised in my heart, that the Lord is good to those that fear his name, and endeavour to walk steadfastly and faithfully in his counsel.

I was absent from home five months and two weeks; and though many trials attended so long a separation from beloved sisters and friends, my good Master sweetened the bitter cup, by his life-giving presence. After this journey I was mercifully favoured with a peaceful release from much public engagement, except attending some neighbouring Quarterly, Monthly, and Preparative meetings, until the fourth month, 1802, when I attended the Half-year's meeting in Wales, held in Newport, accompanied by my beloved friends, John Hull, William Hull and wife. We travelled very agreeably together, about 400 miles, took several meetings, going and returning, much to my relief, and I hope to mutual satisfaction, and could say, on arriving at our own quiet habitation, that it is good to attend, in simplicity, to the gentle leadings of the Spirit of Truth.

After some months' enjoyment of the consoling society of near relatives and friends, my mind was impressed with an apprehension, that the right time was come for me to enter upon another religious engagement, which had long laid weightily on my spirit,—to visit the meetings constituting the large Quarterly meeting of London and Middlesex. Accordingly, after informing my Monthly meeting, and obtaining their approbation, I entered on the visit, accompanied by my much loved friend, Deborah Moline. We attended each Monthly and Particular meeting; in which weighty engagement my mind was often reduced to a very low state, baptised into death and suffering; but, by an honest endeavour to abide with the gift of grace, in patience and confidence, I was mercifully favoured, at times,

to feel the arising of that Almighty power, which can alone enable the poor instruments to minister in any degree, in the demonstration of the Spirit of Jesus Christ, the great Minister of ministers, and Bishop of souls; who, presiding as High Priest, qualifies his dependent servants at seasons, to testify, through blessed experience, that Truth reigns over all, and would overcome all that stands in contrariety to the purity and righteousness of his everlasting kingdom. I have thankfully to acknowledge, that a sweet reward of peace was graciously afforded for obedience to manifested duty. In the winding up of this labour of love, I could feelingly adopt the language, "Return unto thy rest, Oh my soul! for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee." Verily, it is good to put our whole trust in him, who is the fountain of wisdom and strength, who does not fail to prepare and qualify for his service, according to the purposes of his righteous will.

After this engagement I was permitted to rest at home until the winter of 1804, when, in company with my beloved friend, Susannah Horne, I paid a religious visit to the families of Friends, belonging to my own Monthly meeting; and, in condescending mercy, we were enabled to say, that when the great Head of the church is pleased to put his servants forth, he does not fail to go before, and prepare the way, to the humble admiration of those who trust in him, and are careful to follow the leadings of his Holy Spirit, even into paths they have not seen, or before trodden. From a desire to be found faithful to divine requisitions, my mind became willing to yield to a fresh discovery of what I believed to be the Lord's will, though it cost me much. For in addition to the baptisms needful to qualify for service, I was much proved in the prospect of again leaving home, as my beloved sister Saunders was in a declining state of health, not likely to survive many weeks; but I remembered it is declared in the Scriptures of Truth, that those who love any thing more than Christ, are not worthy of him; and I endeavoured to seek after resignation to the will of my heavenly Father, trusting in his goodness and mercy. Although I had the unspeakable trial of leaving my sister, the dear object of my tender solicitude, to join my former beloved companion, S. Horne, in a visit to Friends of the counties of Surrey and Sussex, and to hear the sorrowful tidings of her final departure, a short time after my leaving home, yet I dared not repine, or think it a hard allotment, that I had been made willing to leave all that was near and dear, in natural ties; to follow my Lord and Master; for I found, to my unutterable consolation, that his holy pre-

sence and approbation made hard things easy, and bitter things sweet. I was thankful in feeling at liberty to return for a few days, to pay the last tribute of love and affection to so near a relative; and after a solemn farewell to mournful connexions, I joined my dear companion again, in Surrey, and found her sympathy and unity very precious, in this season of trial. We travelled harmoniously together, through the before-mentioned counties, when it appeared right for us to part, as S. Horne's prospect did not extend further, and my view had been to Friends of Kent also. The thought of separating from one qualified to share in the labour of the day, before the mission was fully accomplished, was trying to nature; but I felt a care not to encourage her to go further than she was required, believing it to be very unsafe for those who are called to public service, in the militant church, to exceed their commission, from the bias of sympathy and love, which they may feel towards those with whom they have been united, unless a liberty be sensibly felt, to accompany a fellow traveller. Truly the ministers of the gospel have need to know on what ground they are treading; for nothing but the sure foundation will sustain in the day of trial, when faith and patience are reduced to a low ebb, by varied conflicts, which, I believe is often the experience of the Lord's servants, who are called into the field of labour. In the hope, that we were acting according to best wisdom, we parted in near unity and love. Dear S. H. returned home, and I proceeded to take the meetings of Friends in Kent, my beloved friend Elizabeth Moline, going with me. In this journey, I travelled upwards of 400 miles, attending all the meetings in the several counties.

It did not seem consistent with the will of my heavenly Father, that I should rest long at home; for in the sixth month of the same year, I apprehended it was required of me, to unite with my former dear companion, S. Horne, in a visit to Friends in the counties of Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Lincoln, Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland. In this arduous journey, we travelled nearly 3000 miles, attended 241 meetings, and visited 627 families. Such an engagement required deep baptisms, to prepare for usefulness, in the great Master's time, doing or suffering according to his unerring wisdom; but by endeavouring patiently to bear these descendings, we were permitted, at seasons, mercifully to feel the renewed arisings of light and life, in which alone, qualification is received to divide the word aright, so as to reach the witness in the hearts of the hearers. I was graciously dealt with in this religious



engagement, and had frequently to adore the Lord's never-failing goodness. My mind is bowed in the fresh remembrance of his gracious dealings with me, a poor unprofitable servant, who can feelingly acknowledge, it is the work of God alone that can praise him, and that he remains worthy of all worship and adoration, for "his mercies are new every morning." I was favoured to return to my habitation, with the sheaves of soul-enriching peace, the 26th of fourth month, 1806, and had the inexpressible comfort of finding my dearly beloved sisters in usual health, and capable of joining with me in grateful acknowledgment for the blessing of preservation.

The three following years I spent much at home, except attending a few neighbouring meetings. My health had suffered considerably by long exposure to northern blasts, during an unusually severe winter, that I deemed it a favour to feel a peaceful release from travelling; and much desired that my time might be usefully filled up in different engagements; but have now feared it has not been so fully devoted to good purposes, as it might have been, had I been more watchful and weighty in spirit. O! how frequently do I lament my manifold deficiencies, and grieve that the gifts of a beneficent Father, should not have been more fully occupied to the glory and honour of the all-bountiful Giver, the real edification of the church, and the sanctification of that immortal part which must exist to a never-ending eternity. Did I not believe in the mercy and forgiveness of a gracious God, through Christ Jesus, upon sincere repentance, great would be my distress of mind; but I thankfully know from blessed experience, that his compassion faileth not towards those who love his judgments, and can gratefully receive his reproofs of instruction.

In 1810, I engaged in a religious visit, accompanied by my endeared friend and fellow-labourer P. H. Gurney, in the counties of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk. We attended the Quarterly meetings, had fifty-two meetings in the three counties, and visited families in several of them. During most of this journey my health was in a very feeble state; but through the renewings of divine help, I was mercifully favoured to accomplish this labour of love, much to my own relief, and, I humbly trust, to mutual edification. We found great openness in the minds of Friends pretty generally, to receive such counsel as appeared to us to open in the renewings of light and life; and I sincerely hope the blessed truth did not suffer by our simple endeavours to exalt and support it, and the precious testimonies given us to bear, by a crucified Lord and

Master, whose reward is with him, and his work before him. Many were the baptisms and exercises during this engagement, but the Lord condescended to prove himself the stay and strength of his little ones, who desire to trust in Him alone. Our minds were sweetly united in gospel love, and we were favoured to labour harmoniously together, according to the gifts received, to our true peace; though we could feelingly make the acknowledgment, we are but unprofitable servants. Under a sense of my manifold weaknesses and infirmities, I was often led to exclaim, it is mercy,—mere mercy, that I am yet preserved, a monument of the Lord's power; through whom alone any works are wrought which magnify his excellent name, and edify the body, of which Christ Jesus is the Head. I had found him to be strength in weakness; so that I could say with the disciples of old, when queried of by their Divine Master, "When I sent you out without purse or scrip, lacked ye anything? they answered, Nothing, Lord!" After this, I was permitted to rest in the society of dear sisters and friends, for several months, except attending a few of the neighbouring meetings. This I esteemed a great favour, as my much loved sister Rebecca, was in a debilitated state of health; and I felt it a great privilege, to share with my other sisters, in waiting upon her; having often experienced the close trial of leaving this dear object of solicitude under great bodily suffering, when I have been instructed and strengthened by what our blessed Saviour said, "He that loveth any thing more than me is not worthy of me." It is verily a great attainment to know the will of the creature brought into subjection to the divine will, so as to be able to say from living experience, It is my meat and my drink to do thy will, O God! Yet my mind was frequently tried with dismay, lest, as the apostle said, "After having preached to others, I myself should be a castaway." But these seasons were, doubtless, for my further refinement, inciting to watchfulness unto prayer; for human nature is frail; and it is an unspeakable favour to have the reproofs of instruction sounded in our ears, in any way that unerring wisdom sees most likely to quicken our diligence in the work of our day, of which I consider watchfulness and true heart-felt prayer, a material part. How emphatic are the words of our dear Redeemer, "What I say unto you, I say unto all, watch!"

First month, 1812.—For some considerable time before this date, my mind had been closely impressed with a belief, that it was required of me to pay a religious visit to our large Quarterly meeting, both meetings for

worship and discipline, and many of the families. The prospect felt very weighty, and the importance of the engagement such, that I was often led secretly to exclaim "Who is sufficient for these things?" but I remembered him who had mercifully led about, instructed, and preserved, in former religious services, and could say, in grateful recollection of his wise and gracious dealings with me, a poor weak instrument, "Not my will, but thine, be done," Oh thou, whose judgments are a great deep, and whose ways are unsearchable to the human understanding! Under these considerations I bowed in submission; and believing the time to be fully come, I cast the prospect before my friends in godly fear, and proposed to my much loved friend, Lydia Forster, to accompany me through this service, if she felt freedom in the liberty of the truth. After some time of solid deliberation she felt most easy to unite in the proposal, which met the full concurrence of our friends, who set us at liberty to pursue our prospects, as way might open in unerring wisdom. We left home the 24th of second month, 1812, and parting with our near relations and friends in the precious feeling of gospel union and heavenly love; the remembrance of which was a balm to our tried minds, when faith was reduced to a low ebb. Oh, how consoling is true heart-felt sympathy! verily there is strength in love, and fellowship in suffering. This religious embassy engaged us till the 27th of fourth month, when we were favoured to feel a peaceful retreat, after having endeavoured, according to the small ability possessed, to keep our ranks in righteousness, and fill up our measure of suffering for our great Master and the church's sake: and though feelingly adopting the language, "We are unprofitable servants," yet we could say the Lord's strength was made perfect in our weakness. The suffering I endured from frequent indisposition and a weakly constitution, though trying to bear, was scarcely worthy of notice, compared to what our predecessors underwent, in paying similar visits of gospel love to their brethren and sisters, when they were haled to prison, suffered cold, hunger, and hardships, which we, in this day of ease, are scarcely able to comprehend. Oh then, my soul, mayest thou, with all the Lord's servants, be willing to follow a gracious Master in the way of his leadings, and faithfully obey his righteous commands, though it be ever so repugnant to thy own will. Quicken, I beseech thee, most gracious Father, my languid mind, by thy vivifying power, that I may be more fervent in spirit, earnest in prayer, serving thee faithfully, which, I can feelingly acknowledge, is my indispensable duty.

Eleventh month, 1813.—I went to Reading to pay a visit to my brother and sister Maddock, where I continued till the first month, 1814. During this time I was often much indisposed, with frequent returns of violent spasmodic headache, and trying complaints in my side and stomach, which had continued for years, and often prevented my assembling with my friends, to perform that solemn duty of worship, which we owe unto God. Yet I think I may venture to say, that in these seasons of seclusion, my mind was frequently brought into a deep concern for the members of our Society in that part of the vineyard; and when favoured with ability to avow my allegiance to the Holy Head of the church, by meeting with my friends, to wait upon and worship him who is a Spirit, I endeavoured to be faithful, either in doing or suffering, in which I felt a blessed reward; and a precious evidence was graciously afforded, that I had been in the way of my duty in paying this visit. How bountifully are we dealt with, when fully resigned to be any thing or nothing, just as it pleases unerring wisdom! The remainder of this year was mostly spent in the endearing Society of my beloved sisters and friends in the home circle, and I esteemed this cessation from travelling in the service of Truth, as an indulgence granted by him, unto whom belong the attributes of love and mercy, as it gave me the desired opportunity of attending the sick and dying bed of my much loved sister Rebecca, who had been for ten years mostly an invalid. Her disease occasioned great bodily suffering, which she bore with Christian patience and exemplary fortitude.

On the 5th of tenth month, 1814, the disorder put on a very alarming appearance; and it was thought by her medical attendants that she could not survive many days; but, beyond all human probability, she continued, often in a state of indescribable suffering, for ten weeks, when the prepared spirit was graciously released from a very afflicted tabernacle.\* The peaceful close which this beloved sister was favoured to experience, greatly tended to sweeten the bitter cup of separation, and to strengthen our tried minds to bow, in humble acquiescence, to the divine will, saying, It is the Lord that giveth and the Lord that taketh away: blessed be his name! My mind is often brought low in recollecting the privations I have experienced, in the removal, by death, of many near relatives, to whom I was closely bound by the ties of nature and grace; but deeply afflictive as these solemn events have proved, I dare not entertain a doubt that they were ordered in perfect wisdom and mercy. In this

\* See an account of this sister at the end.



persuasion I humbly implore divine aid, to strengthen me to rest in becoming resignation, secretly adopting the language, "It is the Lord, let him do as seemeth him good!" Every fresh lesson of the great uncertainty of our continuance in mutability, ought to stimulate to watchfulness and faithfulness. May this renewed affliction have this effect on my too slothful mind. Lord, I beseech thee, quicken my feeble endeavours with a holy zeal, tempered with true knowledge, that the great work of the day may keep pace with precious time, which rapidly glides away, and cannot be recalled.

Sixth month, 1815.—I entered on a family visit to Friends of my own Monthly meeting, in company with my much esteemed and valued friend William Forster. We laboured, according to our several gifts, harmoniously, in the love of the gospel, and were enabled, through the renewed extension of divine aid, in the conclusion, to commemorate the unmerited mercies of a gracious Lord, who faileth not to help and preserve those who trust in him alone,—not daring to lean to their own understandings. After this I was mostly at home for several months, except spending some time at Staines, in the fulfilment of social duties in the large family of my afflicted brother-in-law, Thomas Ashby, who was, in the eighth month of this year, deprived of a second wife, a truly valuable companion, and kind, religious care-taker of a numerous family of fourteen children. I felt the ample reward of peace, in endeavouring to mitigate their trial, by rendering that little assistance I had in my power, by sympathy and care; and in performing this and similar duties, I have had cause to say, it is more profitable to visit the abode of the afflicted, and mingle the tear of mourning with the sorrowful, than to enter the habitation of prosperity and mirth. In the twelfth month, 1815, I believed my way was opened to leave this interesting family, having for several years had a prospect of religious service in the counties of Hampshire, Dorset, Somerset, and the city of Bristol: and having heard that my beloved friends, William Forster and Sarah Hustler, were under similar concern, I believed it would contribute most to my peace, to propose uniting with them in this very important engagement; which so fully met their concurrence, that we ventured to spread our religious prospects before our different Monthly meetings: and obtaining their approbation and sympathy, on the 27th of second month, 1816, we entered on this weighty embassy, visiting the families of Friends in Bristol, and most of the meetings in each county; also held public meetings, as truth appeared to us to open the

way. During the prosecution of this apprehended requiring, faith was often tried, and I frequently adopted the language, in the secret of my heart, under a sense of much feebleness, "Who is sufficient for these things?" But through adorable goodness and mercy, I had much occasion gratefully to acknowledge, that the Lord's strength is made perfect in the weakness of his dependent children. I returned home previous to the Yearly meeting in London, which I was enabled to attend, though feeble in body. After this annual solemnity, not finding my mind clear of the meetings in Hampshire, I attended their Quarterly meeting held at Alton, from whence I proceeded with my much-loved friends William and Rebecca Byrd, to such meetings as I felt attracted to in the renewings of gospel love; and crossed from Lymington to the Isle of Wight, where we held several meetings with the inhabitants of that small island, much to our satisfaction, in the belief that there is a precious seed amongst them, which the great Husbandman is pleased to water with celestial showers. After taking a few meetings on my return home to our own quiet habitation, at the end of seventh month, and returning my certificate, I felt the rich reward of peace and consolation, raising the language in the secret of my heart, How good is the Almighty—how worthy to be honoured and obeyed! On settling down and enjoying the society of my dear sisters, I had often to feel the great loss we had recently sustained in the removal of dear John Hull, a brother justly beloved, who, through the blessed efficacy of divine grace, had been an elder and father in the militant church, a sympathizing friend and wise counsellor, filling a useful station in religious and civil society. While sorrow covers my mind in the feeling of this privation, the language of Holy writ sweetly revives, "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?"

The remaining part of this year, and the two following were spent mostly at home, during which time, I had severe attacks of indisposition, which instructively proclaimed the necessity of being fervent in spirit, serving the Lord with all diligence, that a preparation might happily be experienced, to give up my accounts, when, in the wisdom of God, the slender thread of life may be broken. In the latter end of twelfth month, 1818, my serious complaints much increased, and some alarming symptoms indicated the probability of the frail body soon yielding to complicated maladies. This proved a season of much trial, both of faith and patience. My much-loved sister Martha, was taken dangerously ill, during the time that I was wholly confined to my bed, and for a season, it appeared very doubtful

whether either of us would again be raised. In this time of affliction, I used my feeble efforts to seek the Lord and his strength, much desiring, that by his help and power, I might possess and manifest Christian patience and resignation, adopting the language of David, "Thy judgments, O Lord, are true and righteous altogether; more to be desired than gold, yea, than much fine gold: moreover by them is thy servant warned, and in keeping of them there is great reward." But Oh! the poverty which attended my wading mind, so that at times little ability seemed to be experienced to approach the Majesty of Heaven in deep, heart-felt supplication: truly I could adopt the language of an apostle, "Not by works of righteousness which we have done," but it must be through the unmerited mercy of God in Christ Jesus, if acceptance be our blessed experience in the day of awful decision.

After a long illness of three months, and much proving of mind, it pleased inscrutable wisdom to raise me again, as from the brink of the grave, and strengthen both body and mind, so that I could thankfully utter the language of the Psalmist, "The Lord is my light and my salvation, whom shall I fear? the Lord is the strength of my life, of whom shall I be afraid?" Verily, he bringeth low, and raiseth up again at his pleasure: who shall not trust in his Almighty power, and fear his Holy Name! After this illness, it was proposed by my medical attendants, that I should try the effects of warm bathing and sea air; and apprehending it might also prove beneficial to my beloved sister's health, I consented to go to Hastings as soon as I was able; and have reason to hope it was not a wrong conclusion, as in a short time, I was favoured to find considerable improvement, and was graciously permitted to experience, that our Almighty Father does not withhold the bread of life, nor the fresh springs of consolation from those who desire to love and serve him, in all situations, however solitary and remote from the outward communion with kindred spirits. While at this place, separated from society, and free from domestic engagements, I had great opportunity of viewing and contemplating the stupendous works of an Almighty Hand, which loudly proclaim his omnipotence, in the creation of the vegetable world, and forming the vast deep, causing the raging waves to become a perfect calm, after a tremendous storm. Well might David say, "Oh Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all! The earth is full of thy riches: so is this great and wide sea:" and with impressions of wonder and gratitude, he further exclaims, "I will remember the works of the Lord:

surely I will meditate on all thy works, and talk of all thy doings."

Eighth month, 1819, I returned home with my dear sisters. My mind was fully satisfied with having tried the means recommended, though it did not prove of such lasting benefit as our friends and the doctors had hoped for: yet in the ninth month, 1819, it pleased my Almighty Helper, to renew my strength sufficiently to enable me to unite with a committee of women Friends, separated by the Quarterly meeting, for the important service of visiting the Monthly meetings, which constitute this large body. This weighty engagement I was enabled to accomplish, in conjunction with fellow-labourers, and have gratefully to acknowledge, that the retrospect yields solid satisfaction, in having endeavoured, though feebly, to discharge that little debt of love due to the militant church.

Third month, 1821.—From the conclusion of this service to the present time, I have mostly been in a very feeble state, not able to go far from home, and frequently too unwell to attend our religious meetings; having at times been confined for months together, and not unfrequently to my bed. And although it is with considerable difficulty I now use my pen, yet I could not feel easy without leaving a little testimony behind me, to the mercy and goodness of our compassionate High Priest, who is ever touched with a feeling of our infirmities, and does not require more of any of his frail, dependent children, than he gives them ability to perform, in his own way and time, which must be waited for. When faith is acted upon, in the fear of the Lord, and faithfulness keeps pace with revealed duty, the happy result will be, "Peace and joy in the Holy Ghost,"—an ample reward for every sacrifice. This short remark was penned on recovering from a painful illness of thirteen weeks, which for some time was so serious, as again to excite apprehension in my medical attendants, that the shattered frame would not be able to struggle through such a load of complicated maladies: but the Lord my God, hath hitherto sustained both body and mind, and in the midst of inexpressible suffering, and great poverty of spirit, has graciously kept in a good degree of patience and resignation to his will, which I consider an unmerited mercy, vouchsafed in the time of great need. May my tribulated spirit receive a portion of strength, to lean on the staff of faith, and renewedly worship, adore, and praise his great and excellent Name, who is eternally worthy of all honour and renown. May it be ascribed unto him by me, and may I humbly walk in his fear and counsel, the few more fleeting days that



may be permitted, doubtless in mercy, that the work may be fully accomplished, and a preparation known to enter the realms of undisturbed rest and peace, when the afflictions and temptations, incident to human nature, will for ever terminate. During this long illness, I had much time for reflection and contemplation; and though at times my dwelling was in a barren land, where the refreshing influences of divine love are not sensibly felt, yet in this state I was often brought into near sympathy with the poor and needy, those who know their faith tried by the withdrawals of the feeling of his presence, whom they love more than all earthly enjoyments, and desire more than any perishable object. Out of weakness, my Almighty Helper strengthened me to crave for such as these, that not one of them, wherever scattered among the fallen sons of Adam, or gathered with those who fear the Lord, may be prevailed upon, by the enemy of their salvation, to let go their confidence in a winter season, or to make shipwreck of the precious gift of faith, when the great and wise Pilot may seem to be absent, who, I fully believe, will not suffer his tried, dependent children to sink below the mighty waves of discouragement, which seem ready to overwhelm at such a season. Oh! how needful for frail mortals to attend to the caution given by our blessed Saviour, "Take heed, that your flight be not in the winter, or on the sabbath day!" My mind was also brought to feel for the whole human race, and desires were raised in my heart, that the day might be hastened, when the glorious prophecy shall be fulfilled, "The earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea. Surely in that happy day, the cruelty of man will cease, and oppression towards fellow mortals, or the brute creation, will be known no more, but the harmonizing influence of divine love will be the main spring of every action, and works of righteousness will be in accordance with that angelic language, "Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, and good will to men."

Since the last memorandums were penned, to the present date, eleventh month, 1822, it has pleased unerring wisdom, to dispense an increased portion of bodily suffering, which nothing short of divine aid could have enabled me to bear, with any degree of patience and resignation; but I may thankfully say, through the unmerited mercy of a gracious God, holy help has been so afforded in the needful time, that I feel a consoling hope, that my mind has been preserved from any degree of murmuring under the present, and various other dispensations of my tribulated life; nor have I ever dared to ask that those bitter cups

might be removed from me, until they had fully accomplished the design of him who afflicteth not willingly, but for the blessed purpose of the sanctification of the immortal spirit. Oh! that the sufferings dispensed in pure, unerring wisdom, to one of the weakest and most unworthy of the Lord's children, may have the effect of preparing for a resting-place amongst those "who have passed through great tribulation, and have known their robes washed and made white, in the blood of the immaculate Lamb!" In deep abasement of mind, I can truly say, I have not asked riches, honour, or length of days, but for an understanding heart, to fulfil my religious and civil duties with acceptance: and though I can very feelingly acknowledge myself an unprofitable servant, not worthy to bear testimony to the never-failing mercies and goodness of my heavenly Father, yet for the encouragement of others, I feel bound, in a sense of heart-felt gratitude, to acknowledge that there is a rich reward attached to an honest endeavour to employ our time and talents, in the service of our great Creator, in that way and manner, manifested to us, by the light of the Holy Spirit, which leadeth out of error, into "all truth." Oh! how often is my exercised mind brought into tender feeling for my fellow mortals! I long, with earnest solicitude, that all the human race might come to embrace the Truth, as it is in Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of degenerate man; that salvation through him, might happily be experienced; and the blessed result of believing and obeying, eternally enjoyed: then will the end of a probationary life be crowned with enduring peace and joy. How unspeakable are the advantages of unreserved faithfulness, and humble dedication of heart; sacrifices that are well pleasing to an Omniscient God, who does not fail to support the dependent mind, in all its tribulations, and at seasons graciously affords a lively hope, that the afflictions of the present time, if patiently borne, will work for us a "far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory." Above all things I desire to be kept in that state of perfect resignation, which breathes the language taught us by Christ, our great example, "Not as I will, but as thou wilt!"—not my will, but thine be done, Oh Father!

Eleventh month, 1824.—I am fully aware that much has been written, and much spoken, by experienced servants of the Lord Jesus, in the demonstration of the Spirit, which giveth understanding to such of his humble dependent children as are truly desirous of receiving heavenly counsel; yet I am afraid of falling short of that which I owe to a good and gracious Creator, did I not endeavour, though

under much bodily weakness, to exalt His power, by bearing testimony with my pen to his never-failing mercy and grace, to support through a long protracted season of suffering, both of flesh and spirit. And although it has pleased unerring wisdom thus to try my faith, I have abundant cause thankfully to acknowledge the efficacy of that word of power, which calmed the raging waves of affliction, by the gracious language, "Peace, be still!" And now, the remembrance of the Lord's dealings with his unworthy servant, bows my soul in gratitude and praise, and an earnest desire is felt to commemorate his love: and may the expression animate and encourage fellow candidates for a crown immortal, to seek after, and implicitly trust in, that Holy Being who is Omnipotent and Omnipresent, ever manifesting a fatherly care over the workmanship of his hand. In a renewed sense of his never-failing mercies, my mind is led to crave for thousands, and tens of thousands of my fellow creatures, of every nation, kindred, tongue and people, that they may come to the knowledge of the Lord our God, and Jesus Christ, our blessed Redeemer, and Mediator; that they may come to know the happy effects of believing in, and obeying, that Word of power, which is nigh in the heart, convincing of evil, and manifesting our religious and moral duties. How affectionately do I desire that those in early life, of every description, who are objects of my tender and earnest solicitude, may choose the Lord for their portion, and the God of Jacob for the lot of their inheritance; that by a strict attention to the Spirit of Christ, and obedience to the gradual unfoldings of divine counsel, they may become qualified to show forth his praise: then will the many gracious promises left upon sacred record for the instruction and encouragement of the humble and sincere Christian, be verified in their joyful experience: the Lord their God will delight to bless them with the frequent incomes of His light and life. He will be unto them a rock of defence in every season of conflict, a gracious preserver in the day of prosperity, and the everlasting source of effectual help and consolation, in times of adversity; so that "neither heights nor depths," nor any of the varied dispensations of unerring wisdom, "will ever be able to separate them from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

In the early part of the year 1825 this deeply tried servant of Christ was laid on a bed of sickness, with little expectation of being raised from it. Her complaints assumed a serious character, and were attended with very acute pain. When speaking of her suf-

ferings, she remarked, "The dispensations of inscrutable wisdom are all in love and mercy, and it is for us dependent beings to say in truth and sincerity, "Thy will be done." In the course of the summer she so far recovered as to go a short distance from home, and attended two meetings, in which she was enabled to exert her weak bodily powers in advocating the cause most dear to her. In the first month following, she was again confined to her bed, and suffered much pain, which she endured with great patience; desiring that the divine will might be fully accomplished, and often said, she felt poor and needy, but her hope and trust in redeeming love and mercy were unshaken. She continued to evince a lively interest in the concerns and best welfare of her friends, and in times of religious retirement with them, she imparted Christian instruction, when too weak to be raised in her bed. On one occasion, after having been much exhausted, and when apparently sinking fast, she said, "My countenance appearing distressed, does not indicate distress of mind: pain of body will distress the countenance;" and then added, "Thy will be done! thy blessed will be done! O, my soul, praise the Lord! bless and magnify his Name!" On being asked if she was comfortable, she replied, "All is comfort;" and at another time said, that her great affliction had been abundantly made up, and that help had been extended in the needful time. She also expressed a wish that the language might be accepted, "Now let thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." Some time after she said, "If it were the Lord's blessed will to release me, it would be cause of thankfulness;" and she expressed an humble hope that a place of rest was prepared for her. During the last few weeks of her life her breathing was so much affected, as to make it difficult for her to say much without producing spasms, which were very distressing.—One day she said, "Though I cannot express much, I feel holy quiet." The day preceding her release was one of extreme suffering; and in the evening, a friend taking leave of her, she said, "If I am gone in the morning, there will be cause to rejoice." The fore part of the night she became easier, and on the following day, the 10th of the fourth month, 1826, she gradually sunk away in great quietness:—and her purified spirit, we may consolingly believe, was, through the mercy of God in Jesus Christ, received into a heavenly mansion, to joy unspeakable and full of glory.

At page 472 there is a notice of Rebecca Crowley, sister of Ann Crowley, who was,



for ten years, mostly an invalid. Her disorder occasioned great pain, which she bore with Christian patience. On the 5th of tenth month, 1814, it assumed an alarming appearance, and it was thought by her medical attendants, that she could not survive many days; but, beyond all human probability, she continued, often in a state of indescribable suffering, for ten weeks. During this time, her great composure of mind evinced that her hope and trust were firmly fixed on the Lord: and though it pleased him, often to permit her to be tried with poverty of spirit, yet she said, "It is a great favour to feel a precious quiet." She manifested much love and tender concern for her relations and friends, to several of whom she gave suitable advice, particularly to her nephews and nieces, and some young friends, who called to see her, impressing them with the necessity of preparing for such an afflictive dispensation, saying, it was dangerous to put off, for, at such a trying time, the pains of the body seemed enough to bear. She very tenderly advised a young friend to be faithful in giving up to little things that were made manifest, saying, "None of the pleasures or gratifications of this world are worthy to be compared with true peace of mind at such a time as this, when little things appear great things." She several times expressed a desire to be preserved from speaking what she did not feel, saying, it was not the shadow, but the substance of religion, that would prove availing. At times, when her pain was a little alleviated, she requested her sister to read some portion of Scripture, which, she said, had a calming influence on her mind. One morning, on being asked how she had passed the night, she replied, "I have been in much pain, and felt poor and low in spirit; but after a few minutes sleep, towards morning, I awoke with these expressions, 'A bruised reed shall he not break, and the smoking flax shall he not quench, till he send forth judgment unto victory.' This afforded a little comfort to my tried mind." After one of her sisters had been reading on first-day evening, she expressed the great comfort she had felt in their being together; and affectionately embracing each, she expressed her desire that they might so live, as to afford the consoling hope of meeting again in the mansions of rest and peace. At another time, when under great bodily suffering, she said, "This is pain indeed;" and requested her sisters to pray for her, that her patience might hold out to the end. To one of them she said, "I have been thinking much of poor Job; and can adopt the language of Samuel Fothergill, 'Tedious days and wearisome nights are appointed unto me.'"

On the 13th of twelfth month, she became more alarmingly ill, which excited apprehensions that her final change was approaching. On again reviving a little, she sweetly broke forth, "I humbly thank thee, Oh, dearest Father! for this great favour, in granting me the opportunity of taking leave of my dear sisters, and giving them the satisfaction of knowing that I now feel an evidence of entering into rest. Now I may tell you, my beloved sisters, for your consolation, that I have a prospect of entering into glory." This was uttered with a melodious and audible voice; the sweetness of her countenance bespeaking the heavenly frame of her mind, and the precious feeling that attended was inexpressible. She also said, "Though I have thus expressed myself, I would not have you think, that I do not feel it an awful thing to die;—an awful thing to appear before the Judge of the whole earth, who doeth all things right." She expressed to a brother, that although she had led what might be termed an innocent life, yet she had found much to repent of, but expressed her belief that she had been forgiven.\* Her dissolution drawing near, after a short pause, she said, "Now I should like to bid my sisters affectionately farewell;" which she did in a very moving manner, encircling them in her arms; suitably addressing them separately; and saying, what a consolation it had been, to have them all with her in this illness; and also, what a comfort it was, that they had lived together in love and peace. After this, she took an affectionate and grateful leave of her medical attendant and the servant who had waited upon her. Soon after, enquiring who were in the room, and being told, her sisters, she requested, if not imposing too much on their feelings, that they would not leave her, asked what time it was; and finding some hours had elapsed while watching round her bed, desired they would take refreshment, saying, she believed the time was nearly come for her release, and she did not know how soon it might

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\* When we contemplate the high standard set before us by our blessed Saviour, "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father, which is in heaven is perfect," Matt. v. 48; and on the other hand, the declaration of the apostle, "He that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin;" and when we consider that, under an entire submission to the renovating power of the Holy Spirit, "every thought is to be brought into captivity to the obedience of Christ," 2 Cor. x. 5; are we not, in deep humiliation, prepared to acknowledge, that however innocent, in the view of men, we have much need of forgiveness, and that we have no ground of safe confidence but in the mercy of God in Christ Jesus? This was known to be the case with our dear friend, and accords with her dying expressions, "Come, dear Jesus! I am ready."

be, or that she might express much more; but presently after said, "Come, dear Jesus! I am ready;" and desired those present, to unite in supplicating for a speedy release; yet she soon added, that she wished to wait in patience and resignation the appointed time. She requested her interment might be in a plain simple way; that her sisters might be at liberty to feel after that quietude and retirement of mind, so desirable at such a time; adding, "I hope it will prove a solemn day to you."

A time of great suffering ensued, under which, with uplifted hands, she petitioned to be spared another such attack, if consistent with his will who designed her sanctification,

and requested her sisters would pray that she might have an easy passage, which she believed would be granted her. During the night she had some quiet sleep, and appeared considerably relieved from pain, for which she feelingly acknowledged her sense of gratitude. About seven in the morning, signs of dissolution appeared, and on being lifted up, she gently reclined her head on one side, and ceased to breathe. Thus was her humble prayer mercifully granted, and the prepared spirit, leaving its afflicted tabernacle, took its flight, there is no doubt, to a habitation among the saints in light, forever to enjoy that glorious rest of which she had so clear a prospect.

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## A SHORT ACCOUNT OF WILLIAM LEDDRA,

WHO SUFFERED MARTYRDOM THE 14TH OF FIRST MONTH, 1660-1.

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WILLIAM LEDDRA, an inhabitant of the Island of Barbadoes, being convinced of the principles of Truth as held by the religious Society of Friends, and believing himself divinely called to travel in New England, came to Newbury in the year 1658, where he was taken up, and with his companion William Brend, carried to Salem in Massachusetts. The magistrates of this place asked them if they were Quakers; and being told they were so called in scorn, they charged them with denying that Christ who died at Jerusalem, and also the Holy Scriptures. These false accusations they boldly contradicted, declaring they owned no other Lord Jesus Christ but he who suffered at Jerusalem, and that they owned the Holy Scriptures. They were, however, sent to the House of Correction, and at length removed to Boston and again imprisoned, with orders that they should work. Unwilling thus to recognise the power of their persecutors, they were kept five days without food, and then whipped with a three corded lash.

After the infliction of this unmerited punishment, William Leddra was banished from Boston on pain of death; but believing it his duty to return thither, he was apprehended and thrust into an open jail, where he was kept during an extremely cold winter, chained to a log of wood. Here his hardships and sufferings were so great, that it seemed as if

his persecutors designed to destroy him; but he was supported through them all, and on the 9th of first month 1660-1, was brought before the Court of Assistants with his chain and log at his feet. On being told that he had incurred the penalty of death, he meekly asked what evil he had done? Being answered, that he owned the Quakers who had been hung, and refused to put off his hat in court, and said "thee" and "thou;" he replied, "Then you put me to death for speaking English and for not putting off my clothes."

Finding that his persecutors were resolved if possible to shed his blood, he appealed to the laws of England for his trial, saying, that if found guilty by those laws, he refused not to die. But the court overruled his appeal, and endeavoured to persuade him to renounce his religion and embrace that established by law. But he felt conscientiously bound to testify against a religion which would countenance men in cruelly persecuting and putting persons to death, because they dare not embrace it; and looking upon those who were thus seeking his life, he boldly exclaimed, "What! join with such murderers as you are? Then let every man that meets me, say, 'Lo, this is the man that hath forsaken the God of his salvation.'" Sentence of death was passed upon him, and the 14th of the same month fixed for its execution.



On the morning when this servant of the Lord Jesus sealed his testimony with his blood, the governor came to the prison with a military guard; William's irons were knocked off, and taking a solemn leave of his fellow prisoners, he cheerfully went forth to meet death. The guard surrounded him, in order to prevent any of his friends from speaking to him; and when they reached the appointed place, he took an affectionate leave of his friend Edward Wharton, saying, "All that will be Christ's disciples must take up his cross." Then taking his stand where the guard directed him, he addressed the people thus; "For bearing my testimony to the Lord against the deceivers and deceived, am I brought here to suffer." When the executioner was putting the halter about his neck, he calmly said, "I commend my righteous cause unto thee, O God;" and as he was turned off, he cried out, "Lord Jesus receive my spirit."

Thus did this innocent martyr lay down his life cheerfully, and patiently suffer for the name and testimony of his Lord and Saviour. The frame of his mind, at this solemn period was such as became a true Christian, and the divine enjoyments of which he was permitted to partake, seem to have been a larger foretaste of the blessedness of heaven, than often falls to the lot of men, as will be seen by the subjoined letter, written the day before his execution. It is addressed as follows, viz.

TO THE SOCIETY OF THE LITTLE FLOCK OF CHRIST, GRACE AND PEACE BE MULTIPLIED.

*'Most dear and inwardly beloved,*

'The sweet influences of the Morning Star, like a flood, distilling into my innocent habitation, have so filled me with the joy of the Lord in the beauty of holiness, that my spirit is as if it did not inhabit a tabernacle of clay, but is wholly swallowed up in the bosom of eternity, from whence it had its being.

'Alas, alas, what can the wrath and spirit of man, that lusteth to envy, aggravated by the heat and strength of the king of the locusts, which came out of the pit, do unto one who is hid in the secret places of the Almighty, or unto them that are gathered under the healing wings of the Prince of Peace? Under his armour of light they shall be able to stand in the day of trial, having on the breastplate of righteousness, and the sword of the spirit, which is their weapon of war against spiritual wickedness, principalities and powers, and the rulers of the darkness of this world, both within and without.

'Oh, my beloved! I have waited as a dove at the windows of the ark, and have stood still in that watch, which the Master, without whom I could do nothing, did, at his coming, reward

with fulness of his love, wherein my heart did rejoice, that I might in the love and life of God speak a few words to you, sealed with the spirit of promise, that the taste thereof might be a savour of life to your life, and a testimony in you of my innocent death. And if I had been altogether silent, and the Lord had not opened my mouth unto you, yet he would have opened your hearts, and there have sealed my innocency with the streams of life, by which we are all baptized into that body which is in God, in whom and in whose presence there is life; in which, as you abide, you stand upon the pillar and ground of truth: for, the life being the truth and the way, go not one step without it, lest you should compass a mountain in the wilderness; for unto every thing there is a season.

'As the flowing of the ocean doth fill every creek and branch thereof, and then retires again towards its own being and fulness, and leaves a savour behind it, so doth the life and virtue of God flow into every one of your hearts, whom he hath made partakers of his divine nature. And when it withdraws but a little, it leaves a sweet savour behind it, so that many can say, they are made clean through the word that he hath spoken to them: in which innocent condition you may see what you are in the presence of God, and what you are without him.

'Therefore, my dear hearts, let the enjoyment of life alone be your hope, your joy and consolation; and let the man of God flee those things that would lead the mind out of the cross, for then the savour of life will be buried. And although some may speak of things that they received in the life, as experiences, yet the life being veiled, and the savour that is left behind washed away by the fresh floods of temptation, the condition that they did enjoy in the life, though boasted of by the airy spirit, will be like the manna that was gathered yesterday, without any good scent or savour. For, it was well with the man only while he was in the life of innocency; but being driven from the presence of the Lord into the earth, what can he boast of?

'And although you know these things, and many of you, much more than I can say; yet, for the love and zeal I bear to the truth and honour of God, and the tender desire of my soul to those that are young, that they may read me in that from which I write, to strengthen them against the wiles of the subtle serpent that beguiled Eve; I say, stand in the watch within, in the fear of the Lord, which is the very entrance of wisdom, and the state where you are ready to receive the secrets of the Lord: hunger and thirst patiently, be not weary, neither doubt. Stand still, and cease

from thy own working, and in due time thou shalt enter into the rest, and thy eyes shall behold his salvation, whose testimonies are sure and righteous altogether. Let them be as a seal upon thine arm, and as jewels about thy neck, that others may see what the Lord hath done for your souls. Confess him before men, yea, before his greatest enemies; fear not what they can do unto you: greater is he that is in you, than he that is in the world. He will clothe you with humility, and in the power of his meekness you shall reign over all the rage of your enemies, in the favour of God; wherein, as you stand in faith, ye are the salt of the earth; for, many seeing your good works, may glorify God in the day of their visitation.

‘Take heed of receiving that which you see not in the light, lest you give ear to the enemy.’

Bring all things to the light, that they may be proved, whether they be wrought in God; the love of the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eye, are without the light, in the world; therefore possess your vessels in all sanctification and honour, and let your eye look at the mark. He that hath called you is holy: and if there be an eye that offends, pluck it out, and cast it from you: let not a temptation take hold, for if you do, it will keep from the favour of God, and that will be a sad state; for, without grace possessed there is no assurance of salvation: by grace you are saved; and the witnessing of it is sufficient for you; to which I commend you all, my dear friends, and in it remain, your brother,

‘WILLIAM LEDDRA.’

‘Boston Jail, the 13th of the  
First month, 1660-1.’

END OF VOLUME SEVENTH.





















